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Multiple Mobilities in the Hotel Industry: a case study of the North Indian Diaspora in Mauritius

Pratima Sambajee

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Sunderland for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2011
Abstract

Initially the focus of this thesis was to simply analyse employment mobility in the Mauritian hotel industry. Through focus group interviews carried out across eight of the largest hotels in the country, the intra and inter-industry mobility of employees were examined. Low barriers to entry associated with qualifications, skills and experience have made this industry the first step towards a career for many. Moreover information from connections in the industry also played a significant role in the decision making process of potential employees. Unlike other studies which showed that employment in this industry is highly temporary and volatile, the case of Mauritius shows that although many had joined the industry by default, they stayed in it and made it a career. Investments in human capital, organizational cultures fostering employee commitment, social capital and network capital in the form of hotel industry-networks also contributed to the retention of employees within the same industry (although not necessarily the same hotel). However, the findings also reveal that not all employees are able to capitalise on these. Those belonging to the North Indian Diaspora are seen as experiencing low mobility both within the hotels and in the industry as a whole. Developing this further, through using interviews and an ethnographic approach, the thesis then identifies other forms of mobility which shape the daily lives of the participants and which could help explain the mobility of the Diaspora. In particular, I analyse the ‘home’-making practices of those belonging to the North Indian Diaspora. The thesis analyses the ways through which they have constructed a Hindu home away from India and how these practices influence their behaviour at work and in the wider community. Hybrid identities are identified through an examination of processes of language mixing and ‘home’-making. Regional disparities are identified between those living and working in the rural and urban regions. The findings from the second fieldwork reveal that apart from the spatial reconstruction of a ‘home’ away from home, strong ethnic social networks are actively being formed which affect the social capital level of the Diaspora in the labour
market. Moreover, boundary maintainance practices such as the continued use of Bhojpuri, a dialect from India, has significantly reduced their motility. The study develops a framework for the understanding of how Diasporic members who are in the process of re-instating their identity away from home also end up marginalising themselves in the labour market.
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## Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pooja</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aarti</td>
<td>It is a ritual of worship in the Hindu religion in which camphor or lamps are lit and offered to deities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahabirswami</td>
<td>It is a small temple that is found in the front yard of all Hindu homes and it contains a statue of Lord Hanuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kundli</td>
<td>Horoscope or Birth chart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandit</td>
<td>Priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawan</td>
<td>A religious ceremony performed in temples and in homes that involves worship through the use of a sacred fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaitka</td>
<td>Hindu school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir</td>
<td>Hindu temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jantah</td>
<td>Traditional rice grinder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ounkri Musal</td>
<td>Traditional spice grinder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dekchi</td>
<td>Indian cooking pan with lid made from aluminium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karai</td>
<td>Traditional cast iron pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawan Koun</td>
<td>A sacred box-like structure in which the fire rituals are performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thawa</td>
<td>Chapati pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belna Chowki</td>
<td>Dough roller and board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thali</td>
<td>Stainless steel plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lota</td>
<td>Water carrying vessel usually made up of copper or stainless steel used in prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilasa</td>
<td>Glass made of steel or copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roche-cari</td>
<td>Grinding stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roche-Laver</td>
<td>Washing stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roti</td>
<td>Indian bread made from flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhal</td>
<td>Lentils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chutney</td>
<td>A pasty sauce of spice and vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diler safran</td>
<td>Milk mixed with turmeric powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayapana</td>
<td>Medicinal leaves-usually boiled in water and drink as a remedy for stomach pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alovera</td>
<td>A plant having many medicinal properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulsi</td>
<td>A small sacred plant which is being worshipped by Hindus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lok</td>
<td>Traditional syrup made from herbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neem</td>
<td>A medicinal plant used to make face cream, shampoo and medicines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayurvedic</td>
<td>A word used for the ancient Indian medicinal system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dih</td>
<td>It is considered to be a spirit that protects the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choli</td>
<td>Traditional Indian blouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churidar</td>
<td>Traditional Indian outfit worn by women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katwa</td>
<td>Christian kreol (associated with dirtiness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riksha</td>
<td>A motorized version of the two-wheel cart traditional Indian taxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satsang</td>
<td>A gathering with the purpose of reading, listening and reflecting of scriptures about the truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirtan</td>
<td>The devotional songs that involve all the different names of God in the Indian culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganwar</td>
<td>A lowly village guy or poor illiterate person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One: Introduction

‘Issues of movement, of too little movement for some or too much for others or of the wrong sort or at the wrong time, are it seems central to many people’s lives and to the operations of many small and large public, private and non-governmental organizations’ (Urry, 2007: 6).

Drawing on the above quotation, this study is concerned with the movement of people and the wide-range of other mobilities which take place when people move. These include the movement of different forms of capital, symbols, language, objects, culture and identity. Understanding social life through the mobilities ‘lens’ (Urry, 2007: 18) gives an interesting insight into the nature of boundaries between individuals and the world. This study is another attempt to make sense of human movements, not in a descriptive manner but using a critical approach in order to reflect on structures and hierarchies that influence mobility (Tesfahuney, 1998 in Hannam et al, 2006: 3). The need to understand that not everyone has an equal relationship to mobility (Sheller and Urry, 2006) requires this study to examine the consequences it has for different people and places located in what can be called the fast and slow lanes of social life (Hannam et al, 2006). This study is based in Mauritius, a context where colonialism has lead to a wide-range of mobilities taking place through people originating from different parts of the world and belonging to different cultures. In the aftermath of colonialism, these mobilities are still influencing the future mobilities of these individuals. This study explores this inextricable relationship. The following section describes the context in which this study is based on in order to give a better understanding of how the research questions were developed.

Background of the study
Mauritius is a tropical island in the Indian Ocean populated by colonization in the early eighteenth century. Through French and British colonialism, African slaves, Indian contract labourers and Chinese petty merchants
were brought on the island. The African slaves were the first to come to Mauritius. This situation remained until the British took over. After their arrival in Mauritius, in the Act of Capitulation handing over the island to the British, it was stated that the inhabitants could retain their religion, customs, property, and laws. Furthermore the 1814 Treaty of Paris reinforced this by demanding that the population was to keep its language, its religion and its laws which existed under French rule. The one exception was the judiciary where English was decreed the language to be used. Hence, French and a French-based Creole (Kreol) continued to be spoken under British rule. In 1833, the British Parliament took the decision to abolish slavery in its colonies. Consequently, indentured labourers also known as ‘coolies’ were brought from India to work on the sugar cane plantations. It is reported that between 1842 and 1912, nearly half a million indentured immigrants came to Mauritius (Sohodeb, 2009). The indentured immigrants brought to Mauritius came mainly from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, South India and the Marathi immigrants came from the provinces of Ratnagari, Savantvadi, Satara, Malvanand and Thane. Most of the labourers came from the southern plains districts of Bihar, namely Arrah, Gaya, Patna, and Chota Nagpur plateau and Ranchi district where they spoke a dialect called Bhojpuri.
Bhojpuri is a dialect of Hindi, the official language of India and is widely spoken in the western parts of Bihar and the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh (UP) and some adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and Nepal (Sohodeb, 2009). There are various dialects of Bhojpuri around the world and Mauritian Bhojpuri is one of them. Apart from Mauritius, it is also spoken in the Caribbean, Fiji, Nepal, South Africa, Uganda and Singapore. Mauritian Bhojpuri is the name given to the type of Bhojpuri spoken in Mauritius. It is different to the one spoken in India as it is a koine that developed from all the Indic dialects that the Indian indentured labourers brought to Mauritius in the eighteenth century. Upon the arrival of the indentured labourers, Mauritius underwent both a demographic and linguistic revolution. In addition to French, English and French-based Creole, Bhojpuri, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Hindi and Urdu became part of the Mauritian soundscape (Miles, 1999). Chinese mandarin also joined in the nineteenth century.
The effect of these migrations has today left the country with multiple diasporic settlements. The population of Mauritius as per the most recent census of year 2000 is at approximately 1.2 million. Two-thirds of the population is of Indian origin, followed by those of African descent and finally the Chinese. It is also common in Mauritius to distinguish people by their religion. As such fifty-two percent are Hindus, thirty-two percent are (Catholic) Christians, sixteen percent are Muslims, and the remainder is Sikh and Bahai. Most of the Hindus and Muslims are of Indian descent while Christians are dominated by those of African descent (Creoles) followed by some Sino-Mauritians (Chinese) and some Indo-Mauritians who came from South India (Telugus and Tamils).

Although it is considered minor on the global scale, Mauritius is of great heuristic value in the study of ethnicity and identity. Census reports in the country have always accounted to the percentage population in the following categorizations:

- Resident population by religion and sex
- Resident population by language of forefather
- Resident population by geographical location and language spoken at home
- Resident population by religious group
- Resident population by language spoken at home
- Resident population by language of forefather and language spoken at home

Such multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic divisions give rise to many possible areas of inquiry. Firstly, that of coexistence. Research in similar postcolonial contexts such as Fiji, Guyana and the Caribbean have shown that coexistence is possible and the history of Mauritius proves that it has been a relatively peaceful and stable country so far. The question arising therefore is how is coexistence made possible? Another area of inquiry is that of identity. How does nationalism prevail in a context where the state is still accounting for features of ancestral origin? Since its
independence in 1968, there has been growing efforts by all governments towards Mauritianisation, that is, creating a Mauritian identity. On the 12th of March each year, the country celebrates its Independence and National Republic day, over half a million sing the national anthem and feel proud to be Mauritian. Yet, the soundscape and ethnoscape of Mauritius portrays divided interests amongst the population. A third area of enquiry concerns the language situation itself. The current situation in Mauritius is that French-based Creole is the uncontested language spoken by the majority of population. The 2000 census data showed that the number of persons reporting Creole as the language spoken at home increased from 62% in 1990 to 70% in 2000 while there is still 12.1% of the population who reported speaking Bhojpuri only at home (see table 1.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language usually or most often spoken at home</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri only</td>
<td>201,800</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>142,400</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese languages only</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole only</td>
<td>452,200</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>896,000</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French only</td>
<td>34,500</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi only</td>
<td>12,800</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malagasy only</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil only</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu only</td>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu only</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (including combination of languages)</td>
<td>121,000</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>141,300</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,056,700</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,179,300</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: Language spoken at home

Overall the table shows a decrease in the use of Asian languages and an increase in the use of Creole, French and English and combination of languages. Miles (2000: 217) described the case of Mauritius as ‘a four-part harmony of Mauritian languages’. A context where Creole is the lingua franca of the nation, French is the language of social and cultural prestige, English as the language of Education, Law and administration and a mixture of Asian languages dominated by Bhojpuri. The degree of multilingualism in Mauritius and the language contacts that have taken place since the arrival of the indentured labourers from India have led to a
case where monolinguals are rare. Therefore, how do all these languages coexist and remain in the homes of people? A fourth area of inquiry is the generation factor. After the abolition of slavery in 1835, Mauritius is now counting over five generations of several Diasporas living on the island. Statistics show that ethnic and language boundaries continue to exist despite so many generations gone by. An investigation into the processes that make this possible is important here. Moreover, the attitudes of second and subsequent generations have been the focus of many Diaspora research. An insight into the attitudes of different generations towards the above could provide a better understanding of the identity situation in Mauritius.

**The Hotel Industry in Mauritius**
Under both French and British rule, the Mauritian economy relied mainly on the sugar industry. Although the sugar industry still contributes significantly to the economy, its limitations have been recognized by almost all governments after independence. The growing need to develop another industry in order to sustain economic growth brought about the promotion of textile manufacturing and tourism. The textile industry performed well in the 1970s to 1980s but went into decline as raw materials and the cost of labour became more expensive. However, the tourism industry in Mauritius has been in constant growth (see table 1.2) contributing to economic prosperity (Durbarry, 2002). Capitalizing on its sun, sand and sea, the island today is recognized as a world leading tourist destination.
The five main sectors of the tourism industry in Mauritius comprise of accommodation, food and beverages, shopping, transport and entertainment (see table 1.3 below).

Table 1.3: Tourist Activities

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Table 1.2: Tourist Arrivals

The five main sectors of the tourism industry in Mauritius comprise of accommodation, food and beverages, shopping, transport and entertainment (see table 1.3 below).
Secondary data from the central statistics office stated that at the end of December 2010, there were a total of 115 registered hotels of which 112 were in operation and 3 were not operational due to renovation work. According to the Survey of Employment and Earnings (2010), direct employment in hotels, restaurants and travel and tourism establishments employing 10 persons or more stood at 27,161 at the end of March 2010 showing an increase of 0.6% over the figure of 27,002 for March 2009. Of this number, 20,847 or 76.8% were engaged in hotels. These figures clearly show that the tourism industry in Mauritius is a major pillar of the economy. With a growing number of tourists, the accommodation sector has had to grow as well. According to the World Bank (1989), most of the hotels on the island have been built with local capital and are locally managed, but more recently the government’s strategy has been to attract foreign investors in the hotel industry. However, in order to avoid foreign currency and profit leakage, the hotels are owned in joint ventures with local shareholders (Durbarry, 2002). As stated above, the hotel industry employs more than three quarter of the total number of employees in the accommodation sector. Being an industry that has been forecasted to grow (WTTC, 2011) and one where service quality is of utmost importance, it is crucial to look into issues related to the service deliverers.

**Labour mobility in the hotel industry**

Literature on employment in the hotel industry confirms that in most cases it is one where job satisfaction is low due to the relatively poor conditions of work (Bonn and Forbringer, 1992; Cho and Wong, 2001; Gesthuizen, 2009). Often described as employing a highly mobile workforce where movement is directed away from the industry as soon as an opportunity is presented, the hotel industry has long been in a struggle not only to obtain the right employees but also to retain them (Hjalager and Anderson, 2000). Moreover a report on the future of human resource management in the hospitality industry suggested that there is the emergence of a dual labour market with increasing competition to employ the best people (Barry, Davidson and McPhail, 2010). The report also highlights that this industry will grow in developing countries and this will in turn lead to the
management of people with differing cultural backgrounds from the international hospitality companies. In the light of this, organisations are constantly searching for strategies to satisfy their workforce in order to encourage them to stay and be committed towards the employer. While some have used tangible benefits to motivate employees to stay, others have used less tangible ways by building a psychological contract between the employee and the employer. However, research also shows that despite these strategies the final decision to move lies with the employee.

According to Castles and Miller (1998) human movement is both a symptom and a prerequisite of globalisation. In developmental terms, transformations in the world economy have generated labour mobility within single boundaries and also across different boundaries. While most discussions on labour mobility focus on the process of labour exchange including skills exchange and economic exchange, there is also a need to understand other exchanges that take place as boundaries are crossed. Employee mobility can be described in various ways. While most studies rotate around a necessary vertical movement, there has been an under-appreciation of other directions and ways in which labour mobility can take place. Moreover, this possibility of movement by the employee represents a threat for the employer. It is attached to a loss of resource but on the other hand for the employee the possibility of movement represents an opportunity for betterment. Most studies on labour mobility have been mainly concerned with western organizations where the workforce has been described as being highly mobile. However, in other parts of the world, workforce behaviour might not necessarily sustain the same characteristics. Hofstede’s (1991) cultural dimensions framework informed us that employee behaviour is influenced by the culture of the society they live in. Uncertainty avoidance, one of the cultural dimensions, refers to the degree of risk taking that an employee engages in. Changing jobs or employer involves an element of risk - the risk of whether the destination employer and/or industry will be better than the current one. Traditional and developing countries have been described in Hofstede’s model as
being relatively risk averse compared to developed and western countries. In this perspective, it could be assumed that job security is an important aspect of employment in less developed countries and that changing jobs and/or employer elicits the employee to consider whether the risk is worth taking. The above illustrates that culture is a significant factor in the decision-making process of the employee. However, the literature review shows that there has not been adequate attention given to this in research on labour mobility in the hotel industry.

Moreover, the need to consider non-linear movements has been echoed in the work of many (Adey, 2010; Hannam et al, 2006; Urry (2007). Mobility is plural (Adey, 2010) and synchronized. In other words, the mobility of one entity is always accompanied by the mobility of other entities. Within this perspective, this study takes on a different approach on understanding labour mobility in the hotel industry. Moving away from the traditional vertical measure of mobility, this study’s aim is not to produce numerical evidence of mobility but to understand the behaviours and processes related to labour mobility. By considering intra-firm, intra and inter-industry mobilities, this study seeks an overall approach for understanding labour mobility. Moving within the same company, in the same industry but across different employers and between different industries are important ways through which labour mobility can be analysed.

The factors influencing mobility in the tourism and hospitality industry have been studied by a number of scholars who will be discussed in chapter three of this thesis. They have all presented different perspectives of understanding industry mobility however there is insufficient evidence that they have taken into consideration the changing nature of the workforce. New concepts such as boundaryless careers (DeFillipi and Arthur, 1996) and cross-cultural workforces are all indicators that the world of work is in a constant state of flux. While advancements in Information and Communication Technology have disembodied labour (Bauman, 2000); migration has lead to large numbers of people on the move for jobs away from their homeland. Hence, the study of labour mobility can no longer be
simply a measure of number of job changes but it is a complex web of multiple mobilities that are taking place influencing the future mobilities and immobilities of these individuals. Hence two new approaches can be seen as necessary to the study of labour mobility in the context of Mauritius: firstly to consider mobility as plural and non-linear by nature and secondly to consider labour mobility as involving humans who are within themselves influenced by their culture and identity. This study is concerned with the ways hotel employees move. In order to do so, industry mobility will be analysed along side the culture of these employees. By drawing on information about their ancestral origins and their diasporic orientations, the study will seek to analyse labour mobility from a pluralist, non-linear and cultural perspective.

The workforce of the hotel industry in Mauritius is diverse in terms of age, gender, class, education and ethnic group. Therefore any study of labour mobility has to also take into consideration factors relating to the culture of the individuals. Through the mobilities lens, labour mobility can be conceptualised as a process involving not only the movement of capital but other elements which make up the daily life of the individual. This study is an attempt to illustrate these processes. By taking the case of the hotel industry in Mauritius, this study aims at understanding labour mobility by analysing not only directions and types of movement but by also examining how different people experience labour mobility. It takes into consideration the factors that enable labour mobility as well as those that reinforce the immobilities of others in the hotel industry.

**Originality of the study**

This thesis connects the study of employee mobility to the concept of Diaspora. Although Hosfede’s model made an initial attempt in identifying different types of culture and their relevance to organisation behaviour, the originality of this research lies in the way through which Diaspora orientations and consciousness of a specific group are used as indicators of and/or factors influencing mobility in the labour market. It gives labour mobility a different dimension by taking into consideration how behaviours
of individuals at work are representations of their culture, ethnicity and identity. The study draws on the notion of boundary maintainance practices and ethnic social networks that are produced in the workplace and more importantly it elaborates on how language can be a critical factor in employee mobility. As the research is conducted in a multicultural context, it also adds to knowledge on cross-cultural management in the hotel industry.

Research strategy
Eight hotels were selected along four coastal regions of the island. Focus groups each comprising of six employees were conducted over a period of four and a half months. The employees participating in this study ranged from different levels and departments within the organizations. Using an interpretivist epistemology, the research analysed various job-related mobilities encountered by the hotel employees. The topics that were covered in the focus groups are as follows. Firstly, the participants were asked about their reasons for working in the hotel industry. This helped inform the research about the motivational orientations of hotel industry employees; secondly the participants were asked about their skills and experiences and the relevance of these with the industry. The literature review shows that skills play an important role in the mobility of employees. The focus group interviews also tried to situate these participants in their working life by finding out when they joined the industry and the relationship with previously held jobs.

Given the multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural characteristic of the Mauritian labour market, the study was also geared towards an understanding of how these elements interplay and influence job-related mobility of the participants. As a result of this, the focus group discussions also revolved around topics relating to culture, ancestral origins and homeland orientation. The aim was to find traces of possible influences which could be further researched along the course of this study. After the completion of the focus group interviews and after analysis of the data, twenty of the participants were selected for the second set of inquiries.
The focus group interviews inform the study that diasporic orientations were actively manifesting themselves in the everyday life of these participants and could potentially influence their mobility in the industry. In order to pursue this investigation, the North Indian Diaspora was chosen as it displayed strong characteristics which could provide interesting results in this research. Moreover, as the researcher is also part of this Diaspora, an element of reflexivity was used to direct the course of the work.

The second fieldwork was marked by the use of in-depth interviews and mobile methods (Urry, 2007) such as observations carried out during visits in the participants’ home and ‘talking while walking’ (Anderson, 2004) with the participants. By carrying out the fieldwork in the natural settings of the participants, it was also possible to collect data through observation such as their home landscapes and material cultures. Moreover, the in-depth interviews were also carried out with each participant about identity and how it shapes life within their locale and at work.

Focus of the study
From the above, the focus of the study is threefold: firstly, it seeks to understand the mobility of hotel employees both within the same industry and between different industries. In doing so, it tries to identify behaviours of both movers and stayers and the factors affecting each category. The second focus of this study is to understand the identity situation of Diasporas in Mauritius. In order to do so and based on the findings of the first fieldwork, the research looks into the mobilities which take place in the homes of the North Indian Diaspora and using the relevant theories, these mobilities are connected with the identity of the Diaspora. The third focus of this study is to integrate the above two in order to understand whether there is a relationship between the identity situation of the Diaspora and its mobility at work. The aim is also to understand the processes and instances which cause the Diaspora to be mobile or immobile at work. The research takes on a difference perspective on Diaspora by analysing the group as one consisting of multiple internal fissures. It takes into
consideration the existence of important in-group cleavages in terms of social, cultural and economic lineaments (Gilroy, 1987) which influence mobility.

Theoretical Framework
The study uses the mobilities theory as its underlying framework. The research problem was conceptualized around concepts related to mobility. Moving away from the traditional sedendarist view on society, this study views the mobility of humans beyond bodily movement. Analysis of data from both fieldworks is carried out using the ‘new mobilities’ paradigm. As mobility touches the lives of individuals in multiple ways, this paradigm has the ability to uncover the subterranean. Its use in the analysis of the data collected in both fieldworks makes visible what was invisible at the initial stage of inquiry. By looking beyond physical mobility, the focus group data reveals various psychological processes at play which also influence job mobility. By linking data on industry mobility and the multiple mobilities that are taking place in the homes of the Diaspora, the paradigm actively seeks to establish the connections between ethnicity, culture and industry mobility. It tries to uncover and identify the geometries of power at play in the hotel industry. Through a conceptual framework relating to the movement of people, objects, information, capital, ideas and emotions, the mobilities paradigm provides the appropriate lens in which many aspects of bodily and societal activity can be examined. Through this paradigm this study is able to identify both mobilities and immobilities which exist in the Diaspora. The following section describes the structure of this thesis.

Structure of the study
Chapter two describes the mobilities theory by drawing on the ‘new mobilities’ paradigm. It looks at various concepts through which the body and society have been discussed within this paradigm. In this chapter, a comparison of the sedentarian and nomadist metaphysics is carried in order to appreciate the role of the mobilities theory in researching social
life. The chapter also discusses the various concepts within the paradigm such as the systems and complexities of mobility; motility and access; movement of materials and visuals, networks and network capital, migration and Diasporas. This chapter ends by discussing the politics of mobility and how this theory contributes to this study.

Chapter three provides a literature review of research done on labour mobility. Beginning with the traditional conceptualization of mobility, it describes how social mobility and labour mobility are connected using the status attainment paradigm and the class analysis. In this chapter various definitions of the term ‘career’ are discussed to show the evolution of the term over time. Through an analysis of career mobility models, it identifies and discusses variables which have been linked with career mobility. The variables discussed are gender, education, age and race. The chapter also describes the changing nature of work by making reference to boundaryless careers and organisations and how with globalisation and advancement in technology, labour is no longer embodied. This chapter also reviews the literature on labour mobility in the tourism and hospitality industry. By drawing on various researches done in different countries, the chapter ends by tracing the trend in terms of job related mobility in the industry. From the analysis of the literature, this chapter informs the study about gaps in research on labour mobility in the hotel industry.

Chapter four reviews the literature on Diaspora. It looks at the various definitions of Diaspora and the different ways through which it has been theorised by other researchers. As the focus of this study is on the concepts related to identity, this chapter also covers a review of the literature on Diaspora and identity. Here different perspectives are encountered to show that identity is an essential concept to take into consideration in the study of mobility. The chapter elaborates on hybrid identities and the creolisation process. It then reviews literature on
postcolonial Diasporas and the Indian Diaspora. Taking into consideration that this study is based on the Indian Diaspora which belongs to the first wave of migration, the chapter then reviews research done on the Indian Diaspora belonging to the Indian indentured labour system. Reference is made to contexts such as the Caribbean, Guyana and Fiji where similar populations exist. The chapter then concludes by reviewing work done on the Indian Diaspora in Mauritius.

Chapter five describes the research methodology that was used in this study. The chapter is divided into four parts: firstly, it provides a critical analysis of the type of research chosen for this study followed by a discussion of the research philosophy. This includes a description of the epistemology and the theoretical perspective. It then describes the ways through which data was generated from the fieldwork, this includes a discussion around the use of reflexivity in this study, the methods used and the sampling methods. Each fieldwork work is described and a table including the details of the participants is also included in this section. The third part describes the data analysis process. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of the ethical issues associated within this research.

Chapter six presents and analyses the findings from the first fieldwork. It begins by looking at the reasons for joining the hotel industry. It analyses several factors which influence the decision of a career in this industry. These include both micro and macro-level factors which influence entry. The chapter uses the mobilities theory discussed in chapter two in order to identify and explain multiple mobilities taking place in the career decision making process of the employees in this industry. Variations between different groups are identified and discussed. Overall the chapter provides an understanding of intra-firm, intra and inter-industry mobility. As stated earlier, the focus is not to produce numbers of movement that have taken place but rather to understand the various types of movements that take place, the factors influencing these movements, who moves and who does
Towards the end of this chapter, the findings reveal the themes related to the Indian Diaspora which required further investigation in order to generate a clearer picture of their overall mobility. These themes are used by the researcher in the second fieldwork.

Chapter seven describes the mobilities that take place within the homes of the North Indian Diaspora. Through a reconstruction of the practices they engage in, the materials and visual cultures they follow, the landscapes that they build around them, the researcher tries to illustrate their ways of life. Using the mobilities theory, the outcomes of these interactions are analysed from an identity formation perspective as well as the various geometries of power that they entail. The chapter seeks to describe the ‘home’ of the Diaspora as a dynamic space where multiple mobilities take place and affect different people in different ways. Through an analysis of the material cultures, the first part of this section describes the various objects and artefacts that make up their space. The importance of visual cultures is also discussed followed by the use of Bhojpur in the homes of the participants. The significance of all these in relation to their connection with the homeland is thoroughly discussed and the chapter ends by concluding on the identity status of the Diaspora in Mauritius.

Chapter eight is where the third focus of this study lies. By bringing together the findings of fieldwork one and two, the researcher identifies the key factors which have been identified as influencing the mobility of the Diaspora in the labour market. Further analysis into how these factors operate in order to create both mobility and immobility is carried out. The last chapter summarises the key findings of the study, followed an identification of further areas of research pertaining to the study of labour mobility and Diaspora.

As a concluding remark to this chapter, it is important to highlight the key argument underlying this study. Labour mobility is not only about the movement of capital, it is also about the movement of people who in their own bodies and surroundings carry various other elements which
continuously shape their mobilities. This study proposes to find and analyse these elements so as to get a better understanding of the movement of labour as it is happening today.
Chapter Two: Mobilities Theory

Introduction
This chapter describes the mobilities theory by reviewing the literature on recent perspectives on mobility. Drawing on the ‘new mobilities’ paradigm, it looks at various concepts through which the body and society are being discussed in research. The first part gives a general overview of the meaning of mobility and the traditional ways through which it was conceptualised. Following this, the chapter introduces the ‘new mobilities’ paradigm which has now replaced these traditional perspectives. The theory is discussed in terms of its contribution to the study of multiple kinds of mobilities taking place in the world today. The third part discusses the main components of the mobilities theory drawing on multiple concepts of mobility. Finally, the chapter ends by describing how this theory will be applied to this study.

Movement and Mobility
Urry (2007) discussed four main senses of the term ‘mobility’. Firstly, to be mobile means to be capable of movement. Mobility is a property of both people and things. Technological advancement has set new ways through which both are set in motion. Secondly, mobility is seen as a kind of disorder, as a ‘mob’ (p.8) which is not fully fixed. Mobs create the need to be tracked and socially regulated. Thirdly, there is a sense of upward and downward social mobility occurring in society. Here, mobility is seen as a vertical process. Fourth, mobility is seen in the longer term sense of migration or other kinds of temporary geographical movement. This is a horizontal sense of movement. According to Adey (2010) one kind of mobility seems to always involve another kind of mobility. Hence mobility is always in the plural. Mobilities are ways of relating. Mobilities occur alongside and are synchronized with one another.
Cresswell (2006) also discussed movement and mobility. While movement can be described as an act of displacement between locations in abstract space without particular meaning, mobility is the dynamic equivalent of place, ‘imbued with meaning and power’ (p.3). The element of meaning describes place as a space which we experience and ascribe meaning to. The meanings are produced by the people, the media and those in power. The second element of materiality refers to the tangible things in society such as buildings, parks and roads often created for the purpose of profit. As a socially produced motion, mobility can be understood using three relational moments: firstly, human mobility where mobility is an empirical reality and is potentially observable; secondly mobility conveyed through representational strategies such as film, photography, music and so on; and thirdly mobility as practiced, experienced, non-representational and embodied. Furthermore, Cresswell stated that movement is made up of time and space and any consideration of movement and mobility has to take time and space into account. Based on these accounts, mobility can be seen as part of the social production of time and space.

Bauman (2000) argued that mobility generates the liquefaction of social structures. Liquefaction means that social structures constantly change but the changes are temporary. Social boundaries change and are redefined to create new frontiers. Liquefaction also changes the spatial ‘order of things’ (Foucault, 1994). Kaufmann (2002) used the liquid model of analysis to represent the view that mobility belongs to the melting powers. Through circulation, social structures are weakened and this leads to a world organised around mobility (Urry, 2000). However, the main cause of liquefaction is not primarily mobility but rather it is the new ways of interacting in space and time which melts old social structures (Nowicka, 2006). In such a context, people, events, organisations and societies are tied with global agendas, standardised time horizons and constantly shifting spatial arrangements (Nowicka, 2006). There is a lifting out of social relations from local contexts (Giddens, 1991). Criticising Polanyi’s (1944 in Bauman, 2000: 121) concept of embodied labour whereby labour could only exists though hiring human bodies, Bauman
talked of the disembodiment of human labour. Here, labour is no longer tied to a fixed point and neither is capital. The disembodiment of labour allows capital to be volatile and weightless. The ‘mutual dependency’ between capital and labour has been broken unilaterally (Bauman, 2000: 120). While labour is incomplete and unfulfillable without capital, the reverse is not the case anymore. Capital is today light and has high mobility - a characteristic which benefits some but leaves the rest in uncertainty. Moreover, the context of work has been described as a camping site where employment has become short-term and precarious. Individuals fail to develop long-term mutual dependency with work. This is a direct consequence of the ‘liquefied’, ‘flowing’, dispersed, scattered and deregulated nature of modernity (Bauman, 2000:149). This approach to mobility leads to think that mobility is ongoing.

Imaginations of mobility in social and cultural thought has been mainly dominated by two metaphysical ways of viewing the world (Cresswell, 2006): the sedentarist metaphysics and the nomadic metaphysics. The first one sees mobility through the lens of rootedness, place, spatial order and belonging. Mobility is seen as a threat leading to disorder in the system. Mobility is seen as a thing to control. Derived from Heideggerian notions, sedentarist thinking ‘locates bounded and authentic places or regions or nations as the fundamental basis of human experience’ (Urry, 2007, p.31). Here, dwelling establishes the relationship between space and place to refer to the manner in which humans inhabit the earth. To dwell is not only to inhabit but it involves staying with things. Here, things play a central role in the analysis of how people dwell at home and in various locales. Man’s relations to locales, and through locales to spaces, inheres in his dwelling. In this perspective the relationship between man and space is none other than dwelling. Dwelling is often conceptualised in terms of community and emphasizes on fixity. But Ahmed (2000: 32-33) posited that there is also a relationship between dwelling and movement: ‘..spaces are claimed, or ‘owned’ not so much by inhabiting what is already there, but by moving within, or passing through, different spaces
which are only given value as places (with boundaries) through the movement or ‘passing through’ itself. (emphasis in text).

Therefore sedentarist metaphysics produces discourse and practice that treat mobility and displacement as pathological and as a dysfunction. The focus is on describing fixity. On the other hand, a nomadic metaphysics is about flow, flux and dynamism; where there is little time for notions of attachment to place. In this perspective, mobility is not seen as negative and threatening but a necessary way of thinking about the world today. Metaphors of fluidity and nomadism include ‘sea, river, flux, waves, liquidity, the vagabond, the pilgrim and nomadism’ (Urry, 2007: 33). Nomadism is associated with deterritorialization and emphasizes process and change as the core of social life (Lash, 2005 in Urry, 2007: 25). In this perspective, there is no stasis (Urry, 2007) but only processes of creation, transformation and movement. Although this metaphysical way of observing the world today can be seen as a more appropriate way of describing social life, however, fixity is also part of mobilities (Adey, 2010; Urry, 2007). A need to consider both mobilities and immobilities is crucial in the study of social life. The following section describes a paradigm which attempts to do this.

The ‘new mobilities’ paradigm
Georg Simmel was the first author who attempted to develop a mobilities paradigm through the analyses of proximity, distance and movement (Jensen, 2006). He distinguished between various socio-spatial patterns of mobility and how physical or bodily travel is interconnected with other mobilities. Following this, Urry (2007) elaborated on the paradigm producing a framework which ‘enables ‘social world’ to be theorized as a wide array of economic, social and political practices, infrastructures and ideologies that all involve, entail or curtail various kinds of movement of people, or ideas, or information or objects’ (p.43, emphasis in text). In doing so, the paradigm makes the subterranean visible and shows that there are multiple kinds of movement which have been left unexamined. Sheller and Urry (2006) argued that a ‘new mobilities’ paradigm is being
formed within the social sciences. As the world becomes more mobile, there is a need to look into the different types of mobilities taking place and their consequences for different people and places. The ‘new mobilities’ paradigm allows the examination of how the spatialities of social life shape both actual and imagined movements of people (Sheller and Urry, 2006) by challenging the objects of inquiry and the methodologies for research within social science. This paradigm allows a break from both sedentarist and nomadist metaphysics. This new paradigm attempts to unify concepts across disciplines and employs mobile methods that include observations of ‘people’s movement, of bodies strolling, driving, leaning, running, climbing, lying on the ground, photographing and so on’ (Urry, 2007: 40).

Urry sets out some central features of the mobilities paradigm. Firstly, the new paradigm views social relationships as involving ‘diverse connections’ (Urry, 2007: 46). Such connections can take the form of imagined presence occurring through objects, people, information and images (Chayko, 2002). Social life is based on both intermittent presence and modes of absence depending on the multiple technologies of travel and communications that move objects, people, ideas, and images across distances. Secondly there are five interdependent mobilities that make social life possible across distance: the corporeal travel of people for the purpose of work, leisure, family life, pleasure, migration and escape, physical movement of objects, imaginative travel through images of places and peoples displayed on visual media, virtual travel in real time and communicative travel through person-to-person messages. The mobilities paradigm emphasizes on how these different mobilities maintain social connections across varied and multiple distances (Urry, 2004a). Thirdly, the paradigm sees physical travel involving various encounters such as bodies encountering other bodies, objects and the physical world. This process involves both forms of pleasure and pain which means that the body senses as it moves. Fourth, face-to-face connections are made on certain occasions and are generated by legal, economic and familial obligations to meet and to converse. The paradigm views objects as being
on the move, and it is necessary to examine the ways in which objects and people are assembled through time and space. The following section describes the key components of the mobilities theory which will be used to inform the theoretical framework of this study.

**Systems and Complexity**

Urry (2007) discussed the role of systems which make movement possible. Systems are described as ‘spaces of anticipation’ (p.13) that make movement repetitive. As different types of mobilities emerge, extensive systems of circulation develop and they need to be examined in their ‘fluid interdependence’ (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 212). Such circulations encompass the movement of capital, objects, transportations, images and so on. According to Thrift and French (2002), as technology advances, mobility-systems are becoming more dependent on computers and software. These systems are also becoming more interdependent leading to individuals existing beyond their private bodies (Urry, 2007) creating virtual mobilities. The interaction between people and objects should also be analysed through the significance of the systems that distribute people, activities and objects in and through time and space. The role of mobility-systems is therefore crucial in the paradigm and it is important to analyse access to such systems as they may represent unequal chances to be mobile. It is also important to notice the changing nature of these systems through time and the establishment of new mobility-systems. The complexity theory is an essential tool that seeks to bring notions of complex adaptive systems into the analysis of mobilities. It examines how components of a system spontaneously develop collective properties or patterns through their interactions. According to Urry (2007) complexity notions have been brought about by various processes such as the rapid and unexpected movement of people, capital and information around the world, the growth of micro-electronics due to advancement in communications technologies, the emergence of global microstructures, the increased hyper-complexity of products and technologies, the growing significance of hybrids systems within the physical, biological and social worlds, the unpredictability of events and outcomes in time-space, the
non-linear changes in society, the spread of the internet, the coupling of organisms and material environment leading to the development of a single self-regulating system and the growth of scientific networks. Thus complexity investigates multiple hybrid systems and how they influence later probabilities (Prigogine, 1997). Moreover, using this theory, Urry (2007) discussed the role of systems of immobilities in the creation of mobilities. According to Urry there is a mutual beneficial relationship between mobilities and relative immobilities. He calls the latter moorings. Moorings are solid, static and immobile which make mobile life possible. Without these immobilities or moorings, there can be ‘no linear increase in fluidity’ (Urry, 2003: 125). Similarly, Adey (2010) stated that spatial fixities serve as a backdrop in order to distinguish mobilities against and ‘as mobilities are enabled by fixities, mobilities construct and create further fixities’ (p.23). For example, Probyn (1996) emphasized identity as a point of continuous departure enabling the capacity to move in and out of different subject positions. Moreover, Massumi (2002) described home as an event which is not fixed but a node where multiple mobilities take place. Histories of people and objects conceal mobilities hidden within them (Adey, 2010). Hence, complexity is only possible through some form of stability rather than through complete liquefaction of structures. This then makes the relationship between mobility and moorings as dialectical (Urry, 2007).

**Motility**

Flamm and Kaufmann (2006) developed a new conceptual tool to understand spatial mobility. The tool used the individual’s mobility potential and how it is organised and transformed into travel (Kaufmann, 2002). The concept of motility was proposed and defined as the way through which an individual or a group takes possession of the realm of possibilities for mobility and builds on it to develop personal projects (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006). Although motility is related to accessibility, it differs from it by focusing more on how an actor builds his or her relationship with space and less on the potential to offer opportunities offered by another territory.
Kaufmann identified three factors shaping mobility levels and patterns. Firstly, *access* to mobility-scapes such as transport and communication technologies. Secondly, *competence* in terms of skills and abilities to use mobility-scapes and thirdly, *appropriation* which refers to the behaviours reflecting the need and willingness to become mobile. Motility may not necessarily lead to travel and if it does, the travel may be of different forms of mobility (Szerszynki and Urry, 2006). The spatial context in which an individual’s daily mobility takes place is also important in understanding motility. For instance, the geographical scope as well as the degree of attachment of this space to different transport networks will also determine travel behaviour. Access rights differ from one person to another and in most instances, acquisition of access rights depends on financial resources. Motility is therefore a form of capital that can be mobilised in order to realise and link aspirations and projects together. Within this theory, there is a need to separate actual movement with potential for movement as increasing speed of transport systems does not necessarily mean increased movement in social life. Motility is autonomous from economic, social and cultural capital and according to Urry (2007) high motility capital can also augment other forms of capital. In this study, the concept of motility allows a better understanding of how access, competence and appropriation can be extended to the workplace.

Through motility, the mobilities theory also seeks to explain how multiple mobilities become central in the structuring of inequality. All mobilities require ‘economic, physical, organizational and temporal’ access (Urry, 2007: 191). Economic resources are seen as the largest constraint on social equality. Those possessing more economic resources are able to enhance their mobility in society through access to new places and technologies while the immobility of others with less access is deepened. The physical aspect of access refers to physical abilities to be mobile such as the ability to walk a certain distance, to drive a car, to read information and so on. These in turn affect the mobility of a person. Moreover, ability to access services depends on how people are organized and where they
are situated. Those organized in locations endorsed by safe environments and good interchanges are likely to be more mobile that those situated in unsafe and transport restricted locations. Access also depends on temporal availability. The sovereignty of time in mobility depends on the extent to which people do or do not have control over it. In this paradigm, time is seen as a resource and therefore different access to time will influence mobility as a whole. Hence according to Urry (2007) different access to economic, physical, organizational and temporal resources give rise to both mobilities and immobilities. In similar line, Graham and Marvin (2001) stated that the spread of resources that enhance the mobilities of some may also reinforce the immobilities of others. The ‘mobilities’ paradigm provides the kind of analysis in which ‘mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power. Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship’ (Skeggs, 2004: 49).

Materials on the move
As people move, they carry with them goods and products from one place to another. According to Sheller and Urry (2006), there is also a need to consider materials that are on the move. These movements can be carried out ‘openly, clandestinely, or inadvertently’ (p. 209). In any form, an understanding of the movement of these goods is crucial in the study of mobilities. In the study of migration and tourism, the mobilities paradigm allows for an understanding between the movements of people and material belongings, and between the physical and symbolic dimensions of cultures of mobility (Sheller, 2003b). Mobilities also include movements of images and information. It involves ‘those immobile infrastructures that organise the intermittent flow of people, information, and image, as well as the borders or ‘gates’ that limit, channel, and regulate movement or anticipated movement’ (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 212). Hence the study of human mobility should take into consideration everyday transportation, material cultures, spatial relations of mobility and immobility, and technologies which enable information and communication to become mobile. Moreover, Fortier (2000) argued that objects mobilize place by the reconstitution of belonging and memory. For example in the study of travel
and migration, cultural objects on the move may carry along their meanings and symbolic values and in other cases value can also be loss as they move from one place to another.

**Migration and Diasporas**
The modern world is in a state of flux and turbulence (Papastergiadis, 2000). The complex patterns of movement across the world provides evidence that migration is no longer about destitutes who have been displaced from their homelands but a new kind of migrating population whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their home and host countries. Moreover, movement is no longer associated with a change of location as even those who have never left their homeland are moved. Furthermore, migrants are no longer moving in linear terms, but in a rather turbulent, fluid but structured movement, with multidirectional and reversible trajectories leading to several transformations in the representations of identity (Papastergiadis, 2000). According to Castles and Miller (1998) human movement is both a symptom and a prerequisite of globalisation. While most discussions on migration focus on the process of labour exchange including skills exchange and economic exchange, there has been little attention given to the way the patterns of migration are in a relationship to the actions and understandings of individual migrants. According to Papastergiadis (2000), there is a ‘diasporization’ of communities in the contemporary world (p.89). Brubaker (2005) uses Diaspora to define a community of individuals, a category of practice used to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations and to mobilize energies. In the labour market, both emigrants and immigrants have been conceptualised as Diasporas. They result from both the migration of borders over people and people over borders. Diasporas are also associated with dispersion over space and thus can be used to relate to all major group movements that take place in society including immigration. The dispersion of space whereby the dispersion crosses state borders or even within state borders is one of the core elements of what constitute a Diaspora. The spreading of migrants and Diasporas across the globe has lead to a state of turbulence where there is a growing
need to analyse issues related to transportation, material cultures, information and communication technologies and other infrastructures of mobility emerging (Sheller, 2003b). Communities are no longer grounded. Moreover, Urry (2000) stated that it is not only important to analyse how people interact with their social groupings but also with those that they do not interact on a regular basis and with whom some sense of connection or belonging exists. There is therefore a need to investigate not only presence and absence, but also ‘imagined presence’ and the way that diverse objects carry imagines presence across, and into, multiple kinds of dwelling (Urry, 2000: 134).

A number of researches using the mobilities theory appear in the study of migration. Fortier (2006) linked migration with mobilities by using concepts such as fluidity, accessibility and desirability of a mobile world. In the paper, mobility is viewed as a universal right and is translated into action through migration. Lewis (2006) analysed the shifting positions of individuals as they cross borders and how this is represented as a challenge to nation building. In similar line, taking the case of Italy, Harney (2006) looked at the threats that mobilities pose to national spaces. In a different perspective, Uteng (2006) examined the mobility of immigrants in terms of spatial and social mobility. The study analysed issues related to social exclusion, freedom, ethics and sustainable mobility experienced by immigrants and how these in turn affect their life conditions. Similarly, Jordan and Brown (2007) researched the role of immigrants within the division of labour in the UK and how this in turn influences their economic and work mobility. In a different perspective, Ureta (2008) examined how a situation of social exclusion interferes with patterns of everyday mobility of low-income population in Chile. Moreover, Benson (2011) found that migranthood may not necessarily lead to low mobility in society; instead migrants may limit their mobility voluntarily.

Huang and Yeoh (2007) used the mobilities theory to demonstrate the emotional disruptions which take place with transnational mobility. Using the same concept, Mckay (2007) examined how long-distance emotional
connections are maintained with the homeland through economic transfers leading to translocal fields created by labour mobility. Adding to the concept of emotion, Burell (2008) looked at the material culture in migration and how both materials and emotions are on the move during border crossing. In similar vein, Miller (2008) examined four moments in Caribbean migration and how material cultures are expressed within the homes of migrants and how material-related mobility hold strong cultural value which cannot be expressed by means of word. On the other hand, Crawshaw and Fowler (2008) incorporated creative fiction in mobilities research by looking at how literary texts help understand the mental condition arising from cultural displacement. Here, literary texts represent the ‘imagined space’ of the migrant which otherwise would be hard to identify and study. Other studies have focused on the sacred space of the migrant to explain how the traditional sacred space is no longer territorially fixed (della Dora, 2009). Instead, with migration, sacred objects are regarded as vehicles carrying holy places outside of their physical boundaries resulting into a reconfiguration of this space in new and possibly hybrid forms. Moreover, with the crossing of borders, religion is also seen as playing a significant role in transnational mobilities (Kitiarsa, 2010). Researching migration through the mobilities paradigm leads to the consideration that border crossing produces various mobile subjectivities that are not necessarily in the same locality. McKay (2006) claimed that there is a possibility for both placing and deteritorialization. Translocal places are formed through the routes of movement between the site of departure and the new locality. Adey (2010: 79) discussed how Diasporas form ‘place-like attachments along extended social networks’ knitted together through the exchange of material and mobile cultures of identity (Tolia-Kelly, 2008). Other studies have described how migrants make places travel through the traffic of cultural and religious objects, clothing and fashion goods in order to bridge the distance spanning global diasporic communities and transnational families (Strathern, 1991; Werbner, 1999). Adey (2010: 187) related this process of how mobilities enact the action of carrying and are being carried as the process of
‘diffusion’. Through commodities, ideas and imaginations are being carried in order to create more mobilities.

Networks

Urry (2007) stated that networks are becoming central within social life and access to these networks implies social inclusion. Gaining access to informal networks of work, leisure, friendship and family has become a crucial part of society to the point that there is an unavoidable ‘burden of mobility’ in order to sustain social networks (Shove, 2002). Within this perspective, social inequality is seen as being caused by mobility constraints. Urry (2007) used the term network capital to englobe physical, organizational and temporal access. Network capital through social relations generates emotional, financial and practical benefit. Social groups high in network capital enjoy advantages in making and remaking their social connections. Network capital consists of eight elements: array of appropriate documents enabling safe movement, others at a distance who offer invitations and communications, movement capacities enabling different means of mobility, location free information and contact points, communication devices, safe and secure meeting places, access to these places and time as well as resources to manage the seven elements. For Urry, network capital is resulted from the proliferation of new mobilities being experienced by the world today. It is not an attribute of individual subjects but rather a product of relationality between individuals.

Referring to the importance of networks in mobility, Wittel (2001) stated that information is key in a network. Through its exchange, trust is created between parties which then further produce network capital. On the other hand, Durbin (2006) argued that who you know is more significant than what you know. Relating this to new kinds of knowledge management within and between organisations, he argued that organization success depends on how people access information. The more both formal and informal networks are formed, the more the opportunity to create, circulate and share tacit knowledge and build new capital. Durbin also emphasized the relative disadvantaged position of women in joining social networks.
Molz (2006) examined the role of mobile communication systems in networking. In the same vein, Rettie (2008) looked at the role of mobile phones in the creation of network capital where mobile phones are seen to increase social support by improving access and promotion of personal relationships. Here, these systems are seen to allow contact with absent others as well as being monitored by absent others. Moreover, Barton (2011) looked at how people used technologies and complex networks in order to make decisions in uncertain situations. Here, languages and technologies are mobilised and used as global resources in decision-making. Similarly, Urry (2004a) stated that to have these mobile communication systems enables connections between near and distant, home and away, here and there. Hence, access to these systems differentiates between low and high network capital.

The politics of mobility
This revolves around two main ideas. Firstly, movement is differentiated in terms of the way power is enacted. In other words, mobility is influenced by other actors and constraints. Therefore understanding mobility requires an analysis of those who are in unequal differential and hierarchical relations to mobility. It also requires mobility to be placed and understood within the wider geometries of power in which it occurs. Secondly, mobility is experienced in different ways, it is related in different ways, it means different things to different people and also varies by social context (Adey, 2010). Using the concept of ‘habitus’, Bourdieu (1990) argued that human practices arise out of a set of dispositions that make individuals act and react in certain ways. These dispositions are acquired in early childhood during socialisation, through training and learning. Linking this to mobility, Bourdieu claimed that mobilities are produced by a series of social norms, values and ideas linked with the ‘habitus’. It is through both difference and relatedness that both mobility and immobility are created. Moreover, Adey (2010) argued that mobility can be simultaneously representational and non-representational. In other words, while some elements of mobility can be readily given meaning and represented, others escape meaning by occurring through thoughts and hence become difficult to represent.
Therefore it becomes important to consider both facets of mobility. Jensen (2011) focused on diverse ways of seeing mobility. He stated that mobility becomes visible through spatial settings reflecting different forms of power. These forms of power relate to the framing, imagining, practising and experiencing of mobility. Hence, this theory is an essential tool in identifying both visible and invisible facets of mobility.

**Time**

Adey (2010) stated that it makes more sense to consider mobilities in terms of time instead of miles or kilometres. The time-space compression model (Harvey, 1990a) and the time-space distanciation model (Giddens, 1991) can be both used to understand this shift. Harvey (1990b) described space and time as being socially constructed, meaning different societies have different conceptions of space and time. Moreover, because they are both constructed by society, all individuals and institutions abide by them. Hence time and space exert a force on society alongside being constructed by it. Individuals engage in projects that take up time through the movement of space. Corporations have colonised the space of the worker. Changes in the global workforce have put more pressure on firms as well as the workers themselves. Time has reduced space to almost nothing in a process of time-space compression. Furthermore, drawing on Bourdieu (1977a), he also stated that both time and space are ‘deeply implicated in processes of social reproduction’ (Harvey, 1990b: 418). Harvey also sees time and space as sources of social power: in money economies, the intersecting command of money, time and space forms a substantial nexus of social power. While money can be used to command time and space, space and time can also command money.

Using the time-space distanciation model, Giddens (1991) referred to the conditions under which time and space are organised so as to ‘connect presence and absence’ (pg 14). Giddens stated that the problem of order in society should be understood through the lens of time and space. With modernity, time-space distance increases and mobility is substituted as physical displacement is no longer required to connect with the absent
other. An important contribution of Giddens to our understanding of the time-space model is the emergence of ‘empty spaces’ with modernity. Empty spaces are results of the separation of space from place. While place is dominated by ‘presence’ and refers to the locale including the physical settings of social activity, with increased modernity space is torn away from place leaving empty spaces. The separation of space and place is a result of the growing tendency and ability to foster relationships ‘between ‘absent’ others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction’ (pg18, emphasis in text). Places become increasingly penetrated, shaped and influenced by the distant others. They become increasingly ‘phantasmagoric’ (Gidden, 1991: 19). With time-space distanciation, societies are able to connect the local and the global.

Harvey (1990b) referred to four aspects of spatial practices: accessibility and distanciation where distance can be both a barrier and a defence against human interaction; the appropriation of space by objects, activities and individuals; the domination of space by virtue of power in society and the production of space by new systems of land use, transport and communication.

Time is also discussed by Urry (2000) who stated that unlike some aspects of space, time is invisible. The use of indicators to view time becomes necessary and as there is no single time various indicators have to be developed. There is also a need to see time in a social sense rather than the actual time of nature. In other words, people should be viewed as in time rather than time being an external presence. For instance, it is important to understand how the past is stored and interpreted for the present. Linking time to space by referring to the nature of the ‘house’, Bachelard (1969: 6) stated that the ‘house’ is not to be seen as a purely physical object. It is a site within which one’s imagination and day-dreaming can take place and be given free rein. Thus houses are filled with memory traces which also reside within individuals. From the materiality of the ‘house’ humans derive belongingness from that particular space. Time is memorialised as memories of experienced places and spaces. According to Urry (2000: 136) ‘the production of a memory of an
event, place or person requires co-operative work carried out over periods of time and located within geographically distant contexts’. Hence, memories are organised around people, objects, places and spaces. Similarly, Cresswell (2004) stated that one of the primary ways through which memories are constituted is through the production of places. However, although places hold memories, they have become sites of contestation over which memories to evoke. For instance, according to Foote (2003), places have the power to force hidden and painful memories through their material existence.

**Place**

Urry (2007) also reflected on the concept of ‘place’ in relation to mobilities. Place in the mobilities paradigm is seen to be in continuous movement depending on what is bodily performed in it by both hosts and guests. Moreover, Harvey (1996) described place as being constantly threatened by the changes happening in society such as the hypermobility of flexible capital, mass communications and transportation. As a result of this, places constantly have to adapt to conditions beyond their boundaries. Places are never finished and are constantly being performed (Pred, 1984; Thrift, 1996). Harvey (2000) looked at the construction of imagined places. These places are constructed by individuals and communities in order to act out resistance to the forces of global capital. A new sense of place is proposed by Massey (1997) who stated that place should be seen as a process; place is defined by the outside; place is a site of multiple identities and histories and the uniqueness of place is defined by its interactions. Thrift (1994) claimed that place in this ‘in-between’ world is compromised by being permanently in a state of enunciation, between addresses and always deferred. In a different perspective, Lippard (1997) argued that although place is changing, mobility and place go hand in hand. Mobility adds to the hybridity of place. Even in the age of hypermobility where place is diminished, it continues as an absence to define culture and identity and as a presence to change the way people live. Thus, within this new paradigm, place is seen as dynamic. Urry (2007) described places as travelling within ‘networks of human... and
non-human agents, of photographs, sand, cameras, cars, souvenirs, paintings, surfboards and so on’ (p.267). These objects are seen to extend what humans are able to do, hence resulting in an increased fluid-like place and also ‘bringing unexpected new places ‘into’ play’ (p.267, emphasis in text).

This mobile version of place challenges the sedentarist view that place is fixed. Mobility is no longer compared to place but placed in relation to each other (Cresswell, 2006; Thrift, 1994). When seen through the lens of nomadic metaphysics, everything is in motion and stability is illusionary. According to Sheller and Urry (2006) mobility is always located and materialised. It occurs through mobilisations of locality and rearrangements of the materiality of places (Sheller, 2004a). The ‘new mobilities’ paradigm argues against the ontology of separating place and people. Instead, it examines the complex relationality of places and persons through performances where ‘many such performances are intermittently mobile ‘within the destination place itself’ (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 214). Hence, places are treated as dynamic, moving around and not necessarily fixed. They produce hybrid systems, materialities and mobilities, which combine objects, technologies, and socialities.

**Emotions**

Emotions also play a significant role in mobility. According to Adey (2010: 162), ‘mobility is something which may be ‘moved’ and something we might be ‘moved by” (emphasis in text). In other words, motion and emotion are intertwined (Sheller, 2004a, Massumi, 2002). While mobilities match people with things, they also enable the passing on of ideas, emotions and sentiments creating a mobile feeling in itself. Lofgren (2008) looked at the emotional mindscapes of people as they travel. In order to show how sentiments and emotional are in a constant state of flux as travelers interact with new environments. Here, mobility is understood as a multi-sensual activity which can be translated into both representational and non-representational forms. The understanding of emotions during movement sheds light on the process of ‘doing’ mobility. It allows for the
study of both thoughts and representations. Moreover, different mobilities are associated with different emotions.

Conclusions
The above show that mobility is a highly differentiated activity touching the lives of social, economic and political entities in multiple ways. With a strong potential to make visible what was invisible and to uncover and identify forms of power benefiting some and disadvantaging others, this theory has become a leading tool in almost all fields of research. A mobilities theory makes the analysis of social life less sedentary, giving the opportunity to understand how the world is in constant motion. It also examines the critical role of moorings in the creation of mobilities, an approach which both sedentary and nomadic metaphysics have ignored. Through a conceptual framework relating mobilities theory to the movement of people, objects, information, capital, ideas and emotions, it provides the appropriate lens in which many aspects of bodily and societal activity can be examined. This study proposes to use the mobilities theory threefold. Firstly, it will be applied to the analysis of industry mobility by considering both physical and psychological movements that take place. Flows of information about jobs will be examined in order to identify the moorings which allow work mobility to take place. The study will also use the concept of motility in order to understand how workers develop the competences to access resources which would make them more mobile in the industry. As a result of this, the mobilities theory will help inform the study about the characteristics of those who have high motility and those who do not. It is assumed at this stage that the theory will provide a different perspective in the analysis of industry mobility. Secondly, the theory will further enhance this study through its application to the analysis of the chosen diasporic community. Through its attention to the processes of place-making, dynamic interactions of moving objects, landscapes and visual cultures, this theory will be used in order to understand the various mobilities that are taking place within the homes of the participants. It will also be used in order to understand the emotional geographies of the diasporic community and through a reconstruction of their thoughts, the
theory will enable this study to understand the diasporic orientations of the participants. Finally the mobilities theory will be used as a connecting tool in order to understand how mobilities at home influence behaviours and actions within the workplace and how in turn these impact on industry mobility. The complexity approach provides the right paradigm to the study of multiple mobilities. As this theory is also concerned with constraints to mobility, it will greatly aid this study in identifying the various geometries of power within the hotel industry and within the home of the Diaspora. The following two chapters review the literature on labour mobility and Diaspora respectively.
Chapter Three: Labour Mobility

Introduction
There are several ways of researching labour mobility. While some have emphasised more on the scale and direction of movement, others have looked more into the factors influencing movement in the labour market. The first part of this review gives an overview of mobility and how it has been conceptualised into the movement of labour through the Marxist and the post-industrial society model. The second part links labour mobility with career models by firstly looking into several definitions of the term career. This section shows that the meaning of the term is in constant change as the nature of work evolves with time. Several views of career mobility are discussed and variables from other research are evaluated. The third part introduces the notion of boundaryless careers that are emerging in modern economies. This allows the chapter to rethink over the traditional conceptualisations of labour mobility and the changing nature of labour markets. As this study is concerned with the hotel industry, the last part of the chapter reviews some recent research on labour mobility in the tourism and hospitality industry. Through an analysis of the gaps in the literature, the chapter concludes by identifying the areas and perspectives that will be used in this study.

Mobility
Past literature has often referred to the term mobility with reference to social mobility and class mobility. Mobility rates have usually been studied and calculated by comparing different cohorts and their occurrences. Payne (1986) emphasized that there is a need to view mobility as a movement which related the various flows in any period to the wider set of social changes that were going at the same time. This was based around the idea that mobility does not exist in isolation from everyday events. Hence, mobility is operationalised as movement between occupational origins and destinations. It is therefore important to understand how people get their jobs and this puts mobility analysis in touch with labour
markets, unemployment, participation rates, credentialism, the growth of white collar employment, and gender segregation (Payne, 1986). Based on these recommendations, two currents of sociological theorising can be considered: the Marxist tradition and the post industrial society tradition. Marxist accounts are based around the scale of new occupations created and their role in the class struggle. This perspective gives the germ of an understanding of occupational transition and how power and profit act as human motives for occupational transition. Marxist writing on mobility and occupational change concentrated on the nature of the new middle class and the deskilling of the labour process. This approach to mobility states that the genuine opportunities for mobility are increasingly restricted and they lead to a polarisation in the labour market.

On the other hand, theories of post industrial society identify the upgrading of skill levels that bring about increases in mobility. They suggest that specialist knowledge is central to the technology on which modern or post-industrial societies depend. As a result new occupational roles are needed to acquire, apply and co-ordinate that knowledge Therefore, individuals who are able to further their knowledge through education are likely to be those who will be more mobile in the labour market. Hence, credentialism is central in the understanding of mobility.

**Career mobility**

Literature on the related concept of what constitutes a career is extant but fragmented. Career definitions have also changed over time. The traditional meaning of a career is a sequence of jobs (Spilerman, 1977). Wilensky (1966) defined a career from a sociological perspective as a succession of related jobs arranged in a hierarchy of prestige through which persons move in an ordered (more or less predictable) sequence. Arthur (1994) described a career as the evolving sequence of a person’s work experience over time. Brown (2002) goes further than the above claiming that the word ‘career’ has a connotation of progression along some course. The above definitions see a career as structural in nature. While all of these definitions of what constitute a ‘career’ are founded
around a necessary hierarchy, Hearn (1977) criticised this assumption. He further suggested that a typology of careers could be constructed along the two main dimensions of whether jobs are intrinsically meaningful or not and whether work has a meaning or no meaning in the wider context. Hearn suggested four types of career; the pure career are those that are constructed around the themes of the manner of recruitment, returns to seniority, evaluation of merit and control over occupational behaviour; the ‘careerless’ are those who accept the rules of the game but who do not seriously compete; the ‘uncareer’ is where both work and career are neither coherent nor meaningful to the individual and finally the ‘non-career’, where the work and a career are no longer meaningful. Emphasis on vertical mobility ignores the fact that a career growth can also take place without moving in place. Furthermore, Hall (2002) argued that a career is not only about movement but it refers to the sequence of attitudes and behaviours related to the work experiences and activities in a person’s life. Similarly, Arthur and Sullivan (2006) emphasized that due to the complexity of careers, there is a need to look at both physical and psychological mobilities in order to fully understand how careers operate. However, the established definition of a career involves an individual’s work experiences over time (Arthur, Khapova and Wilderom, 2005).

The traditional definition of career mobility as stated by Payne (1987) is a comparison of the first jobs with those held at a later stage in people’s lives. However this definition can no longer be used as it assumes that an employee tends to stay within a single employment entity and mobility takes place within this entity only. Rosenfeld (1992) stated that job shifts are ‘building blocks of individuals’ careers’ (p. 40). Therefore, career mobility can also be treated in terms of job shifts that individuals engage in during the working cycle. According to Ehrenberg and Smith (1994), mobility actually performs a socially useful role by matching workers with those employers who will most value their skills. Career mobility operates in various ways within the occupational hierarchy as some occupations are filled by people at the beginning of their working lives whilst others stand at the top of a series of previous occupational positions. For some, the
amount of further mobility is greater than others because they have embarked on a career rather than just taken a job (Dries, Pepermans and Carlier, 2008). In this case, age and career mobility will be inextricably related to each other. From the above, it can be observed that each career is person specific and there are varying forms of mobility patterns across individuals.

Career mobility patterns can be linked to the different types of labour mobility. Carnicer et al (2004) distinguished between internal and external mobility. Internal mobility refers to movement of employees within the company. This is also known as occupational mobility which represents a change in the assignment of job responsibilities and/or functions. Occupational mobility can be further differentiated into three categories: functional mobility or job changes that do not modify the organisational category, promotions that are changes of organisational category but without actually changing the job function; and mixed mobility or simultaneous changes in both job changes and organisational change. On the other hand, external mobility implies leaving the present employer and going to another one. This can be classified as either voluntary or involuntary. Voluntary external mobility is also known as turnover. Bloom et al (1992) noted that turnover intention is an appropriate dependent variable because it is linked with actual turnover. Therefore the best way to predict turnover (individual behaviour) is to measure the intention to quit (Lee et al, 1999; Steel, 2002). However it should be noted that despite high turnover intention actual turnover can be low because of high employment in an industry. Therefore low turnover may be masking other important causes and barriers to career mobility. Munasinghe and Sigman (2004) argued that it is also necessary to consider the distribution of wage offers outside the organization as this determines the differential in wage between the stayer and the mover. Moreover, they claimed that it is not always necessary that the mover earns more than the stayer. Job satisfaction and perceptions of job alternatives are the main predictors and immediate precursors of actual external career mobility (Maertz and Campion, 1998). Rowley and Purcell (2001) took a different perspective
on turnover by analysing the role of management in this process. According to them, labour turnover is to a large extent in the control of management in terms of the strategies they adopt vis-à-vis employees. Moreover, Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza (2007) claimed that labour mobility should not be treated as a standard process. Variations have to be considered. The following sections review some of the key variables in labour mobility.

**Age**

Rosenfeld (1992) emphasized the relationship between time and turnover. As individuals spend time in the labour market, they learn about the market and their place in it. They build skills that are specific to a certain job and accumulate investments with an employer. This eventually reduces the number of job changes. Similarly, Petersen and Spilerman (1990) stated that turnover declines with seniority. The relationship between work and age can be found in the work of many. Rosenbaum (2001) suggested that organisations have occupational age norms that indicate career progress norms. If an individual has not been promoted by a certain age, he or she may never attain that position. Opportunities decline with age in most organisations because employer prejudice against workers is largely based on the negative stereotypes associated with their age group ((Bird and Fisher, 1986; McGolrick and Arrowsmith, 1992). Ornstein and Lynn (1993) suggested that the reason why career mobility is negatively related to age is because during both transition periods (40-45) and decline stage (45+) individuals are least reluctant to relocate if requested to do so. A different perspective comes from Petersen and Spilerman (1990) who further advanced that with age, employees tend to feel more confident and gained more prestige in an organisation and therefore become reluctant to move whereas young people attached more importance to opportunities for advancement even when a move was required. Age discrimination at work is a major obstacle to job and career mobility (Cox and Nkomo, 1992; McGolrick and Arrowsmith, 1992). However it is worth noting that although age discrimination is a widely recognized barrier to recruitment, promotion and
training opportunities, there are also cases where older workers change employers and occupations (Rosenfeld, 1992).

**Gender**

Gender difference in labour mobility is an ongoing area of research for many. Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) pointed out that the status composition process is a way in which women are disadvantaged relative to men but also that organisations discriminate not against individuals but against a category of jobs defined by the demographic traits of incumbents. For instance, jobs consisting of a large number of female incumbents are devalued and are viewed as low skilled jobs, with low pay and minimal promotion opportunities (Acker, 1990). It has also been found that especially among those with higher education levels, women tend to have shorter careers (Royalty, 1998). Family issues have been reported to reduce women’s investment in firm-specific human capital and thus accounting for the generally higher turnover rates (Weisberg and Kirschenbaum, 1993). However, although it is commonly assumed that female labour has a higher rate of job leaving than male, overall mobility comparisons whether related to job changers or to total separations indicate lower turnover of female than male labour but the differential varies by industry. This reflects the different mobility rates in the occupations characteristically pursued by men and women and the occupational structure of the industry in question.

It is further argued that women are deprived of sustained career progress within the firm due to the fact that they rely on formal bidding for promotion more than men who in turn make use of informal networks (Cannings and Montmarquette, 1991). Furthermore, housekeeping and childcare responsibilities fall mostly on women (Shelton and John, 1996; Gallhofer et al, 2011). This means that the perception of the importance of the family is likely to impact differently on the mobility of both men and women. The fact that women are concentrated in low skilled, casual jobs also implied that women’s jobs offer no job security (Tang et al, 2000; Sadaquat and Sheikh, 2011). Therefore the risk of polarization according to gender is
becoming more frequent (Hjalager et al., 2005) and the duality or segmentation is likely to be influenced by any of the type of mobility. Sex segregation and career mobility studies include the work of Rosenfeld and Spenner (1992) who examined the gender typicality of worker’s jobs before and after an employer. The study revealed substantial mobility patterns within and across sex-typed jobs among women; however the study failed to consider the career consequences of such movement. Furthermore, Hartmann (1987) and Paulin and Meller (1996) tested the link between job segregation and promotions. Their studies revealed that the percentage of females in a job negatively affected the rate of promotion to a higher pay for women.

As much as sex segregation is important in understanding gender differences in mobility, occupational segregation should also be analysed (Maume, 1999). This approach seeks to match the demographic composition of an occupation in order to understand the gender consequences for mobility. It also assumes that the majority of jobs can be categorised either as stereotypically male or female although it also highlights that different amounts of occupational segregation exist at any point in time. The job matching process (Acker, 1990; Baron and Newman, 1990; Reskin, 1988) states that segregation affects promotion chances and career mobility. Men and women have separate and unequal ladders of opportunity with women confined to dead end jobs that depress career earnings (Maume, 1999). Research also shows that women are less likely than men to be placed on a promotion ladder (Baron, Davis-Blake and Bielby, 1986). Sullivan and Arthur (2006) argued that men and women experience different types of mobility at work. Men in general experience higher physical mobility while women experience psychological mobility. Moreover men value good pay, responsibility and promotion at work whereas women look for convenient hours of work, socializing opportunities and a good working environment as important (Warr, 2008). Overall family obligations have heavily constrained the mobility of women in the labour market. Assaad and Arntz (2005) discussed the impact of geographical mobility in the labour market mobility of women. They found
that women’s limited geographical mobility due to family obligations also impact on their ability to get good jobs which in turn widens gender gaps in wages. Other studies have looked at the gender wage gap (Rycx and Tojerow, 2004; Yurtoglu and Zulehner, 2009a). While Rycx and Tojerow found that the gender wage gap was significant but varied by industry and occupational level, Yurtoglu and Zulehner (2009a) confirmed that larger gaps existed at the bottom than at the top of the pay distribution. Moreover, Bell (2005) found that women were more upwardly mobile in firms that were woman-led. Studies have shown that due to the family responsibilities, women tend to engage into careers that include flexible (Dex, 2003) and working from home (Stevens et al, 2004). In similar line, Caner et al (2007) found that while men’s occupational and industrial changes related to earnings, women’s changes related to some extent to earning but also to family obligations. Moreover, Del bono and Vuri (2011) claimed that men had higher bargaining power for compensation than women. Looking at the characteristics of the jobs and the firms to which movement takes place, they found that men tend to join larger firms than women where returns on mobility are higher. Theodossiou and Zangelidis (2009) researched the turnover behaviour of men and women. The study found that education played a key role in the mobility of women in the labour market. Low educated women tend to have lower job to job transitions and tend to exit to non-employments compared to high-educated women. Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza analysed the effect of job satisfaction on labour turnover using the gender variable. The study found that job satisfaction is an effective predicator of labour turnover and that there were no difference gender differences in job satisfaction and that the common assumption that women tend to be more satisfied at work is no longer valid.

**Race**

Fernandez (1999) claims that although many organisations have successfully achieved diversity in their workforce, they have not always been able to retain that diversity. Most minority groups perceive a lack of acceptance in the workplace (Greenhaus, Parasuraman and Wormley,
Movement within the minority groups takes place because of the search of a better work climate. A study by Chrobot-Mason and Thomas (2002) sought to explain the behaviours of minority groups through the racial identity development process at both the individual and organisational level. It is also important to note that within ethnic minorities, there exists further differences such as gender, class as well as educational backgrounds which should not been ignored in any analysis of racial interactions at work. Chrobot-Mason and Thomas (2002) presented an interactive model of individual and organisational racial identity development. Individual racial identity is defined as a sense of group or collective identity based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group (Helmes, 1990). The process involves a transformation of the individual from one that is externally defined to one that becomes internally defined.

Along the same lines, the organisational racial identity development model begins with a monocultural view of diversity with the belief that there is one right way to do things. As the organisation develops, it starts to develop a multicultural view and learns to value racial differences as an asset rather than a problem. According to Chrobot-Mason and Thomas (2002), issues pertaining to individual and organisational racial identity development should be considered together as each is influenced to some extent by the other. Their study further proposed four types of relationships which can exist between individual and organisational racial identity development: negative parallel, regressive, progressive and positive parallel. The negative parallel interaction occurs when both the minority individual and the employer are at low levels of racial identity development. This type of relationship has little to offer to either party. Regressive relationships occur when the minority employee is at a higher stage of racial identity development that the employer. The organisation will not pay attention to minority related problems and this in turn will make them resistant to change. Progressive relationships occur when the minority employee is at a lower level of identity development; such organisations are proactive and recognise diversity throughout their corporate strategy. However, it is
worth noting that this can also lead to feelings of discomfort due to the visibility in race-related issues (Chrobot-Mason and Thomas, 2002). But these relationships do give opportunities for progress within the organisation. The positive parallel relationship occurs when both entities have highly developed racial identities. Each entity motivates each other to use differences to obtain competitive advantage. Chrobot-Mason and Thomas (2002) found a significant interaction between ethnic identity of the minority employee and the ethnic identity of the manager. Chrobot-Mason and Thomas (2002) also pointed out that it is fundamental to understand the context in which employees work, the organisation and its level of racial identity development.

The above research shows that if an organisation supports diversity, positive outcomes could emerge out of the relationship between minorities and their employers. If an employer does not support diversity in terms of negative evaluations of a minority employee’s job, this may create negative feelings which ultimately increases quit intentions (Mobley, 1997). The model of racial identity development applies to the internal labour market of organisations and seeks to explain internal mobility patterns. According to Giscombe and Mattis (2002), the major barrier to upward career mobility is no longer at the recruitment and job entry stage but at the advancement stages. De Janasz et al (2003) explained minority career mobility based on the concept of mentoring within organisations. Having multiple mentors is highly correlated with high promotion rates (Catalyst, 2002; De Janasz et al, 2003). Minority employees generally lack mentorship (Giscombe and Mattis, 2002) and this result to a major barrier to advancement within organisations. Another explanation of racial interaction in the work place came from the social capital theory which stated that belonging to networks can contribute to greater opportunities for internal career advancement. As membership to informal groups and networks is often based on both racial and gender lines (Giscombe and Mattis, 2002; Catalyst, 1999; Thomas and Gabarro, 1999), this means that racial and gender segregation is perpetuated in the workplace. Wilson (2009) confirmed that case of labour market inequalities on the basis of
race. However, Wilson and Rosigno (2010) analysed the racial gaps in the private and public sector. The study found that racial inequality was more obvious in the former and that downward mobility was higher in the private sector due to poor concentration of minority in privileged occupations. Moreover, Assaad (1997) emphasised access to kinship and social networks in order to gain entry in certain industries. Roberts (2001) also found that social networks especially in villages, plays an important role for channelling individuals into occupations. Kuznetsov (2008) looked at how Diaspora networks are developed by migrants who go abroad in search of work. According to the study, with time these Diaspora networks become search networks for jobs and opportunities for others still in the home country.

The boundaryless career

While all the above are concerned with movement around a necessary boundary, according to Donnelly (2009) the notion of career and career mobility cannot be measured through changes in work boundary anymore. The nature of work has changed in modern economies. Boundaryless careers (DeFillipi and Arthur, 1996) have emerged. In other words, a career is a series of job opportunities that go beyond the boundary of a single employer. Workers and careers are in state of flux. According to Arthur and Rousseau (1996) such trends have prompted many researchers to leave the traditional career models and to consider new career models that examine job and company mobility. Moreover, Thorn (2009) stated that people are continuously looking beyond their home countries for career. According to Arthur et al (2005) these people are operating in the boundaryless career paradigm. The reasons for mobility identified by the traditional career model can no longer be applied to this type of mobility. According to Ackers (2005) the factors change over time as lives evolve. Hence there is a need to consider ‘an equation for each person who decides to move’ (Thorn, 2009: 444). Motivating variables have to be identified and understood in order to understand of mobility.
Kamp et al (2011) discussed five dimensions of boundarylessness: temporal/spatial, organizational, subjective, cultural and political. The first dimension refers to the separation of work from a specific location and timeframe. Here, work is no longer measured by an upper time limit. Work can be carried out at home. According to Felstead et al (2002), this new dimension of work has been enabled by advancement in information and communication technologies. Time has been dissolved. This may lead to increased unpredictability and intensity of work. The second dimension, organizational boundarylessness occurs when traditional structures are getting replaced by flexible work organization. Kamp et al (2011) argued that work has become task specific where accountability and management of the work lies within the hands of the employee. While this may increase the unpredictability of work, self management and multitasking, it is also becoming important as people are required to carry out different activities together.

The third dimension which is subjective boundarylessness refers to the increasing need in individualization, self-fulfillment and individual careers. Work is no longer carried out with the same people and in the same workplace (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005). This makes people more concerned about opportunities in the present while also coordinating with distant others both inside and outside the organizations. According to Kamp et al (2011), work has become synchronic. Cultural boundarylessness refers to situations where workplace values and norms change in order to create a strong business community. New styles of managements and values such as team spirits, passion and creativity are emphasized over traditional norms such as discipline and solidarity (Garsten and Jacobsson, 2004), hence making the boundaries between work and private life blurred (Kamp et al, 2011). Finally, political boundarylessness refers to the reduction of agreements between employees and management. The above dimensions of boundarylessness are indications that management of time is more in the hands of the employee. Kamp et al (2011) stated that ‘unpredictability, asynchronous rhythms, acceleration, present-time orientation, and multitasking have
become common features of work’ (p.231) and due to this there is a need to look at the employee’s subjective management of time and work.

**Labour markets**

Career theorists have focused their attention on two approaches to career mobility; the individualistic approach and the organisational approach. The individualist approach considers career mobility as a function of background, education, ability, job experience and ambition of the employee. On the other hand, organisational approach views careers as a structural issue related to labour markets generated by organisations. Two models have been used to explain these labour markets: the internal and the external labour market model (Dunlop, 1996) and the core-periphery model (Atkinson, 1985). The internal and external labour market model states that companies seek to obtain personnel among their own employees (internal labour market) whenever it is required to cover a new position, instead of going to the external labour market (Doeringer and Piore, 1985). The second model, the core-periphery model differentiate the company’s activities between a ‘core’ of strategic activities and a ‘periphery’ of other day to day activities that are not as vital to the organization that they may be outsourced. The core workforce is characterized by permanent, highly skilled employees with internal career paths (Procter et al, 1994). As a result of this, core employees enjoy a higher degree of job security and they are characterized by functional forms of flexibility (Burgess and Borgida, 1997). On the other hand, the periphery workforce is associated with the organisation’s development of numerical flexibility and the use of part time and temporary workers without job security. Both models suggest that there is segmentation in the labour market which is convenient to regulate the company’s need for flexibility. Internal mobility will be produced among the core employees and at the same time become a barrier to the exit of those employees and a barrier to the entrance of new employees.

However, the nature of work in modern economies leads to a different way of looking at labour markets. Bauman (2000) talked of disembodiment of
human labour. Here, labour is no longer tied to a fixed point and neither is capital. The disembodiment of labour allows capital to be volatile and weightless. The ‘mutual dependency’ between capital and labour has been broken unilaterally (Bauman, 2000: 120). While labour is incomplete and unfulfillable without capital, the reverse is not the case anymore. Capital is today light and has high motility. A characteristic which benefits some but leaves the rest in uncertainty. Moreover, the context of work has been described as a camping site where employment has become short-term and precarious. Individuals fail to develop long-term mutual dependency with work. This is a direct consequence of the ‘liquefied’, ‘flowing’, dispersed, scattered and deregulated nature of modernity (Bauman, 2000:149). The notion of boundaryless careers leads to the understanding that the labour market is neither restricted to the internal boundaries of the organisation, nor to that of a country. Instead, it is becoming more difficult to boundaries as labour markets have crossed borders leaving today's workforce with a global labour market to choose from (Shrestha, 2011).

With increased movement of labour, many studies have turned their focus on cross cultural and diversity management in organizations (Devine et al, 2007; Ayoun and Moreo, 2008). Therefore with industries going global, there is a need to place labour mobility within the realm of international labour markets in order to understand not only intra-firm mobility but also global labour mobilities that take place.

**Skills**

If the nature of work has changed, then skills are less likely to remain unaffected. Labour mobility is also inextricably related to labour flexibility (Carnicer et al, 2004). Labour flexibility is required in order to reduce costs and adapt labour to the fluctuations of production and at the same time retain the most valued employees. Forrier and Sels (2003) claimed that employees need to have flexible skills to be willing to move freely between tasks. The initiatives of promoting skill flexibilities, commonly referred to as functional flexibility are thought to be assisted by flexible jobs design, cross training, the use of teams and work groups, job rotation and enlargement. Such initiatives form part of a ‘bundle’ of high commitment
practices that typically include the provision of career ladders and internal promotion systems, training and development, employee involvement and participation programmes, appraisal systems and careful recruitment and selection (De Menezes and Wood, 1998). According to Smith (1994) employers pursue two distinct approaches; either the enabling approach to flexibility to develop internal training and career opportunities or the restrictive approach through drawing on externalized forms of employment incorporating contingent work and outsourcing (Smith, 1992; Matusik and Hill, 1998).

In the same line, ‘employability’ means increased investments in company-financed employee development to guarantee that employees’ skills are up to date and marketable if they are unexpectedly out of work (Baruch, 2001; Craig et al, 2002). Two perspectives on development can be identified at this stage. The first one sees development as a benefit where based on the social exchange model of organizations, an individual will seek to respond in kind when he or she receives something of value. Nordhaug (1989) showed that workers perceive the provision of training as a benefit and in turn employees will respond with positive attitudes towards the firm. Research shows that employees are less likely to leave a firm if it means giving up a significant benefit (Shaw et al, 1998; Mitchell et al, 2001). In this case, training of employees is seen as a significant benefit and therefore would imply that employability is negatively related to external career mobility.

The second perspective sees development as human capital. Research and theory in labour economics assumes that providing marketable skills to employees increases job alternatives and voluntary turnover (Becker, 1965; Lynch, 1991; Krueger and Rouse, 1998; Loewenstein and Spletzer, 1999). Becker (1962) investigated the influence of activities that influence future real income through the embedding of resources in people. He called such activities ‘human capital investment’. Becker’s theory emphasizes how firms may invest in their employees in order to create human capital. The different types of investment will vary by the effects
they have on earnings and consumption, the amount of resources invested, the size of returns and the way the return is perceived. Human capital investment emphasises on intangible resources and how the latter may be used to understand inequality in income among people. An example of such a type of investment is on-the-job training. On-the-job training is a process of embedding resources into employees in order to raise future productivity. Becker further distinguished between two types of on-the-job training: general and specific. General on-the-job training refers to training which can be useful in many firms including the firm providing it. It is different from schooling as it is an investment which is made on the job rather than at an institution specialising in training. General training increases the employability of the worker as it increases the future marginal product of the latter both in the firm providing it and in other firms as well. Hence, developing general skills increases external job opportunities and the likelihood that employees will market their skills elsewhere (Becker, 1965; Mincer, 1988; Lynch, 1991). In similar vein, Smits (2007) argued that firms have little interest in developing flexible, generic skills for their employees even if the latter is willing to pay for it. This is due to the increased potential for external labour mobility as employees become able to sell generic skills in other companies. However, Becker’s model emphasized on the internal labour market and overlooked the impact of human capital on external labour market mobility.

On the other hand, specific training refers to training that increases productivity more in firms providing it than in outside firms. Firms try to increase employee knowledge in various ways so that this knowledge would keep them away from other firms. The cost of this type of training is met by the firm. According to Becker, the willingness of workers or firms to pay for specific training should closely depend on the likelihood of labour turnover. In other words, a firm is less likely to invest in specific on-the-job training if the probability of labour turnover is high. Therefore, specific on-the-job training is closely linked to labour turnover. For a firm, if an employee leaves after investment has been made in providing specific on-the-job training it will incur a capital loss. On the other hand, for the
employee who has invested in obtained specific training, a capital loss is also incurred if he or she does not find an equally good job elsewhere. In sum, employees with specific training have less incentive to quit and firms have less incentive to fire them than those with no or general training. Prendergast (1993) noted how firms can use their abilities to commit to a wage scale for different tasks to induce a worker to collect firm specific human capital and where the worker is rewarded for skill acquisition by promotion to another job.

Another perspective on skills is given by Sicherman and Galor (1990) stating that occupations are related to each other by the transferability of skills. Individuals have different career paths as they have differences in ability. Therefore, given an occupation of origin, schooling increases the likelihood of occupational upgrading. While education provides individuals with human capital, in return human capital raises future earnings either through potential returns to schooling in certain occupation or through career improvements. On the other side, the economy is characterised by a variety of occupations that differ in the required levels and types of human capital. Therefore education helps in the allocation of individuals with different level of human capital to their respective occupations. The theory of mobility presented by Sicherman and Galor (1990) suggested that specific predictions of the effects of schooling on wages and firm mobility. Firstly, in some occupations, education leads to higher wages and in other occupations, education leads to higher probabilities of advancing to occupations with higher wages. In sum, more educated individuals are more likely to move to a higher level occupation; however, individuals who are not promoted despite their level of schooling are more likely to move.

The relationship between education and mobility has been found in the work of many. Blau and Duncan (1967) treated qualification as one variable in a set which enables the modelling of the mobility process. Credentialism is seen as a closure mechanism employed by the professional/managerial class. These accounts all share the starting point
that education is increasingly necessary to achieve mobility or to maintain social advantage and credentialism sees mobility as a product of the educational process. Sicherman and Galor (1990) developed a theory of career mobility which focused on an individual’s career and its relationship with education and professional training. Their theory proposed that internal (intra firm) career mobility (promotion) is a function of schooling, ability and job experience. They also proposed two opposing effects in relation to career mobility; firstly, while well educated and trained workers can start their working careers at a higher level occupation, their careers involve fewer distinct occupations than less educated workers and secondly more educated and trained workers, having started their career at a higher level, face longer career ladders and greater opportunities for hierarchical advancement. They further pointed out that employees who are not promoted despite their level of education, will consider quitting the firm. Education is therefore directly linked to career mobility either within or outside the firm. Sicherman (1991) further explained that this relationship depends on the transferability of skills across occupations. He suggested that employees are more likely to move when their existing skills will be compatible with the required skills of the new occupation both within and across firms.

However, the following researches show that the relationship between training, education and the labour market is not always straightforward. Issues related to overeducation have appeared in the work of many. For example, Dekker, De Grip and Heijke (2002) looked at the effects of training and overeducation on labour mobility. They confirmed that training is positively correlated to upward mobility overall and that if an employee is overeducated, this is likely to result towards searching for a more suitable position in the labour market. This implies that overeducation catalyses upward mobility for the employee as well as turnover from the employer. Moreover, Gesthuizen (2009) claimed that those who had lower education levels receive less returns to mobility than those who are higher educated. However, if they do move, they are more likely to move into similar kinds of jobs whereas when the higher educated individuals move,
they are more likely to move into jobs for which they are overeducated. The latter happens as a result of education expansion combined with a slower increase in the number of high-skilled jobs in the labour market. Burris (2005) stated that this in return leads to job dissatisfaction and turnover for both groups. However the positive effect of education on mobility is widely accepted (Baruch, 2003). Gong and Soest (2002) found that as educational level increases, wage differential increase too. Therefore, educational attainment increases returns in terms of pay, job satisfaction, promotion and achievement of personal goals (Baruch and Leeming, 2001). Education levels alone are no longer indicators of mobility. Employers are interested in specific types of training and education. Ladkin (2000) looked at types of education and career progression in the hotel industry. The study found that vocational education is favoured over management training in order to be upwardly mobile in this industry. In the same context, Harkison et al (2011) found that having the right personality for the job was more important than knowledge and skills. In order to be promoted, employees would need to show that they have the competences in terms of attitudinal attributes rather than skills. Hence labour markets are also seeking for more than qualifications and experience. Matlay and Addis (2002) also found that there is growing number of higher-level jobs as the qualifications required to gain entry in the labour market is ever increasing. Marks (1999) termed this the ‘new credentialism’ and argued that this destabilizes the labour market by increasing the basic requirement for careers that did not require such high qualifications. This in turn affects individuals who are low skilled and less educated.

Sicherman and Galor (1990) also identified two types of mobility namely intra-firm mobility and inter-firm mobility. Intra-firm mobility also known as ‘promotion’ is a function of schooling, ability and job experience and it is subject to the employer’s decision. On the other hand, inter-firm mobility refers to the movement of employees between different firms. The latter is determined by the individuals and is unpredictable. Intra-firm mobility entails no loss of firm-specific investment as individuals acquire skills and
experience in one occupation in order to be able to move to another occupation within the firm. The theory of career mobility predicts that more educated workers would start their careers in a higher level of occupation and therefore this will involve a smaller number of distinct occupations than those with less schooling. Moreover, more educated workers are more likely to move to a higher level occupation both within and across firms. In the case of inter-firm mobility, more educated workers are more likely to quit than to be laid off. The intervening opportunity model explained that movement to a specific destination is not only dependent on the distance between the points of departure and arrivals, but also on the number of opportunities available at the other end (Robinson, 1998). Mobility is therefore a process through which individuals move across or within an occupation or firm after assessing that their abilities, skills and education level match that particular job and they will be equally rewarded. The job matching theory exemplifies the functional role of mobility in society. The person-job fit involves matching the knowledge, skills and abilities of people with the characteristics of jobs (Mathis and Jackson, 2003). The assumptions are that if the person does not fit the job, the former is likely to resort to behaviours of low performance. With international movement of labour, other skills have become crucial for mobility. For example Harzing (2004) and Dobson (2009) both claimed that language skills both allow mobility to take place as well as influence the extent and direction of mobility labour mobility.

**Labour mobility in the tourism and hospitality industries**

Literature on labour mobility in the tourism and hospitality industries is limited though in recent years there has been an increase in research on careers and career development in these industries (Guerrier, 1987; Riley and Turam, 1989; Baum, 1989; Williams and Hunter, 1992; Antil, 1984; Ross, 1997a). Several studies have been carried out on career strategies of managers in the hotel industry: UK (Corcoran and Johnson, 1976), Mauritius (Ladkin and Juwaheer, 2000), USA (Nebel et al, 1995), Greece (Sehanovic et al, 2000) and Egypt (Hannan et al, 2003). Many research studies have focused on the career patterns of tourism graduates while
others have sought to understand the relationship between type of education and career development in these industries. Ryab et al (2011) and Ghiselli et al (2001) claimed that one of the most enduring problems in the tourism and hospitality businesses is rapid turnover of staff.

A study on career progress of tourism graduates in Australia revealed that tourism graduates enjoyed high employment rates and were highly mobile in the workforce (O’leary and Deegan, 2005). However it was also revealed that many of them were engaged in employment in other sectors rather than the specific industry which their qualification had trained them to work in. Jenkins (2001) claimed that for most students who chose hospitality as a degree, their perception of the industry deteriorated. This explained the reason why tourism and hospitality graduates engaged in employment in other sectors after they completed their studies. The industry has also been associated with a ‘contingent’ workforce, employed under a part time and on a seasonal basis (Davidson et al, 2011). Research suggested that the tourism industry is a refuge when job opportunities in other sectors are scarce (Szivas and Riley, 1999). Other studies indicated that jobs in tourism are not the first career choice even among those who had been trained specifically for this industry (Purcell and Quinn, 1996) and that employees often regarded the tourism segments of the service sector as the first stepping stone to a career elsewhere (Ryan, 1995). This would then imply that the tourism industry could be left with the youngest part of the labour market. The decreasing income could be one reason why professionals in tourism looked for job opportunities in other sectors but unsocial hours are also frequently mentioned as a reason for wanting to leave to work elsewhere (Bonn and Forbringer, 1992). On the other hand, for those who chose to stay in the industry, emphasis was placed on factors such as job autonomy and pleasant life style as justification for low mobility (Ross, 1997a). In their study of the Danish tourism industry, Hjalager and Anderson (2000) stated that there is an increasing need to consider the links between the tourism labour market and other labour markets in order to understand the genuine reasons of inter-industry mobility. The study revealed that the
tourism industry in Denmark does not have its own distinct career system with clear internal career paths; statistics from the research illustrated that dedicated tourism education constituted a small portion of the employees in the industry and these included employees in catering, accommodation and travel services. The rest of the employees constituted of employees with either other educational backgrounds or no formal education to join the industry.

Ladkin (2000) researched the key skills required for a career in hospitality management. The study looked at educational background and the extent to which it consisted of a starting point for a career in hotel management. It revealed that vocational training had a key effect on career paths; however it would also be possible for an employee to work their way up through the ranks in the industry. It was also found that the industry does not differentiate between levels of vocational education. This means that the industry draws in individuals with varying educational backgrounds with no industry specific expertise or training. Those with higher education would enter the industry at a higher level. However Ladkin (2000) also suggested that regardless of the level of qualification, there seems to be no effect on career trajectory or career speed. The decline in the importance of vocational skills means that in the context of a career in management, future managers were encouraged to train in managerial skills rather than technical skills. Hence, managers in this industry will not be different from other managers from other types of industries. Other research studies which highlighted that managerial skills were valued over technical skills include the work of Guerrier and Lockwood (1989); O’Driscoll et al (1991) and Hay (1990); Tas (1988); Zhang and Wu (2004); Soehanovic et al (2000); Haywood (1987); Brownell (1992), Damitio (1988); Baum (1996); Ladkin and Juwaheer (2000).

On the other hand, Ruddy (1990) supported the importance of technical skills rather than managerial skills. The research found that job functions in hotels showed that food and beverage function is important in the career development of hotels managers. Chung (2000) researched the
relationships between competencies required of hotel employees and hotel managers and career success in the hotel industry. The study concluded that general and hotel management administration courses and fundamentals of management courses were the two most important tools which enhanced competencies and led to career success in the industry. However, marketing and human resource management courses came first and foremost as courses which enhanced important competencies whereas finance/accounting and fundamentals of management course were not significantly related to career success. Food and beverage management, menu planning and preparation, restaurant management and convention and banquet management were classified as the most important courses for career success (Chung, 2000).

Furthermore, Jameson (2000) researched the levels of training in small firms in the tourism and hospitality industries in the UK and found that on-the-job training was the most common training method used by small tourism and hospitality firms and this was then followed by external training courses and induction. Similarly, Nebel et al (1995) in a study on the career paths in American luxury hotels found that on-the-job experience was indispensable for success in hotel food and beverage management. All food and beverage directors in the sample researched had reached their position by working their way in the food and beverage field; neither nationality nor level of education seemed to have an effect on the length of preparation required to become a food and beverage director. Raybould and Wilkins (2005) investigated hospitality manager’s expectations of graduate skills. Their study revealed that there continues to be a distinction between industry and student perceptions of what skills and roles are appropriate for graduates entering the industry. It was found that the industry tend to discount student’s formal qualification claiming that students are ‘over qualified but underexperienced’ whereas on the other hand, students had an expectation that the industry would allow them to apply the skills that have been emphasized in their courses (Raybould and Wilkins, 2005).
A study on the career paths of general managers in Mauritius indicated the dominance of external labour market moves which meant that managers were prepared to look both within their existing companies and at other companies when seeking to advance their career (Ladkin and Juwaheer, 2000). It was also revealed that the locus of control over job moves was held by the managers themselves rather than the companies. This indicated the dominance of self-initiated moves and supported the notion that hotel managers are in control of their own careers. In terms of personal career strategies, the study identified that being mobile was considered important to succeed in the hotel industry as well as having international expertise and skills. This study also confirmed that the balance was changing from valuing technical to managerial skills for career development although there was a willingness to undertake vocational training.

As far as women are concerned, Sinclair (1997) found that there are three main elements which prompted employers to recruit women in these industries: labour, price, sex and gender. The work entailed in this industry is stigmatized because of its association with reliance on substantial peripheral workforce consisting for the most part of women. Purcell and Quinn (1996) stated that women managers have to be tough to succeed and those who cannot meet up to the challenge might as well enjoy the environment in which they work, hence accepting lower pay and lack of promotion. Purcell (1996) also found that women showed a greater tendency to leave the tourism industry and the reasons may be linked to the unsociable nature of the work, which is often incompatible with family life and difficulties associated with achieving equal opportunities within the sector due to occupational segregation.

According to Doherty and Stead (1998), there are few women in management positions due to engendered attitudes towards women in management. For example, Woods and Viehland (2000) found that women were portrayed as the ‘weak sex’ and that they were commonly associated to working in areas such as personnel and housekeeping.
whereas men were expected to work in others. In an earlier study, Woods and Kavanagh (1994) also found that hospitality managers perceive sexual harassment to be pervasive within the industry. They found that incidents of sexual harassment were frequent in the industry. The hospitality service was characterized as being ambiguous due to the unusual hours and conditions of work, the interaction of persons in the delivery of service, and the importance placed on appearance focuses attention on people as sexual beings.

Research shows that the food and beverage function is a fundamental one in this industry (Nebel et al, 1994; Ladkin et al, 2002). In general, most managers went through functional mobility whereby they learn the skills of the industry and in the case of general managers in the hotel industry, food and beverage remains critical for a manager to progress. According to Brownell (1992) this can be a barrier in the career development of female general managers as few women gain experience in the food and beverage function. Occupational segregation in the industry is widely practiced. According to Crompton and Sanderson (1990), women can only move to better paid jobs if the industry gives more recognition of qualifications as an entry to management. On the other hand, as stated earlier, formal qualifications tend to be least significant compared to work experience in the industry. Therefore unless women have the right work experience, they are unlikely to be promoted to management level. Biswas and Cassell (1996) found that men tend to occupy jobs of perceived higher status compared to women. The few women in ‘male’ jobs in their case study hotel said they had to be ‘like one of the boys’ in order to be accepted. Davidson et al (2006) also highlighted the gendered, low wage and segmented labour market strategy in the hotel industry despite an increase in educational levels and hotel training. Human capital for women in the hotel industry has not been translated into upward mobility. Burgess (2003) investigated the relationship between gender and salary in hotel financial management and found that there were continuing effects of gender. The study revealed that there has been only limited progress in the employment of women in the financial areas of the industry and that
women’s salaries tend to be lower than their male counterparts. The reason for this gap was related to the type of work that women perform; the study also revealed that women were not taking on the same level of responsibilities because of the nature of the jobs they did. However, despite low numbers in that particular section of the industry, women remain important to the hospitality labor market (Doherty, 1997).

Research on age and employment in the tourism and hospitality industries is very limited. A study by Lucas (1993) found that ageism is more pervasive in the hospitality industry than in any other industries. The industry has largely failed to recognize the benefits of older workers. On the other hand, Magd (2003) researched management attitudes and perceptions of older employees in hospitality management in Scotland and found that age stereotypes did not exist among small and medium sized firms. Hospitality managers, in Scotland at least, perceived the advantages of employing older workers to outweigh disadvantages.

On a more positive note, Szivas et al (2003) stated that workers perceive working in these industries as a way of life. Unlike previous claims that it is a refuge industry, a recent study by Vaugeois and Rollins (2007) found that satisfaction in these industries is high. This study also identified five orientations in order to explain the reasons why people join the tourism and hospitality industries: Firstly, the refuge orientation which includes external factors which push people in these industries as they cannot find employment elsewhere; secondly, the positive orientation which includes those who joined the industry as they held a positive perception about it; thirdly, the entrepreneurial orientation which refers to those who wanted to set up a business in the industry; fourth, the instrumental orientation which refers to reasons related to improving their current standard of living and fifth, the wanderer orientation which refers to those who join the industry because they want to try different things or simply to try their language skills. These orientations not only help in the understanding of the types of employees in the tourism and hospitality industry but they can also be
used in order to understand the types of movement which take place within each orientation.

Conclusions
The above researches show that the nature of employment in the tourism and hospitality industry is changing. The once held stereotypical picture of this industry is gradually improving as it develops into one of the largest industries in many countries. This study is based in Mauritius, where the hotel industry has flourished into the second pillar of the economy. Therefore a need to understand employee mobility is key for the future of this industry. The above are all valuable studies about employment in the tourism and hospitality industries but there is a concentration on intra-firm mobility. While these studies have been more concerned about how employees move when they are inside an organization, very few studies have analysed mobility between organizations in the industry and between the tourism and hospitality industry and other industries. Therefore, this study proposes a different approach to labour mobility. Instead of measuring career paths to determine mobility, an analysis of intra-firm as well as inter and intra-industry mobility is proposed. The focus here is not to measure frequency of movement but to understand overall mobility behaviour within the same industry and between industries. These behaviours are then analysed in order to identify dominant determinants of mobility and immobility in the industry. An outlook of the labour force composition of this industry in Mauritius shows that diversity is not only in terms of age, class, education and gender but ethnicity as well. The above researches on labour mobility in the tourism and hospitality industry show a gap in terms of understanding the influence of ethnicity (and culture as a consequence) on employee mobility in this industry. For a context like Mauritius, an in-depth understanding of any kind of mobility has to take into consideration ethnicity and diasporic orientations in order to produce a real picture of mobility in this industry.

Hence, using the ‘new mobilities’ paradigm, labour mobility will be analysed through the lens of multiple mobilities. This study will attempt to
identify factors pertaining to ethnicity and culture which can also influence mobility in the hotel industry. In order to do so, the study will investigate diasporic orientations among the participants. In the next chapter, the author reviews the literature on Diaspora with focus on the Indian Diaspora in Mauritius. The chapter is meant to give an insight into how Diasporas are operating in a complex web of interaction which can then be used in order to understand their mobility in the hotel industry.
Chapter Four: Diaspora

Introduction
This chapter reviews the literature on Diaspora. The body of literature on this subject is vast and cuts across multiple disciplines. This part of the thesis will give an overview of some important research done on Diaspora. The chapter begins by reviewing several definitions of Diaspora and its related concepts. The second part discusses the case of the Indian Diaspora. The third part reviews some significant research on postcolonial Diasporas followed by an overview of the Diaspora occurring under the Indian Indentured labour system. The chapter ends by looking at research done on the Indian Diaspora in Mauritius and some key conclusions are drawn in order to lead the rest of this study.

Theorising Diaspora
Vertovec (1999) defined Diaspora as any population which resides in a land which is not where it originated from. Derived from the Greek verb speiro (to sow) and the preposition dia (over), the term in the human context is often associated with migration and colonization (Cohen, 1997). The meaning of Diaspora varies significantly from a definition linked with the suffering of the Jews, Palestinians and Armenians to a more modern definition of people living abroad who have maintained strong collective identities. The concept has also been extended to postcolonial identities formed in the dispersal of people from colonized countries. Clifford (1994) suggested that the Diaspora discourse is loose due to decolonization, increased immigration, global communications and transport.

In his book ‘Global Diasporas’, Cohen (1997) constructed a typology of five different Diasporas: victim, labour, trade, imperial, and cultural Diasporas. Overlooking these categories is a common idealized attachment which all Diasporas have to their homelands. This is highlighted in the definitions of Mitchell (1997a) and Barber (2000) who both defined Diaspora as communities who are living outside their
traditional homeland from which they once originated. Also in the words of Cohen (1997:101-2) who described diasporic groups as 'individuals who tenaciously seek to engage with their homelands and cherished cosmologies'. Echoing this, Hollinshead (2004:34) described the term as 'external peoples with unshakeable loyalties reaching outside their host population'. In defining the features of a Diaspora, Safran (1991) argued that it sees the ancestral place as a place of eventual return, when the time is right. However, Safran also stated that some Diasporas persist and their members do not return as there is no homeland to go to. Although the homeland may exist, it may not be a welcoming place with which to identify or because it would be too inconvenient or traumatic to leave the Diaspora. He further argued that Diaspora consciousness and the homeland myth are used to make the life of the Diaspora community more tolerable by holding out a utopia. Similarly, Clifford (1994) described a Diaspora as being pre-supposed by longer distances and a separation more like exile where the notion of return is seen as a taboo or is often postponed to a remote future. Adding to this, Thapan (2005: 25) defined a Diaspora as 'a dispersion and disembedding, involuntary or occasioned by war, from a set of localised relations in the homeland nation, with no hope of return and the resultant experience of trauma and victimhood of some kind' (emphasis added).

While the above definitions emphasised some form of connection with the homeland, Brah (1996) distinguished between a 'homing desire' and the desire for a 'homeland' emphasising that not all Diasporas sustain an ideology of return. The 'home' is defined as a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. It is a place of no return even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. According to Ahmed (2000) it is the impossibility of return that binds place and memory together. According to Clifford (1994: 308) Diaspora is different from travel as it is not temporary; it involves dwelling and 'having collective homes away from home' where dwelling 'here' assumes solidarity and connection 'there'. However, Clifford (1997) also argued that 'there' is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation. According to Coles and Timothy
(2004: 3) definitions and conceptualizations of Diaspora are 'fluid and contested'. In similar vein Walsh stated that the term now accommodates 'a wide range of fluid, spatial, cultural and political locations' (2003: 3) and in most definitions, the 'homeland' has been described as a focal point in understanding diasporic identity (Safran, 2001).

Moreover, Carter (2005: 54) argued that Diaspora literature has failed to recognise that Diasporas can reproduce the essentialised notions of place and identity that they are supposed to transgress. Diasporas can be defined in various ways depending on the context of analysis. Terms such as 'diasporic communities' and 'global ethnoscapes' appear in the work of Appadurai (2003: 31) where migrant communities are seen as a homogeneous group who inhabit 'imagined worlds' that are constituted by 'the historically situated imaginations of people spread across the globe who are able to 'contest and sometimes even subvert the imagined world of the official mind'. But Ong (2003) criticised the use of the term 'diasporic communities' seeing it as an attempt to present Diaspora as a homogeneous group and hence essentialises migrants as particular types of ethnics when in reality he states that there are vast differences in and amongst the ethnic groups in any country (Ong, 2003: 87). Hence while some definitions attach significant importance to the role of the homeland and the homogeneity of the group, others like Ong draw attention to the need to consider intra-diasporic complexities which may not necessarily revolve around a desire to return to the homeland. Similarly Cohen (1997) and Shuval (2000) have also recognised that Diaspora cannot be homogeneous. Shuval stated that a Diaspora is best defined by reference to the characteristic of and within host society and its dispositions towards Diaspora groups.

Mitchell (1997a) emphasised the need to challenge prior orthodox narratives of fixity and mobility in the study of Diaspora and to move towards a consideration that diasporic identity is a matter of becoming and being. Postmodernists approach Diaspora through the lens of hybridity, heterogeneity, multiplicity and creolization (Mitchell, 1997a; Bhabha, 1994;
Featherstone, 1995). The Diaspora is believed to be a group with multiple internal fissures (Lowe, 1991), with the existence of important in-group cleavages in terms of social, cultural and economic lineaments (Gilroy, 1987). Furthermore, modern discourse seem to view diasporic identity as being influenced by ancestral inheritance, the process of migration, host country experiences as well as influences from the homeland to the diasporic communities (Urry, 2000). Hollinshead (2004: 36) stated that 'they are often located in large numbers within their new locale, possessive of economic acumen, industrial skills, or other sophisticated practices which position them as a threat to those who are locally mainstream'.

Another common description of a Diaspora is its boundary-maintenance practices where it presents a distinctive identity with regards to the host country. According to Brubaker (2005) it is mainly boundary-maintenance which leads to the distinctive community known as a Diaspora. However, Ballard (1994) stated that individuals can be multicultural. They are able to behave appropriately in a number of different arenas and can also switch codes as appropriate. Jackson and Nesbitt (1993) in research on Hindu children in Britain found that while there were some practices which reinforced boundaries, they could also move unselfconsciously from one milieu to another. The non-conscious set of dispositions that these children gained through experience allowed them to cross and move milieu. This is evidence that diasporic behaviour vary by generation.

Clifford (1997) researched on the modes of travel and exchange that took place amongst diasporic communities and found that there are sacred places, family and community members that are visited both corporeally and imaginatively in various societies. These types of travel were termed the ‘lateral axes of Diaspora’. It helps reorganise a social group's heritage. Ali and Holden (2006) argued that the ties between post-colonial Diasporas and their homelands can be explained through post-migration tourism mobilities. Using the concept of 'myth of return' (Anwar, 1979 in Ali and Holden, 2006: 217), the authors described the longing of first
generation Pakistanis to visit their homeland and how through repeat visits they are able to satisfy this need although an actual permanent return may never take place. In similar vein, Kaplan (1996) argued that diasporic societies cannot persist without much corporeal, imaginative and increasingly virtual travel both to the homeland and to other sites of the Diaspora. According to Clifford (1997), this corporeal and/or imaginative travel has been made possible by modern technologies of transport, communication, and labour migration. Samuel (1994) found that TV images played a significant role in the maintenance of the heritage and identity of some group through imaginative travel. However, Appadurai and Breckenridge (1989) argued that complex transnational flows of media images and messages are creating disjuncture for diasporic populations by creating nostalgia.

Clifford (1994) argued that diasporic experiences are emphatically gendered. According to Wolff (1993), when diasporic experience is viewed as displacement rather than placement, as travelling rather than dwelling and disarticulation rather than rearticulation, male experiences are more likely to predominate. When placement and dwelling are considered then the experiences of women are revealing. According to Clifford (1994:313) ‘connections with the homelands and with religious and cultural traditions may reproduce patriarchal structures’. Echoing the same, Gray (1996) argued that it is important to bring the specific circumstances of different groups of migrant women in the theorizing of migration and Diaspora. Clifford also noted that the migrant women experience ambivalence in the maintenance of links with their homeland and the new space created by Diaspora interactions. Furthermore, Godard (1994) argued that migrant women are forced to construct an identity in the imaginary, as no territory is possible for them.

**Diaspora, identity and language**
Cohen (1974) defined an ethnic group as ‘a collectivity of people who share some patterns of normative behaviour and form part of a larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the
framework of a social system’ (ix) and ethnicity as ‘the degree of adherence by members of a collectivity to the shared norms of the ethnic group in the course of social interaction’(x). Ethnicity is a crucial source of identity. Described as a key marker of self and others, ethnicity has become an important concept in the understanding of Diaspora in social, economic, political and cultural discourses (Morgan and Pritchard, 2004). Vertovec (2000: 65) described ethnic ideology as ‘a set of references according to which members of a now-specifically defined group place themselves vis-à-vis other groups, economic structures, the state, or other facets of their environment’. Religion can be part or even the core of an ethnic ideology for example Hinduism amongst members of the Indian Diaspora.

Diaspora studies have changed the way immigrant identities and acculturations are explained (Bhatia and Ram 2009). Challenging Berry’s (1997) fourfold acculturation strategies of assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation whereby diverse ethnic groups come to share common cultural values and gain equal access to opportunities in society, theorists such as Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy have argued that the concept of Diaspora offers new ways of thinking about identity. Such identities are not anchored in space, place or nationality; rather they are ‘creations of cultural discourses, history and power’ (Bhatia and Ram, 2009: 142).

There are varying perspectives on this maintenance of several identities. While some view it as a means of expressing resistance to the global political and economic situations that engulf them (Glick Schiller et al, 1992), others view it as a way of keeping a connection with their homeland (Safran, 1991). There is growing evidence that human movement also creates cultural differentiation and separate and contested identities. Anderson’s (1991) notion that national identity gives a sense of place, continuity and connectedness by allowing people to situate themselves within the narrative of the nation is no longer compatible with the current ways of understanding how members of Diasporas form identities with
both home and host countries. As confirmed by Clifford (1994) diasporic identities have reached beyond the territory and temporality of the nation state. Similarly, Gilroy (1987) argued that migrant-hood is often associated with dispersed and fragmented identity (Hall, 1987). Furthermore, Ahmed argued that it is through the process of estrangement that contested communities are formed through the act of reaching out to the ‘out-of-place-ness’ of other migrant bodies (2000: 94). Religion has also been identified as a fundamental way through which diasporic populations identify themselves and Vertovec (2000) emphasised that greater recognition should be given to religion as a vibrant force in shaping identities in Diasporas.

In a different perspective, Papastergiadis (2000) stated that hybridity has become one of the most useful concepts for representing the meaning of cultural difference in identity. Initially applied to linguistics, the term hybridity is used to describe the mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single encounter (Bakhtin, 1981). The term has since then been applied to various other fields and the study of Diaspora entails several forms of hybrids which are formed in the process. Identity emerges not just from the identification of common characteristics of those within a nation but from more visible difference of those excluded. Theories of hybridity reject theories of assimilation which predicted that prior national identities would melt away as the migrant moves to a new national territory. Coles and Timothy (2004: 13) stated 'that identities, behaviours and cultures in diasporic communities 'abroad', although similar to the 'homeland' and elsewhere in the Diaspora, are inevitably distinctive and contrasting due to the infusions and conflations borne of their interstitial existence' (emphasis in text).

In the context of language, there is evidence that hybrid and creole versions have emerged with time despite prior research arguing that all mobilized Diasporas have maintained their peculiar language (Deutsch, 1953). Bakhtin (1981) distinguished between intentional and organic hybridity. The former is used for a situation where one entity is able to
consciously ironize and unmask the other where both entities carry on existing in the same context but where one entity, usually the dominant one loses its authority over the other. For example, Bhabha (1995: 156) applies the concept of intentional hybridity in colonial discourse to illustrate how hybridity ‘reverses the effects of the colonist disavowal, so that the other ‘denied’ knowledge enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority’. Intentional or conscious hybridity produces a contested situation where entities operate against each other. On the other hand, organic hybridity refers to the unconscious mixing of two entities to produce fusion where the fusion is ‘mute and opaque, never making use of conscious contrasts and oppositions’ (Bakhtin, 1981: 360). Unconscious or organic hybridity gives birth to new forms of amalgamation rather than contestation (Young, 1995).

The term creolization, meanwhile, has been used to refer to the process where two or more cultures merge into a new mode (Brathwaite, 1971). Creolization is therefore the product of organic hybridity. According to Young (1995: 22) hybridity ‘brings together, fuses, but also maintains separation’. Bhabha (1995) focussed on the psychic processes of identification and the cultural practices of performance to explain hybridization and to expose the conflicts in colonial discourse. Hybridity is an interpretative mode of dealing with the juxtapositions of space, and the combination of ‘time lag’. For Bhabha, identity is never fixed. The process of identification requires an analysis of the strategy of negotiation. Identity always presupposes a sense of location and a relationship with others. The representation of identity by which the discourse of colonial authority attempts to translate the identity of the other within a singular category but fails and produces something else which is resistant, opaque and dissonant.

According to Bhabha, it is within this tension that a ‘third space’ emerges. This space is a hybrid displacing space which develops in the interaction between indigenous and colonial culture. This space is restless and uneasy. Bhabha uses the term ‘ambivalence’ to describe a continual
fluctuation between wanting one thing and its opposite. In a colonial context, ambivalence occurs when authority becomes hybridized and finds itself layered against other cultures. Therefore, hybridity denotes both fusion and dialectical relationships. This doubled hybridity model can be used to explain the ‘form of syncretism that characterizes all postcolonial literatures and cultures’ (Young, 1995: 24).

From a feminist perspective, Gray (1996) argued that while hybridity opens new possibilities, it also involves loss and contradiction. It does not erase existing power relations between men and women. Hybrid cultures are apparent amongst second and subsequent generations of a Diaspora. Transnational connections have lead to complex settings within diasporic populations (Hannerz, 1996). According to Qureshi and Moores (1999), technologies of transportation and electronic communication play a crucial role in cross-cultural encounters. A study on young Pakistanis Scots in Edinburgh found that the consumption of symbolic goods in its authentic form or in ‘re-invented’ form (Back, 1996: 219) results in hybrid identities for the second generation but for the first generation, it results in the resonation of memories and fantasies (Rath, 1985). For example TV, music, food, and films encourage the crossover between two cultures (Gillespie, 1995a) and Qureshi and Moores (1999) stated that even the providers of these symbolic goods have started recognising the existence of new, second and third generation audiences.

In a study on the role of Bollywood in the Indian Diaspora, Bandyopadhyay (2008) confirmed that the Indian Diaspora’s imagination is strongly influenced by these movies. For the first generation it created nostalgia and the craze to visit India, while for the second generation it created the urge to want to see the ‘modern’ India as portrayed by these movies. While the attempt of such symbolic goods is to maintain a familiar point of contact with cultural heritage and the homeland, these can also produce two sets of cultures which have contradictory expectations. This creates a space where complex and ongoing entanglements take place between the ‘genealogies of dispersion’ and those of ‘staying put’, between cultures on
the move and the so-called ‘native’ or ‘indigenous’ culture (Brah, 1996: 208-10). This Diaspora space as described by Brah is one with complex hybrids formed by varying generation within the Diaspora.

A sense of ‘staying put’ (Brah, 1996:181) characterises the identity narratives of many second generation Diaspora where they have not identified with the cultural narratives of the first generation. Zephir (2001) studied second-generation Haitian immigrants and found that the children of the Haitian immigrants displayed multiple ethnic identities because of the ethnic socialisation that takes place at home and secondly the children’s own understanding developed via interactions outside the home through peers, schools, communities and society at large. Moreover Zephir suggested that ethnic identity is related to generational status. The birthplace and age at immigration have an important influence on acculturation. Class situation is seen as a push factor where young Haitian belonging to the lower class rejected Haitian ethnicity in order to be accepted by the peers.

The context of reception is also identified as an important factor in order to understand a group’s integration in the host country. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) claimed that when the host country has a culture that rejects the immigrant’s culture, the subsequent generations are more likely to embrace the culture of the homeland. Other research show that rather than a linear trajectory, second-generation immigrants alternate between the feeling of being strongly attached to their ethnic group to feeling part of the host country’s culture (Fuligni, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Doucet (2003) referred to these as ethnic identities that are nuanced, fluid and situational. The meanings of identity for the first generation are not the same as for the subsequent generations. According to Rayaprol (2005), identities of young people are transformed by their location in history, politics, culture, language and geography to give birth to new forms of identity. These new forms of identity emerge along with the production and consumption of economic and cultural goods (Gillespie, 1995a).
**Postcolonial Diasporas**

Gandhi (1998) defined colonialism as the historical process in which the West is systematically attempting to cancel or negate the cultural difference and value of the non-west. According to Gandhi, ‘colonialism does not end with colonial occupation’ (p. 17). Jain (1987) proposed that the analysis of colonial and postcolonial societies should be carried out using an approach that takes into account the (pre)existing cultural and political characteristics as well as the classes and segments dominating the context of analysis. According to Said (1993) postcolonialism should lead to the emergence of an enlightened postnationalism where nativism is not necessarily the only outcome but also a possibility of a pluralistic view of the world.

According to Radhakrishnan (1993), the postcolonial search for identity in the Third World is dominated with the problem of location. Conventional theories of culture tend to associate place and social identity, whereby having an identity meant having a country where an identical entity was shared by the inhabitants of a common place. However, with postcolonialism, there is now a need to situate identities in a wider geography of other identities, peoples and cultures. Papastergiadis (2000) described how the culture of postcolonial Diasporas has been de-territorialized. Culture, here, is not a fixed script but is conceived by the actions of agents and the dynamic patterns of everyday life. The interaction between the structures and the actor cultivate the ‘habitus’ which in turn shapes the culture of the actor.

Therefore culture is not simply the conditions of society but it is constantly mobile as transformative exchanges take place between structures and the actor. Instead of discussing the destruction of culture as a result of interaction, there is a need to examine cultural survival through various forms of cultural exchange and domination by which different cultures interact with each other. Therefore the de-territorialization of culture refers to the ways in which people feel that they belong to various communities.
although they do not share a common territory with all the other members (Papastergiadis, 2000).

In similar vein, Appadurai (1996) argued that the cultural dynamic of de-territorialization has decoupled previous links between space, stability and reproduction. The Diaspora is now in multiple locations and it has split loyalties and fractured practices between the homeland and the country of residence. This complex relationship has created more ambivalent images of the homeland and increased the need for re-imagining the possibilities of belonging (Papastergiadis, 2000). De-territorialization affects the loyalties of Diasporas in relation to their manipulation of currencies, and other forms of wealth. It has also created new markets such as films, impresarios and travel agencies aimed at creating contact between the relocated population and its homeland (Appadurai, 1996). As a result of this, postcolonial communities have deferred both the dream of returning to the native land and the sense of being centred in one place. As cultures do not need to be rooted, a ‘diasporization’ of culture tends to emerge. Moreover, Gardner (1993) argued that as the desh (homeland) is recreated abroad, then bidesh (host country) is no longer home. Therefore desh decreases in importance while bidesh increases in importance. Papastergiadis (2000: 174) also discussed the formation of cultural hybrids ‘whenever the process of identity formation is premised on an exclusive boundary between ‘us’ and ‘them’, the hybrid, which is born out of the transgression of this boundary, figures as a form of danger, loss and degeneration’. In colonialism, the clashing of cultures encouraged the formation of new cultural hybrids (Papastergiadis, 2000) which persist in postcolonialism.

From a different perspective, Carter (2005) argued that Diaspora literature tends to overlook the re-territorializing elements of diasporic practices. In a chapter called ‘Going strange, going native’, Ahmed (2000: 115) explained how through consumption, subjects consume objects associated with the stranger and can become or smell like the stranger: ‘difference is used to bind together in the present moment of consumption’ that which,
historically, has been in conflict’. While Gilroy insisted that the routing of Diaspora discourses should be in specific maps/histories, Clifford stated that despite being rooted, the Diaspora always finds ways of sustaining connections with more than one place. Nationalism can be used to illustrate this. Carter (2005) refers to a kind of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) in which Diasporas engage themselves.

Mukherjee (1990) argued that postcolonial theories tend to a unitary postcolonial subject by overlooking the differences between and within postcolonial societies. When it comes to postcolonial versions of hybridity, it has often been characterised as expressions of ‘extreme pain and agonizing dislocations’ (Radhakrishnan, 1993: 753). Bhabha (1995) stated that memory is the bridge between colonialism and cultural identity. Remembering here is described as a painful action which puts together a dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present. Tolia-Kelly (2004) stated that visual cultures appeared in the homes of South Asians in Britain as a way of representing, refracting and memorialising the landscapes of the country of origin. Here landscape is seen as a ‘material signifier of identification (Tolia-Kelly, 2004: 677). Visual cultures in the form of photographs, fabrics, pictures and paintings give meaning and value and represented embodies practices of ‘home’-making. According to Appadurai (1986), the materiality of the visual connects domestic cultures with those of previously lived experience. Through the display of materials in the form of photographs and mementos, individuals are connected to people and places which give them a sense of self. Appadurai (1996: 33) stated that domestic materials activate cultural flows for an imagined community formed through global networks known as ‘ethnoscapes’. Material and visual cultures are ‘products of relations’ beyond the home (Rose, 2003: 5). In similar vein, Ahmed (2000) stated that an image and a material thing allow an individual to have a close encounter with a distant other.
The Indian Diaspora

There are between 14 and 20 million people belonging to the Indian Diaspora worldwide. Clarke et al (1990) identified five major groups of migrant within this Diaspora: first, those who left under the British colonial system up to 1930s and they form part of the labour Diaspora categorised by Cohen (1997); second, the commercial migrants who left India for Africa, Australia, Europe and the Americas after the independence of India between 1920 to 1960; third, the low and high skilled migrants who went on short term contracts to the Middle East from 1970s onwards; fourth, the ‘brain drain’ migrants who left for higher education and better jobs in the UK, USA and Canada from 1980s onwards and fifth, the migrants to other parts of South Asia in the aftermath of independence.

Fisher (1980) described the South Asian Diaspora as a multi-layered cake: first there is the national identity of being Indian or Pakistani; second there is the religious identity of being Hindu or Muslim or Sikh; third there is the regional and linguistic identity and fourth there is the identity of being an immigrant in an alien land. A further categorization can be made between NRIs (Non-Resident Indians) and PIOs (Persons of Indian Origin). An NRI is an Indian citizen who holds an Indian passport and who lives abroad indefinitely whereas a PIO (person of Indian origin) is a person who has at any time held and Indian passport, or a descendant one of whose parents or grandparents held an Indian passport, or the person is spouse of an Indian citizen (Indian Investment Centre, www.iic.in).

Although the focus of this thesis is on those who migrated under the colonial system, this part of the literature review will cover some of the key aspects of the entire South Asian Diaspora. As can be seen from the above categories, the mere movement to a foreign country in the search of work is not enough to be characterized as a Diaspora. Cohen (1997) argued that firstly there is strong retention of group ties and practices over a period of time; secondly the perseverance of a myth of and strong connection to a homeland and thirdly high levels of exclusion in the destination societies. While Cohen (1997) did not debate the concept of
citizenship in the case of labour Diaspora, Weiner (1986) added a fourth characteristic where the group remain citizens in their home country. Some of the Indian migrants have maintained their citizenship, while some have acquired the nationality of their host country but most have maintained as least informal links with their country of origin (Lall, 2001).

According to Safran (1991) in the case of the Indian Diaspora, an Indian homeland has existed continuously. Unlike other Diasporas, this Diaspora has not always been associated with political disability or even minority status. Other studies have found that the homeland myth is not operative in contexts where the Indian Diaspora is in majority (Fiji) or even where it constitutes a dominant minority (Trinidad and Tobago, Nepal, Guyana and Sri Lanka). In these countries, the reasons making cultural reality real or imaginative, lies within the development of class situations and the power structure in place within the country of reception at the time of movement. Jayawardena (1980) found that in contexts where Indian indentured labourers migrated and where they maintained a class situation of proletarians, there seemed to be a higher manifestation of Hindu culture. Moreover the power structure reflected in the different types of colonial regimes lead to distinct manifestations of homeland culture. In the case of Fiji, where Indians were segregated from the indigenous population, although Indian culture persisted it was kept away from the public gaze. On the other hand, in Guyana where Indians lived alongside the indigenous population in a polyethnic situation, ethnic sections have closely intermingled through creolisation (Jayawardena, 1980). Hall (1990) described this as ‘positioning’ where the identity is situated in politics instead of out of authentic origins.

Bhatia and Ram (2009) looked at the case of the Indian Diaspora in the US and found that immigrants can become effective in the new culture while at the same time remain competent in their culture of origin (bicultural competence), however for those who are not able to do so, they experience acculturation stress. In the context of Diasporas, acculturation stress is expressed in terms of continuous negotiations leading to cultural
sites which are fluid and unstable. Lessinger (1999) looked at the case of the Indians in America and argued that most immigrants have constructed new hybrid identities combining elements of both Indian-ness and American-ness.

Diaspora consciousness is also manifested through religious groups. As such, within the South Asian Diaspora, religious groups have come to play an important role in the bonding process with the home country. Vertovec (1999) illustrated this by analysing the high degree of pilgrimage which takes place among Diasporas persons travelling to the subcontinent to visit shrines and holy places. Furthermore, there is ample evidence that the South Asian Diaspora is constantly seeking ways to establish a legitimate place for its religion in the host country. This is illustrated through the growing number of temples, community associations.

Vertovec (1999) further identified three meanings of Diaspora with respect to the South Asian religions: Diaspora as social reform, Diaspora as type of consciousness and Diaspora as mode of cultural production. The first meaning makes reference to Diaspora situation associated with forced displacement, victimisation, alienation and loss where social relationships are maintained despite dispersal. Collective identity, institutionalised networks of exchange and communication, ties with the homeland, divided loyalties to homelands and host countries and transnational economic strategies are key dimensions of this meaning of Diaspora. The second meaning emphasises on a type of awareness generated by the Diaspora. It includes the awareness of multi-locality where there is a need to connect with others who are both ‘here’ and ‘there’ and who share the same ‘routes’ and ‘roots’. According to Cohen (1996) advances in Information and Communication Technologies has facilitated this dimension of Diasporas by allowing them to be somehow held together and re-created.

In addition to the awareness of multi-locality, Appadurai and Breckenridge (1989) stated that Diasporas tend to leave a trail of collective memory about another place and create new maps of desire and attachment.
However, Vertovec (1999) argued that these memories and new maps do not always consolidate identities as these collective recollections have many trajectories and fissures. These create multiplicity which in turn creates fluid and multiple identities with both the country of origin and the host country. The third meaning describes Diaspora as involving the production and reproduction of transnational social and cultural phenomena (Vertovec, 1999). Here, the fluidity and identities of diasporic communities are emphasized.

There is also a large body of research on the place of women in the Indian Diaspora. Two directions seem prominent in all of them. The first direction is taken by those who found that the exigencies of migration offer women the opportunity to re-define and recreate their roles, hence giving new perceptions of self (Buijs, 2005). Some of these new roles might have been rejected at home and because of this, some scholars argued that the recreation and re-negotiations of roles for women may have both positive and negative aspects (Ahmed, 2005). On one hand, these women had to cope with change and isolation and in doing so they attempted to maintain the roles they had at home. The process of reconstructing the familiar is well-known psychological way of coping with separation and loss (Buijs, 1993). Hence, these women continued to be ‘entangled in the webs of cultural reproduction’ (Ahmed, 2005: 108).

According to Vertovec (2000), the role that women play in the reproduction of religious practices may be enhanced by migration. These religious practices defined their space and that of their children. However, some others managed to capitalise on opportunities such as education and employment that had previously not been available to them in the homeland. Ahmed et al (2003) argued that these opportunities are actively breaking negative stereotypes of Asian women in the Diaspora. However, Ahmed (2005) noted that first generation Bangladeshi women migrants transformed the locations they have arrived in but they remain significantly detached and marginalised. Although having acquired citizenship in the form of a passport, they had not acquired substantial citizenship which is
the equal chance of participation in social arenas (Castles and Davidson, 2000). However subsequent generations have reconceptualised and reconstructed their ethnicity due to increased educational skills and qualifications at their disposal. Ahmed (2005: 126) argued that despite these augmented skills, they still operated ‘within the barriers of structural racism and sexism’.

Rayaprol (2005: 135) researched the second-generation Indian Diaspora in the US from a gender perspective and found that ‘gender roles are recreated but take on newer and more innovative forms as generations change’. Similar to Ahmed (2005: 138), the study also confirmed that the role of women from the first generation is the transmission of religious beliefs to their children and to socialise future generations into an ‘Indian culture’. However, the second generation seem more articulate about their identities and embraced hyphenated identities comfortably. Indian-ness was not fore-grounded in their self-perception and they had different views of what Indian-ness meant. For many Indian-ness is about the dress code (wearing of the sari) and the food habits. India is only a place to pay visit to relatives. The study also found that the second-generation engaged with race much more confidently than the first generation. However, it also found that the Indian-Americans’ identity is gendered (Rayaprol, 2005). The burden of being Indian was more on the women than on men due to the gendered socialisation that their parents had engaged in.

The Indian Indentured System

The indentured system was first used in Mauritius in 1834, Guyana in 1838, Natal (South Africa) in 1860 and Fiji in 1878. The indentured period also saw Indians taking up permanent settlement in the Caribbean islands such as Trinidad, Surinam, Grenada, Jamaica, Barbados, Guadeloupe, Martinique, St.Lucia and a host of others (Gosine, 1982). The system was an answer to meet the labour needs in the sugar-growing colonies of the British and the French empire. The initial contract was for five years, after which they could return to India. However according to Deerpalsing (2002) only one third returned in the case of Mauritius and 80 percent in the three
largest Caribbean colonies (Vertovec, 2000). An expensive return and/or little opportunities to achieve social opportunity back in India were the key reasons why the sojourn was transformed into permanent settlement in the course of time (Lal, 1980). From the outset, this indentured labour posed a problem to the original characteristic of forced dispersion associated with the term Diaspora, however, the work in which the Indians were engaged in the colonies implied varying levels of choice and compulsion as well as the movements out of the homeland associated with disadvantaged economic situations (Shukla, 2001). Moreover, after India’s independence, the Diaspora was hardly considered part of the Indian nation (Lall, 2001). Tinker (1974) described this system as a 'new system of slavery' where there was a 'mixture of oppression and opportunity' (Freund, 1995: 10). These labourers struggled in the alien colonial environment and this has left a legacy of political and social problems which are still dominant today as they were when the indentured system started (Lal, 1980, Shukla, 2001). In order to understand the relationship between India and its diasporic population, both colonial and postcolonial discourse can be of service (Shukla, 2001).

Studies on the Indian Diaspora emerging from the indentured system have in part or wholly concentrated on the relationship between the homeland and identity, consumption of symbolic goods and material continuities, religion and ethnicity, cultural behaviours in terms of cultural resistance, cultural (re)production and cultural survivals. Research shows that Indian identity for this Diaspora is transcendental (Landy et al, 2004). Despite using India as a key referent, it still remained an imagined land which may or may never be seen one day. Instead a ‘neo-Indian Creole identity’ has emerged (Freund, 1995: 8). The experience of being in the Diaspora varies by generation, religion, gender and socio-economic class. For instance, studies on second, third and fourth generation of this Diaspora suggest that there is hardly any connection with India apart from the consumption of symbolic goods such as music, clothing, food and movies. For example Mehta (2005) stated that Bollywood film is India for the Diaspora. According to Kaur (2002) these movies contain the themes that
dominate the Indian culture for example family values thus making films the most significant cultural form in the South Asian Diaspora (Desai, 2004). Others looked at the role of music in the Diaspora and found that there is continuous survival of the traditional Indian music despite being in new contexts (Reyes-Schramm, 1990). However, Ramnarine (1996) argued that while many of the musical elements still hold their Indian roots, mixed varieties have also emerged as a result of cultural interaction in the multicultural contexts where they are existing. Writing in the case of the Indian Diaspora in North Trinidad, Meyers (1993: 235) stated that ‘Indian music is different things to different people. For the younger generation it refers especially to Indian film songs, for the older to the traditional Bhojpuri folk songs, and for practically everybody to temple songs, such as ‘bhajan’ and ‘kirtan’. For all, it means a repertory with texts in an Indian language’. Ramnarine (1996) described these elements of retention as cultural heritage on one hand and continuing interaction with India on the other. Moreover, Manuel (1997) stated that in the case of Indo-Caribbean, the first generations kept strong bonds with India through music.

On the other hand, Jain (2001) referring to the case of the third and fourth generation of diasporic Indians in South Africa, argued that they thought of themselves as more Indian than the homeland Indian themselves. Such strong feelings of belonging have been encouraged through the traditional rituals, family upbringing and Indian religious practices. He also noted that these diasporic Indians were unconscious or immune to the existence of any other inclusive and hybrid new traditions and remained ‘full blooded Indians’ (FBIs). Jain (2001) also discussed the different perspectives on culture and tradition between homeland and diasporic Indians. He argued that the culture of the South Asian Diaspora in the Caribbean, Mauritius or Fiji is subject to opposing interpretation by homeland Indians. Most of the practices in these postcolonial contexts are perceived as ‘ganwar’ and inferior.

Religion is a key element in this Diaspora. Cohen (1997) stated that religion helps to bind diasporic consciousness. In the introduction of his
Vertovec (2000) described how Hinduism can be viewed as an ‘ethnic religion’ which characterises the relationship between India and its people. Although not all Indians are Hindus, all Hindus are Indians. Apart from its religious meaning, ‘Hindu’ can also refer to an ‘ethnic’, ‘cultural’, or even ‘political’ identity for certain individuals. As stated by van der Veer (1994) in situations where migration challenges identity, nationalism is then expressed by religion. The panoply of temples and religious ceremonies are essential parts of this Diaspora (Jayawardena, 1980; Landy et al, 2004). In some cases, Hindu rituals have been refashioned (Michaelson, 1987) or negotiated (Lessinger, 1995) in conjunction with social changes. The role of Hindi priests in this Diaspora has ranged from total dominance over systems of belief like in the Caribbean (van der Veer and Vertovec, 1991) to those who were rejected by educated young Surinamese (van der Burg, 1993). In many cases, Hinduism has developed in accordance with local structural and social environments. Western-influenced neo-Hindu movements such as ISKCON and The Satya Sai Baba have also become popular in South Africa (Diesel, 1990) and the Caribbean (Vertovec, 1993).

In other cases such as Mauritius (Hollup, 1994) and the Caribbean (van der Veer and Vertovec, 1991), cultural and religious forms of Hinduism have been homogenized to facilitate social cohesion. Overall, Hinduism is a core feature of ethnic consciousness among Indian migrants and their descendants. Both religion and culture through the consumption of symbolic goods have become markers of ‘Indian’ identity (Landy et al, 2004). However, Sinha and Kerkhoff (2003) found that the notion of culture and authenticity in the case of objects and Indian products is not so important for the Diaspora. Although Indian products are commonly consumed by people of Indian origin outside India, there was not necessity for these products to be made in India. According to Asad (1983) rituals have to be examined in terms of what it does and what it accomplishes in performance for those deciding on ritual performances. Jain (2001) stated that it is important to look into the structural outcomes of the cultural stereotypes formed as Diasporas perpetuate their culture through religious
institutions as well as the celebration of diasporic cultural days. Vertovec (2000) studied Indo-Caribbean ‘twice migrants’ who went to Great Britian and found that religion played a key role in their ethnic definition. Furthermore, social and religious organisations and activities were formed along with Indo-Fijians and Indo-Mauritians as a way of identifying with their faith.

Gender relations in the indentured system also became the focus of study for many researchers. Kannabiran (1998) claimed that women who came under the indentured labour system were constrained to accept the subordination perpetuated by the picture of the ideal Indian woman. They were denied freedom (Jain, 1986; Reddock, 1985). However, Freund (1991) used the nuclearisation of Indian families in Natal to describe how as women joined work, they were influenced to recreate the Indian family life along new creolised lines. Therefore contact with other cultures had influenced fertility (Muthiah and Jones, 1983). However, in the same context Radhakrishnan (2005) found that women who belonged to the working class expressed strong sentiments of pride to be Indian.

When it comes to identity, Indians from Surinam descending from the indentured system felt that there is a link with India because their forefathers came from there but this did not mean that they were Indians (Sinha and Kerkhoff, 2003). Even if the eagerness to experience the real India is there, stories of crowds, dirt and poverty are also in the minds of diasporic Indians. Moreover, in many other parts of the Caribbean, such as Trinidad and Guyana, where the Indian populations have reached the equivalent of the Black African populations, the ethnic positions of South Asians (mainly Hindus) overall have been described within hybrid and multicultural societies (Khan, 1994) where there has been a persistence of religious practices, music and other social traditions within cross cultural societies (Harris, 1999).

Studies around language have found that most vernaculars have vanished to make place for more hybridised versions of the language of the Indians.
and that of the indigenous population or the colonisers. Processes such as koineization (Siegel, 1985), pidginization (Mühlhausler, 1986), creolisation, homogenisation and linguistic ‘erosion’ (Singaravelou, 1987) have been used to describe how most of the dialects spoken by the indentured Indians changed over the centuries. However, Jain (2001) found that homeland Indians mocked the use of dialects like Bhojpuri by diasporic Indians in the Caribbean, Mauritius and Fiji for being spoken in contexts other than the traditional ones. Landy et al (2004) and Eisenlohr (2004) have described the ethnicization of language in countries such as Mauritius and South Africa. People define themselves by their forefather’s language. For example, Tamil is used to describe a person’s ethnicity when it should be Hindu of Tamil culture (Landy et al, 2004). Similar is found in Mauritius where Bhojpuri is symbolic of being Hindu (Eisenlohr, 2004).

Ethnicity has also been an area of interest in this Diaspora. The different behaviours of the north and south Indian Diasporas can be found in the work of Landy et al (2004). In many of these postcolonial contexts, regional differences in India, continue to be visible. For example, in South Africa, the North Indians consider themselves to be superior to the South Indians (Landy et al, 2004). In other studies, processes of creolization have been celebrated whereby the Indians descending from the indentured system have become ‘increasingly urbanized, modernized, forsaken Hindi for English, and in general come to enter their country’s socio-economic and political mainstreams’ (Manuel, 1997: 21). Jones’s (1968) notion of a ‘changing same’ is an appropriate way of thinking about the South Asian Diaspora today (Shukla, 2001). It allows for an understanding of cultural continuity and change. Theoretical concepts like ‘hybridity’ have been used to describe the cultural mixtures and the ambivalences of people, race and ethnicity within the South Asian Diaspora.

Cases of ethnic conflicts have also been identified in the case of the Indians who came under the indentured system. Kumar (2000) researched the social and economic integration between Indians who descended from
indentured labourers and those who descended from the Indian traders in Fiji. Clear lines of separation were identified in terms of marriage and access to land ownership, hence creating many barriers to upward social mobility. In South Africa, conflicts between diasporic Indians and black Africans and white Afrikaners and British (Thiara, 2001; Lemon, 1990); in Fiji, political and social crisis between the Indians and the natives (Kelly, 1991) and in Mauritius, racial conflicts between the Hindus and the people of African descents (Miles, 1999). Jain (1987) argued that a systematic study of overseas Indians must take into account the political reality of colonialism as well as the reality of emergent capitalism forming class relations in colonial and post colonial societies.

**Research on the Indian Diaspora in Mauritius**

After independence in 1968, Mauritius adopted a constitution whereby elections would be by First-Past-the-Post System (FPTP) but with elements that would promote a power-sharing democracy such as a multi-member constituency, electoral districts and the Best Loser System for underrepresented minorities. Jahangeer-Chojoo (2010) looked into the political behaviour of ethnic groups in Mauritius and found that the political system has greatly influenced the Mauritian society to become highly ethicised. Despite economic development and the adoption of a common globalised lifestyle, the symbolic dimensions of ethnic groups based on race, religion and ancestral language has gained more relevance. Political parties in Mauritius are formed along ethnic lines (Eriksen, 1998) and because of this, even after four decades of independence, national identity has not developed (Callikan, 2001; Jahangeer-Chojoo, 2010). Universal practice of Kreol language and a common lifestyle (Eriksen, 1994) show that national identity might still be in the making, however, successive governments have deepened ethnic differences in the country by instating cultural centres for each ethnic group instead of national institutions and by favouring ancestral languages over Kreol. According to Hollup (1994) communal solidarity emerged after independence as political power was transferred to the Hindus.
Studies on the Indian Diaspora in Mauritius have focused mainly on issues related to nationalism, ethnic diversity and boundary maintenance, religion, caste, linguistic diversity and identity. Eriksen (1994) looked at the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism in Mauritius. He found that most Mauritians support ethnic and class-based ideologies in the labour market and in politics. Nepotism is widely practiced on the basis of these three ideologies although the country claims to be a meritocratic system. In the case of Mauritius, nationalism is only possible if ‘it does not interfere with the reproduction of ethnic identities’ (Eriksen, 1994: 555). Symbols of national unity have to be simultaneously non-ethnic and also appeal to the community and due to the polyethnic nature of Mauritius, this has proved to be difficult to accomplish so far. The symbols of ‘Mauritian-ness’ are all associated with colonialism for example, the national flag, the national coat of arms and the statues built to commemorate the end of colonialism. According to Eriksen (1994) these symbols have been readily accepted by the people in Mauritius as they are neutral and sterile and do not hold any relevance to the ethnic belonging of the citizens. Therefore nationalism in Mauritius is a mosaic picture represented by the cultural diversity of the people where most Mauritians have managed to maintain a significant amount of separatedness through distinct religious practices, ethnicized politics and personal networks (Boswell, 2005).

Many like Eriksen (1988, 1994), Ramdoyal (1994) and Caroll and Caroll (2000) have described this picture as one endorsed with tolerance and peace where there is ‘Unity in Diversity’. The support of the state in painting this picture can be seen in both bureaucratic and practical terms. The funding of cultural centres and major events for each ethnic group is common by all governments. These practices are aimed at making each group feel closer to their ancestral roots but according to Hills (2002), these are enforcing ethnic categorisation. However, Hills (2002) identified some situations where nationalism dominated over pluralism in Mauritius: when confronted with a non-Mauritian, people from Mauritius tend to describe their ‘Mauritian-ness’ instead of their caste, religion, colour or language; the eating habits of Mauritians shows that there is inter-ethnic
consumption taking place, for example Briani, an originally Muslim dish, is the national dish (Raman, 1991); and the feeling of being ‘as family’ is often described by most Mauritians despite ethnic diversity.

Through these daily and mundane practices, the concept of nationalism is constantly performed (Billig, 1997). These practices are therefore symbolic of the Mauritian identity. It is found in the culinary traditions, the use of a common lingua franca, the growing number of inter-ethnic marriage and reproduction to produce a heterogeneous population (Boswell, 2005). Ludwig and Schnepel (2009) stated that in Mauritius, identity is active, open and hybrid in nature. This is made possible through everyday communication and interaction whereby Mauritians. However, Caroll and Caroll (2000) argued that ethnic boundaries remain strong in the private lives of Mauritians while in the public realm there is a great deal of inter-ethnic interaction. Moreover, Boswell (2005) argued that in Mauritius, essentialist interpretations of ethnicity view hybridity as a threat to group integrity and identity. The focus is more on origins and devalues hybridity. The 1999 riots between the Hindus and those of African descents are symbolic of the tension that persists under the mosaic picture. Eriksen (1990) argued that the ethnic, religious and cultural divisions promoted by the state might jeopardise the stability of Mauritius. Hollup (1994) discussed how political power gave the Hindus a greater access to resources, hence leaving the rest of the population feeling marginalised. However, Boswell (2005) claimed that the situation is changing as younger generations adopt different views of identity and create new spaces characterised by some sort of cultural and social hybridisation. Eriksen (1992) has also argued that Mauritius is becoming a post-ethnic society where processes of modernity are leading to non-ethnic forms of self-identification. Moreover, Caroll (1994) argued that peace in Mauritius exists as there is no claim for indigenous population from any group compared to Fiji where ethnic conflicts have resulted from contact between the indigenous population and the Hindus.

The ethnicization of language among the Indian Diaspora has been discussed in the work of many (Eisenlohr, 2004; Benedict, 1961; Kuper,
Bhojpuri has been labelled as a Hindu language even though it also spoken by other ethnic groups in the rural regions. In similar line, Eriksen (1990) stated that in the case of Mauritius, to speak a language, for example Hindi (or Bhojpuri) at home is an indication of group membership rather than an actual language use. Benedict (1961) and Kuper (1960) argued that in the case of small communities within this Diaspora, for example the Telugus and Marathis, the linguistic-cultural population has become the endogamous unit. As language is a marker of ethnicity, it can also invoke ‘rival concepts of culture, society and social relations’ (Eriksen, 1990: 4). The government in Mauritius legitimately promotes ancestral languages in education, hence purposely re-enforcing ethnic boundaries. For example, people of Indian origin tend to emphasise their cultural distinctiveness through their ancestral language despite their evident use of Kreol in their daily lives. Hookoomsing (1986) found that there is a high correlation between ancestral language and religious inclination from the census figures of Mauritius. For the Hindus, there was a nearly one-to-one relationship compared to other ethnic groups. Despite speaking Kreol, Hindus tend to stick to linguistic markers of distinctiveness. Kreol has failed to become both an ethnic and a national language due to its association with the African descents as well as its low prestige in the Mauritian society (Eisenlohr, 2004; Eriksen, 1990). Hence in Mauritius, there is a clear division of labour between languages.

Nave (2000) found that ethnic endogamy remains the norms when it comes to marital decisions among people of Indian origin in Mauritius. This practice maintains ethnic group boundaries over time as endogamy is one of the main acts through which reproduction and maintenance of ethnic identity takes place. Nave (2000) identified two processes through which ethnic endogamy is maintained: the cultural transmission of preferences and the elimination of cultural hybrids through socialisation. Hollup (1994) looked at the disintegration of caste among the Hindus in Mauritius and found that caste systems are undergoing considerable change where the Hindus have come to consider themselves as egalitarian through a common language (Bhojpuri) and rituals that
distinguish them from other Hindu minorities such as the Tamils, Telugus and Marathis. Although Indians in Mauritius have been described as undergoing processes of creolization, political power and Hindu reform movements have successfully created a common Hindu ethnic identity and religious homogenization among the Hindus by removing caste, religion, linguistic and regional heterogeneity (Hollup, 1994). Overall, the situation of Indians in Mauritius has been described as good (Gosine, 1990a) and this has been largely attributed to their control of the political reins (Jumeer, 1988). Furthermore, the fact that they remain unopposed by other ethnic groups has aided in the perpetuation of their ethnic group through the maintenance of a proactive ethnic agenda.

Mulloo (2007) looked at the relations of the Indian Diaspora with the Hindu religious traditions in Mauritius. According to him, although at first glance it seems that Hinduism among the Indians has flourished over the years, the contact between the Indians and the slave population lead to deculturisation of the former. The brutal uprooting from the ancestral identity created a cultural void which was filled by embracing processes of creolisation. One of the main outcomes of this contact was the failure by many to preserve the Indian languages. Disappearance of languages also carried with it the culture, civilisation, customs, traditions and religion of the Indian people (Mulloo, 2007).

In similar vein, Carter and Torabully (2002) stated that the descendants of the diasporic movements generated by colonisation have developed their own distinctive cultures, which both preserve and often extend and develop their original cultures. Creolized versions of their own practices evolved. However, the process of creolization in Mauritius has not been completely successful as the Indians live in ‘self imposed exile’ because they neither give up their past nor accept the present. As they will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost, they created ‘fictions, not actual cities or villages, but the invisible ones, imaginary homeland, Indias of the mind’ (Carter and Torabully, 2002: 78). Eisenlohr (2010) stated that ethnicity and religion are strongly institutionalised in
Mauritius. In Mauritius it is used by the government to promote and privilege the public celebration of ancestral cultures and languages which are both linked to separate religious traditions. Deerpalsing (2002) also argued that most Mauritian still felt the need to preserve the memory of their ancestors. As a matter of fact, the search for personal and collective roots as well as social and cultural identity is of growing interest to many Indians and this is justified by the Folk Museum of Indian Immigration that was set up in 1991 at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute to allow people of Indian origin to trace their roots (Deerpalsing, 2002).

Conclusions
The above review has given an explicit understanding of the key issues around Diasporas in the world today. While some sustain that members of a Diaspora are constantly seeking to establish contact with their homeland while waiting for the day of final return, others claim that there will be no return. The case of Mauritius is an example where return has been permanently postponed and where the Diaspora has been able to put down roots away from their homeland. Research done on the Indian Diaspora in Mauritius showed that the position of this group has improved significantly since its arrival on the island. The Diaspora has been able to sustain their ethnic identity while also embracing creolised patterns of living. Eriksen’s post-ethnic may be obvious in the dress code, language and education of Mauritians but there seem to be other aspects which are resistant to hybridisation. The focus of research on the Indian Diaspora in Mauritius has been twofold: firstly the complex relationship of power and privilege pre and post-independence and secondly, the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and the barriers that this presents to nation building. There is no evidence of research on labour-related mobility of the Diaspora. Previous studies have assumed that political advantage has benefited the group in terms of protecting the group’s interest. However, little has been said about whether their way of life has any impact on their mobility in society as a whole. Moreover most studies analysing the identity of the Diaspora in Mauritius have taken a sedentarist approach by providing descriptive accounts of their culture. The description of hybridity
has been made simple by stating that individuals add here to there, when if seen through the mobilities lens, this process is complex. Little effort has been made to understand the context of hybridity and creolisation. Furthermore, while some of the above authors have clearly identified key symbols of nationalism emerging out of the hybrids formed, little has been said about the daily spaces occupied by the members of this Diaspora and how the ‘making’ and ‘unmaking’ of different spaces take place. Finally there has not been any attempt to describe the impact that these process have on the identity of this group. This study thus proposes a move towards using the mobilities paradigm in order to fill these gaps in research. Using this framework, the study intends to uncover diasporic orientations that shape and influence the Diaspora’s mobility. In order to do so, this research makes use of certain methodologies which are described in the next chapter.
Chapter Five: Methodology

Introduction
The diversity of research methodologies is widely reflected in the vast number of books and journals available in this subject area. Variations can be categorised by focus, methodology, purpose, paradigm, philosophy, research strategy and analysis. This chapter describes the methodology that was used in this study. In order to do so, this section will be divided in four parts. Firstly, there will be a critical analysis of the type of research chosen for this study followed by a discussion of the research philosophy. This will include a description of the epistemology and the theoretical perspective. The third part will describe the ways through which data was generated from the fieldwork. This will include a section on reflexivity, the methods used, the process of data analysis and accounts of the proceedings of both fieldworks. The conclusions look into the ethical issues guiding this study.

Type of research
The main polarised category in social research is that of qualitative and quantitative research. This study used a qualitative research approach. Mason (1996: 4) defined qualitative research as being ‘concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced’. It uses methods of data collection and generation which are sensitive to the social context in which they are produced and aims to produce rich, contextual and detailed data. In this study, using a qualitative approach allowed the researcher to actively engage with the participants in their workplace and in their homes. The focus was not to conduct any form of experimental method but rather to interpret and understand the subjects within their daily spaces. The aim was to be flexible but also strategic. Moreover, qualitative research also produces ‘social explanations to intellectual puzzles’ which the researcher wishes to explain (Mason, 1996: 6). The study was based in Mauritius, where the researcher comes from. In the initial stages of developing a research question, the researcher
used her own experiences of being part of that context in order to inform the aim of this thesis. However, personal experience of the context and the extensive literature review carried out at the outset of the research both contributed to the formulation of the aims and objectives of this study. The initial focus was to examine and understand employee work-related mobility in the hotel industry. In order to do this, employees working in hotels were engaged with in focus groups in their workplace. The aim was to get the participants to share and discuss their different opinions. Topics were selected in order to understand patterns of thought and behaviour related to industry-mobility. However, as mentioned in the introduction chapter, any study of mobility in Mauritius needs to take into consideration the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic context of the country. While the variables of work-related mobility in other societies have ranged from skills, education, race (minority groups), gender and the labour market as a whole, the focus of this study was also to consider other salient factors such as Diaspora orientation and identity that are unique to postcolonial contexts like Mauritius. As a result of this another set of topics relating to ancestral origins and culture was also selected by the researcher. Thus, the focus groups conducted explored both work-related behaviours as well as Diaspora-related behaviours.

Following the findings of the first fieldwork, the second part of the study required the researcher to visit the homes of selected participants in order to further explore how they lived and whether there was any relationship with their mobility in the labour market. The processes used in this study in order to describe a group or culture are part of ethnographic research (Fetterman, 1989). This approach to qualitative research allows the researcher to gain rich data as the latter is able to spend time within the same context as the subject/s of the research. According to Varjas et al (2005) through ethnographic methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviews, and collecting artifacts, researchers can gain an emic perspective. In similar line (Fetterman, 1989: 12) stated that through ethnographic research, the researcher is able to describe 'a social and cultural scene from the emic, or insider’s perspective’. According to Berry
et al (1992) the distinctions between *emic* and *etic* perspectives is critical to the study of culture. The emic perspective reflects the view of the member (insider) of the culture, whereas the etic perspective reflects the view of the researcher who is not a member of the culture (outsider). Researchers ‘strive to attain findings that reflect the emic perspective, based on the belief that the unique ideas, concepts, beliefs, values and norms of a given culture are key factors in understanding behavior’ (Varjas et al, 2005: 243). Using an inductive approach, the researcher spent seven and a half months on the field (in the organizations chosen and in the homes of the participants) to learn and participate in the language, customs, values, and beliefs of the subjects. The emic approach is consistent with grounded theory and ethnography as it requires the researcher to enter the research with an open mind in order to embrace multiple realities. According to Triandis (1978) there is a need for an integrated etic-emic approach in ethnographic research. In this approach the researcher begins with a construct that appears to be etic (universal) and then develops emic ways of measuring or conceptualizing the phenomenon. Using this integrated approach can construct instruments or interventions specific to each setting or group, thus ensuring specificity while also maintaining focus on universal elements (Varjas et al, 2005). In this study, the research started with an investigation of the general factors influencing employee mobility in the hotel industry and Diaspora orientations. The elements investigated at this level came mainly from the factors and concepts identified though the literature review. From this etic perspective, others areas of inquiry were generated and emic ways of specific interventions were carried within those belonging to the North Indian Diaspora. These interventions included visiting the participants within their homes and locale, listening to them and participant observations. The integrated approach in this research was also lead by the characteristics of the researcher. In this study, the latter was an insider by virtue of her nationality and belongingness to the Diaspora being studied and an outsider by virtue of her role as a researcher. Along with finding emic ways of researching the subjects, she also had to overcome the challenges of researching her ‘own’ people. Hence, the research
journey oscillated between the *emic* and the *etic* perspective giving the researcher the benefits of both whilst also presenting certain challenges which will be discussed later in this chapter.

**The research philosophy**

An epistemology is a way of understanding and explaining the known (Crotty, 1998). It deals with the nature of knowledge, its possibility, scope and general basis, it is concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible to ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate. The need to identify, explain and justify the epistemological stance adopted in a particular research is fundamental as it is the foundation for deciding on proceedings in the research design. As such, epistemology can be divided into three categories: objectivism, social constructionism and subjectivism. For the purpose of this study, the author has chosen to use social constructionism in order to explain and understand the problem.

Social constructionism is the belief that there is no objective truth and that appropriate methods of inquiry can bring accurate and certain knowledge of the truth (Creswell, 1998). According to Crotty (1998), social constructionism is a philosophy that views all meaningful reality as contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world and also developed and transmitted within an essentially social context. Hence meaning is not discovered but constructed as the world and objects in the world are indeterminate. This epistemology claims that meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting and by working with the objects in the world. Social constructionists agree that there is no true or valid interpretation rather there are useful interpretations that are fulfilling and rewarding (Crotty, 1998). It takes the object very seriously and is open to the world. The call for imagination and creativity is highly embedded in this epistemology; however an element of exactness is still involved in the process of imagining.
Although research in industry-mobility has been more towards the quantitative positivist philosophy (Hjalager, 2003), this study decided to go more into the ‘verstehen’ (Weber, 1978) approach which is geared towards understanding rather than quantifying. Moreover as the second part of this study explored sets of symbols attached to identity and culture, social constructionism was deemed the most appropriate philosophy to be used. This is highlighted by Hofstede (1991) who claimed that the study of culture and identity is the study of a system of significant symbols. Criticising the tendency of seeing culture as complexes of concrete behaviour patterns involving customs and traditions which are both the outcome of human thought and action, Hofstede argued that this view of culture should be reversed allowing room to view the latter as a set of control mechanisms, plans, recipes, rules and instructions for the governing of behaviour. In this study, although the initial stage involved more of a search for concrete patterns of industry mobility, the later stage became more focused on understanding processes which shape the behaviours of the participants. The researcher constantly engaged with the participants in their place of work and in their homes in order to make sense of their behaviours in a genuinely social perspective. This approach makes social constructionism the most appropriate philosophy to approach the research problem.

Within social constructionism social worlds are interpretive net woven by individuals and groups (Vivien, 1995) where social realities are socially constructed. The theoretical perspective associated with social constructionism is interpretivism. The latter attempts to understand and explain social reality (Crotty, 1998). It looks at culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life world. The idea that only scientific methods produce knowledge has long been disputed by interpretivism. It maintains the belief that the nature of human social life is not appropriately grasped by scientific methods (Searle, 1996).

The choice of the research philosophy and theoretical perspective is a conscious choice by the researcher (Schwandt, 1993) and this perspective
provides the epistemological and theoretical orientation that will guide the study (Creswell, 1998). After a review of possible methodologies for this study, the researcher chose social constructionism as the epistemology.

**Grounded Theory**

In the beginning of this study, the inquirer made an assumption that reality is actively created by the participants rather than being out there waiting to be discovered. This qualitative research methodology is also known as grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). It is the discovery of theory from the data. This methodology rejects the approach of verifying theories as a method of social research. In this strategy, research questions are formulated at the outset or during the course of the investigation unlike in quantitative or mixed method research where the research question tends to play a prominent role in the early stages of an investigation (Corbin and Strauss, 1998). Bryman (2007) discussed the relationship between the research question and the choice of research methods. He challenged the position that the latter should be tailored to the research question. The use of conversation analysis which is very prominent in qualitative research is a research tradition which seeks to avoid the dictatorship of research questions (Bryman, 2007). Furthermore, in the case of grounded theory, the philosophical stance has to be inferred from the literature (Greckhamer and Koro-Ljungberg, 2005) while research questions are formulated as the research progresses.

Charmaz (2006) advocated for a social constructionist grounded theory approach to social research. This version allows for the true goal of grounded theory to be achieved: that of letting data direct the course of the research. Charmaz (2000) rationalized the idea of constructivist grounded theory by establishing the link between epistemology, theoretical framework and methodology. As grounded theory was essentially generated through the interpretivist framework, it is therefore important that the epistemology of social constructionism be incorporated in the methodology rather than adopting a different epistemological stance such as objectivism. Echoing this, Greckhamer and Koro-Ljungberg (2005)
stated that when epistemological considerations guide the method selection, the uses of the method produce knowledge that is both adequate and legitimate regarding the discourse in which the method operates. Sheridan and Scorch (2009) conducted research on migration of Polish and Vietnamese women in Ireland using grounded theory methodology and the following was stated:

*Grounded theory allows for such an approach, as it approaches data detached from preconceived ideas, placing the actual data, that is the interview or stories told by the interviewees, at the foreground of the research* (Sheridan and Scorch, 2009: x).

Grounded theory demands rigor and credibility (Creswell, 1999). In other words, data is primarily collected through the use of systematic procedures (Creswell, 1998) and analysis is conducted concurrently (Kim, 2004). Creswell (1998) stated the need to develop a theoretical framework in the beginning of the research. The framework serves the purpose of describing the possible concepts which inform the research problem. The outcome of the research would then be a plausible relationship among the concepts identified the initial framework and new sets of concepts uncovered in the analysis of collected data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The concurrent collection and analysis of data within the grounded theory methodology ends at the point of saturation where nothing new can be found. At this stage a theory can be developed. Although data can be collected in the form of interviews with informants of the research, other atypical forms of data are also collected in the form of observations and documents. Creswell (1998) describes the process of data collection within this methodology as a ‘zigzag’ process whereby the researcher continuously goes on the field, collects and analyses data and goes back repeating the same process until the point of saturation is reached. The main features of grounded theory include theoretical sampling, the constant comparative method, coding and categorizing, memo writing, and theory generation, all of which occur simultaneously throughout the whole project (Glaser and Strauss, 1999). With the multidisciplinary nature of this study and the study of mobilities as a whole, the use of a research
strategy which allows exploration rather than theory and hypothesis testing was considered essential. Therefore the inquirer found it appropriate to use the grounded theory strategy in this research. The following section describes the two fieldworks undertaken in this study.

**Fieldwork one**
The first fieldwork was conducted over a period of four and a half months and took place in eight of the hotel resorts in Mauritius. The researcher arrived in the month of December which was unfortunately during the peak season for all hotels on the island. The main difficulty encountered was to get an appointment with someone who works in the Human Resource department of these hotels. The aim of the appointment was to convince the person to arrange for around six to eight employees across different departments to attend a focus group interview. A focus group is a group interview which relies on the interaction within the group based on a list of topics developed by the researcher (Morgan, 1988). The role of the researcher was that of a moderator.

The main strength of using focus groups as an interview technique lies in its ability to observe interaction on a topic. Assuming that industry-mobility is a fluid concept and that different individuals have experienced different types of career mobility, using focus groups was seen as an appropriate way of generating an overall picture of different people’s ability to move in and between industries. In order to do this, the researcher visited the Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority (MTPA) to collect contacts details of all hotels on the island. Following this, the researcher started the search by emailing and calling these hotels to arrange for appointments but in vain. After three weeks of trying, there was still no appointment lined up. The researcher then decided to use contacts through friends and family who know someone who works in the hotel industry and this proved to be a better solution. Within a week, several appointments were booked with Human Resource officers of ten hotels.
The second challenge was then to convince each hotel to allow between six to eight of its employees to participate in a focus group interview for approximately one hour. Following much discussion, eight out these then hotels granted the researcher permission to use their employees for this research. While some showed much enthusiasm, others were worried that it might reduce productivity in the establishment. Despite all the hurdles, the first fieldwork was conducted with eight hotels from four coastal regions on the island: Heritage Golf and Spa Resort, Dinarobin Hotel, Golf and Spa, Manisa Hotel, La Pirogue Hotel, Le Telfair Hotel, Le Prince Maurice, One and Only Le Saint Geran and Movenpick Hotel.

Each hotel provided six employees for the focus groups (see table 4.1 below). There were no specific rules for the choice of participants. As stated above, the researcher set off with an open mind in order to uncover as many themes as possible. The topics for the focus group interviews were identified from the literature review and were agreed prior to the fieldwork. As the research is about multiple mobilities, the researcher selected eight topics (see below) to be covered but with the intention of finding more in the discussions. Also the application of the tradition of ‘unmotivated looking’ at the early stages of the research (Psathas, 1995) was rooted in the style of the researcher.

1. Ancestral origin
2. Current lifestyle and any relationship with ancestral origin
3. Evidence of travel to country of ancestral origin
4. Assimilation in the Mauritian society (Mauritianisation)
5. Reasons for working in the hotel industry
6. Type of education/training and relationship with position held
7. Occupation of origin and age joined
8. Occupational mobility (functional, promotions, mixed mobility, voluntary turnover)

Each focus group interview lasted approximately forty-five minutes with a few which lasted around one hour. The conversations were tape-recorded.
One of the main problems encountered during the focus group meetings was that some of the participants stayed quiet while others took over in the discussions. The researcher tried her level best to encourage them to speak. In most of the focus group interviews, there was a mixture of employees from different ethnic groups. Most of those who were Creoles meaning of African descent, expressed their views openly and in many occasions they spoke in French despite the fact that the researcher was communicating in kreol. On the other hand, those who did not belong to this ethnic group were the quietest ones. This key observation was noted to be investigated at a later stage of the research. After completion of the first fieldwork, the researcher set off to analyse the data.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Position</th>
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Table 4.1: Details of Participants.
Field work two

After analyzing the data from the first fieldwork, several themes emerged out of the conversations. They were discussed and themes for further investigation were agreed with the research supervisor. In analyzing the first set of data, the researcher did not simply report facts or truths but actively constructed interpretations of the data collected and came up with a set of themes influenced by her own experiences in the Diaspora.

Theoretical sampling was carried out in the second field work. Corbin and Strauss (2008) stated that for the most part, theoretical sampling should be worked out carefully rather than letting it occur haphazardly so as to remain within the focus of the study but too rigid adherence can hinder the analytic process. Sampling matters identified by Corbin and Strauss (2008) are: the choice of a site or group to study must be chosen; a decision must be made about the types of data to be used; a decision must be made about how long an area should be studied and finally the access, resources, research goals and time. According to Jeon (2004) theoretical sampling is driven by the emerging categories and hypotheses as well as the need for theoretical elaboration. Rather than being pre-determined before the beginning of the research, sampling theoretically is based on concepts that emerge from analysis and that appear to have relevance to the evolving theory (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The rationale for theoretical sampling is to maximize the opportunities to compare events, incidents, or happenings to determine how a category varies in terms of its properties and dimensions (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). It enables the researcher to choose avenues of sampling which bring about greatest theoretical return. On this basis, twenty-five participants belonging to the North Indian Diaspora were identified from the first sample. These participants were identified as those who had the potential and characteristics to inform the research objectives.

After sixteen months, the researcher went back to the field to explore these themes. The first step was to contact these hotels again and arrange appointments. On this occasion, it was straightforward as the
researcher had established some good contacts. From telephone conversations with the Human Resource department, the researcher found that five of the chosen participants had left the hotel and it was against data protection laws for them to give me their contact details. However, the remaining twenty participants were still working in those hotels. One\(^1\) of them had been promoted. The researcher visited the hotels and met these individuals and explained to them that they had been selected for some further interviews. The initial reaction was a surprise and fearful look on their face. Hence, it became the researcher’s role to reassure them about the second interview.

The challenge in the second fieldwork was to conduct the data collection outside the workplace in these individuals’ homes. In the end, all of the twenty participants agreed to allocate time to this study (highlighted in bold in table 4.1). The next challenge was to find where each of them live. Mauritius, although being a tourist destination, has very poor signage. With no existence of postcodes, the researcher used the informal method of finding someone’s house in Mauritius: asking people. Sometimes, the participants would come and meet the researcher at the bus stop and both would walk ‘home’ together, talking about several relevant and irrelevant issues. The author found that these short walks connected both parties and they also increased trust between them. Talking while walking is an effective mobile method which enables the researcher to excavate the memories, values and associations of the respondents (Anderson, 2004). According to Urry (2007) the mobilities paradigm requires the use of mobile methods. They represent the appropriate ways through which mobilities can be researched. The contact made with each of them and the hospitality received will remain in the researcher’s memory forever.

Upon each visit, the researcher was offered a drink and sometimes food (depending on the time of the day). Refusing would mean offending the person, hence the researcher made the effort of satisfying her hosts.

\(^1\)Ram from Dinarobin hotel was promoted from waiter to supervisor in the same department.
There was no set duration for the interviews, conversation flew freely for sometimes, half an hour and sometimes an hour and a half. As the questions were unraveled, the participants grew more interested in the conversations. All interviews were tape-recorded. After the interview, the visit also constituted of a tour of the house, the garden, the huts at the back of the house and the other members of the family.

In the second fieldwork, the researcher used qualitative interviews. Unlike a structured or semi-structured interview, the flow and choice of topics in this type of interview changes to match what the individual interviewee knows and feels (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Qualitative interviews also require intense listening where the role of the interviewer is to hear and understand what the interviewees think and to give them a voice. In this study, the researcher probed into the special and shared meanings that members of the Diaspora developed, the kinds of activities that they engage in, and the reasons they do them. The subjects were encouraged to use examples, and stories of how they understood their world. However, due to time constraints, the researcher had to use the list of topics identified from the first fieldwork in order to direct the conversation:

1. Language
2. Memories of the homeland
3. Music, movies, dress codes, food and other symbolic materials
4. Practice of religion
5. Indian folklore
6. Friends and networks in the locale and at work
7. Traditions

The researcher also used participant observation to collect data in the second fieldwork. According to Fetterman (1989) this method is crucial to effective fieldwork. It combines participation in the lives of the people in the study whilst also maintaining professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of data. The visits allowed the researcher to immerse in the participants’ culture and to take back images of landscapes that are representational of the participants’ daily life.
According to Urry (2007), observation of people’s movement through their various daily performances supports research in mobilities. Similarly Laurier (2001) stated that through co-presence, the researcher moves along with the participants and this is an effective way to understand how diverse mobilities shape the lives of individuals. One of the key issues in participant observation is when the subject is constantly aware of the presence of the researcher (Mason, 1996). This can hinder the quality of the data. Fetterman (1989: 46) claims that ethnographic research in one’s own culture may not require as much time to reach the point where the people forget their ‘company’ behavior and fall back into familiar patterns. In this study, this was facilitated as the researcher spoke the same language and has similar customs. The researcher was already an insider in many respects. In order to avoid negative biases and ensure validity of the research, the observation was spread out over an extended time, allowing the researcher to write short reports at each visit and to go back and reflect on them. This allowed the researcher to understand and also identify further areas of observation upon the next visit (not necessarily in the same home).

**Theoretical sensitivity**

A critical aspect of the grounded theory methodology is the maintainance of theoretical sensitivity throughout the research process. Corbin and Strauss (1990: 46) defined theoretical sensitivity as the ‘ability to recognize what is important in data and to give it meaning’. In other words, it helps formulate theory that is faithful to the reality of the phenomenon being studied. This enables the researcher to generate theory grounded in the research data and not from his/her preconceived ideas or existing theories (Jeon, 2004). Corbin and Strauss (1998) stated the theoretical sensitivity comes from a number of sources such as literature, professional experience, personal experience and the analytical process itself. In this study, theoretical sensitivity was generated from the literature, personal experience and the analytical process. The literature review provided the researcher with a rich background of information about industry mobility and Diaspora which in turn sensitized the latter with what was going on
with the phenomenon being studied. Moreover, personal experience through being part of the Diaspora represented another source of theoretical sensitivity. It helped the researcher’s understanding of the data. Finally, through continuous questioning, comparisons and through processes from what is collected and observed, the research’s insight and understanding of the research problem increased. Increased sensitivity to concepts, their meanings and the relationship between them also increases ‘insight and recognition of the parameters of the evolving theory’ (Corbin and Strauss, 1998: 43). Throughout this study, the researcher periodically stepped back from the data and reflected on its reality. For example, after the first stage of data collection, the researcher came back from the field and returned after sixteen months. This time away from the participants and the context gave the researcher the opportunity to reflect on the data collected as well as maintain theoretical sensitivity. An attitude of skepticism also prevailed after the first set of data collection. In other words, theoretical explanations were regarded as provisional and they were checked by questioning other participants in the second field work. The process of stepping back and reflecting also took place during the fieldwork as the inquirer move from one hotel to another and one participant to another.

Data analysis
The next key feature of grounded theory is the analysis of data. This process is also known as coding. According to Corbin and Strauss (1990) there are two basic analytic procedures which are basic to the coding processes: making comparisons and asking questions. The first is also often referred to as the constant comparative method. The two procedures stimulate thinking about incidents, concepts, categories and their properties hence enhancing theoretical sensitivity which provide the basis for theoretical sampling. The process of continuously comparing and asking questions sharpens the researcher’s thinking and understand what is in the data. Qualitative data is unstructured by nature and qualitative data analysis is the process of resolving that data into constituent components in order to reveal its characteristic elements and structure
Coding is the process of grouping interviewees’ responses into categories that bring together the similar ideas, concepts, or themes from the data (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). The main aim is to discover, name and categorize phenomena according to their properties and dimensions (Corbin and Strauss, 1998). Following the first data analysis, relational and variational sampling is then carried out. It implies selecting those individuals or situations demonstrating dimensional range or variation of a concept.

Data from the first fieldwork was tape recorded. Each focus group interview was transcribed and translated by the researcher in order to engage with the data from the outset. Transcription is an important part of qualitative research. It is the stage at which the data is understood, shared and concluded. In this study, the researcher used denaturalized transcription where a full and faithful transcription of the conversations was the main goal rather than accents and vocalizations (Cameron, 2001). This approach is well rooted in grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) where interest is in meanings and perceptions. All conversations were tape recorded in Kreol and this made the process of transcription even longer. Once the conversations had been transcribed, they had to be translated. The researcher had to be cautious so as not to distort the meaning of the data.

Following transcription, the coding process began by conceptualizing the data in order to discover categories. According to Corbin and Strauss (1990) conceptualization is carried out by ‘taking apart an observation, a sentence, a paragraph, and giving each discrete incident, idea, or event, a name, something that stands for or represents a phenomenon’ (p.63). In this study, conceptualization was carried out by naming paragraphs in the conversations transcribed. Below is an example:

*My daughter’s friend works in this hotel. When I lost my job at the factory, she said that she could find me work in this hotel. I was shy to work in a*
hotel but she said that there are many Hindu women who also work here. It is only because of this that I said yes to work here. (Suda, 46)  
(Industry connections by family and friends)

My friends always told me to join but I did not. When I joined this industry, the way I thought it was is not exactly what it is… When I got in, I realised the prospects that this industry has… anyway even if you leave the job, you will need to move backwards, so what’s the point’? (Nitish, 25)  
(Industry connections by family and friends)

Jobs in most hotels are not advertised…so you never know when there are vacancies. It is through people you know that you get to know about those jobs. (Edgar, 43)  
(Information)

Following this labeling process throughout the data collected from the eight focus groups, categories were then formed. This was carried out by grouping the concepts together under a closely related category. This is done to reduce the number of units with which to work. According to Corbin and Strauss (1990) categories have conceptual power as there are able to pull together around them other groups of concepts or subcategories. Two of the categories discussed in the next chapter are described below:

Example one:
Category/Theme: Social Capital
Concepts identified through paragraph coding: Information (quality, volume and diversity), Distance between position and potential employee, Industry connections by friends and relatives, Frequency of contact, Nature of contact/relationship and Impact of connection.

Example two:
Category/Theme: Default Industry
Concepts identified through paragraph coding: skills (nature and level), happiness at work, job satisfaction, expectations, job moves, perception of job, perception of outside work and job market.

Apart from the focus group interviews, the researcher also wrote notes on the interaction that took place during the discussions. This is also known as thick descriptions (Hofstede, 1991, Denzin, 2003). According to Denzin, thick descriptions include information about the context of an act, the intentions and meanings that organize action and its subsequent evolution. The researcher produced thorough descriptions of the context in terms of the social setting in which the actions occurred in both fieldworks. After coding the data from the first fieldwork, categories relating to both industry mobility and Diaspora orientation were discovered. The next step in the process was to make connections between categories. This is also known as axial coding (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). This is done by using a coding paradigm involving conditions of context, action/interactional strategies and consequences. Through axial coding categories from industry mobility and Diaspora orientations were analysed. Causal conditions were identified for example the factors pertaining to Diaspora orientation which may relate to employment and mobility in the industry.

During the second fieldwork, although the researcher started off with a list of topics to interview each participant, this list was further amended and expanded as the interviews took place. This gave the researcher the opportunity to polish the research instrument as the study proceeded. Data from the second fieldwork was analysed using the open and axial coding procedures discussed above. However, through participant observation, memos and reports were also written and analysed through thick descriptions.

Ensuring validity in the study represented a challenge for the researcher. Validity in social research can be divided into two types: internal and
external (Seale, 2004). While internal validity refers to how well the data presented supports the conclusions, external validity refers to whether the findings are generalisable to other social contexts. In order to ensure internal validity in this study, interpretive rigour has been carried out by making sure that all claims are supported by a sound reading of data. However, external validity could not be guaranteed as this study is concerned with the exploration of themes pertinent to a specific group in a specific context.

Reflexivity
Reflexivity refers to the ways through which the products of research are affected by the researcher (Davies, 1999). It can occur at different phases of the research and at times throughout the research process. In this study, being also a member of the researched group meant that the researcher was constantly adopting a reflexive approach. Although the use of reflexivity may be rejected by other sciences, its pertinent contribution in social research is ongoing. It situates the researcher as an active participant in the research and also recognizes that the ‘self’ is a key tool in the research process:

‘Often condemned as apolitical, reflexivity, on the contrary can be seen as opening the way to a more radical consciousness of self in facing the political dimensions of fieldwork and constructing knowledge. Other factors intersecting with gender—such as nationality, race, ethnicity, class, and age—also affect the anthropologist’s field interactions and textual strategies. Reflexivity becomes a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness’. (Callaway, 1992: 33)

According to Mason (1996) reflexivity is important in qualitative research. It means that the researcher should constantly take stock of his/her actions and role in the research process. The researcher cannot be detached from the study. Instead the very act of posing difficult questions to oneself is part of the activity of reflexivity. The next sections discuss three
fundamental components of reflexivity which influenced this research: the ‘self’, the ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ perspectives and voice.

The ‘self’
According to Reinharz (1997) being a researcher is only one aspect of the researcher’s self which is brought to the field; however there is a wide range of selves which is created in the same field. Being part of the Indian Diaspora and a citizen of Mauritius, the researcher was an embodied participant in the fieldwork and was able to reflect on the products of that participation (Evans, 1988). Such reflection lead to the creation of multiple types of ‘self’ as the research proceeded. Through an analysis of the field notes in this study, the researcher can conclude three categories of selves both brought in and created during the research. Firstly the research-based self which is brought in by virtue of the researcher status as an inquirer, representing an organization (a university) and whose questions are given significant formal importance. Secondly the brought-in self by virtue of the researcher’s gender, age, length of time away from home, level of education, Diaspora orientation and religion. Lastly, the situationally created self for example being a temporary member of the group during the interview and being a friend. These selves and their interaction with the participants and the data collected, have benefited the study by allowing the researcher to uncover multiple areas of significant inquiry and themes. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, theoretical sensitivity is about stepping back and reflecting on the data as well as the situation. The recognition of the emergence of multiple selves as key fieldwork tools enhances theoretical sensitivity by encouraging probing and using a multidimensional way at analyzing data.

‘Insider’ and ‘Outsider’ perspectives
Apart from the different types of ‘self’, the researcher’s position also moved from that of an insider and an outsider throughout the study. She was an insider by virtue of her native status; she was born in Mauritius and lived there until she was twenty-one when she left and came to the UK for her studies. She was an outsider by virtue of the length of time she had
spent away from this country (nine years) and her educational status. Native and indigenous status can be both empowering and restricting (Bolak, 1997). During both fieldworks, the researcher actively switched between being the insider and the outsider. This bipolar construction was not fixed or static, but it was ever-shifting and fluid. As stated by Hertz (1997: 71, emphasis in text):

‘By recognizing the fluidity of “outsiderness”/“insiderness”, we also acknowledge three methodological points: as ethnographers we are never fully outside or inside the “community”; our relationship to the community is never expressed in general terms but is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated in particular, everyday interactions; and these interactions are themselves located in shifting relationships among community residents. These negotiations simultaneously are embedded in local processes that reposition gender, class, and racial-ethnic relations among other socially constructed distinctions’.

This study provides a clear illustration of the challenging role of the researcher to be able to maintain an insider/outsider balance in studies involving researching your ‘own’. During the fieldwork, the researcher’s ‘outsiderness’ became a key resource through which ‘insider’ perspective was obtained. For example, the ‘outsider’ position of the researcher during the focus group interviews allowed the employees to feel safe to express their views about their position at work. During the visits to the residential homes of the participants, ‘outsiderness’ encouraged them to talk about their values, beliefs and Diaspora orientations as a way of sharing an important aspect of their lives with the researcher. Hence, ‘outsiderness’ encouraged a feeling of security and willingness to express views freely. On the other hand, ‘insiderness’ has also been a significant resource in this study. Doing research in one’s ‘home’ country has facilitated access to these participants via the use of a common dialect as well as acceptance by the participants. ‘Insiderness’ made the second fieldwork possible. In order to gain entry into the homes of the participants and to make them feel that they could express the views on their traditions and religious
values freely, ‘insiderness’ became a key fieldwork tool. It facilitated entry into the private areas of the participants; it allowed sensitive questions to be raised and finally it made them feel safe. This study is a good example of how ‘insiderness’ and ‘outsiderness’ are unavoidable concepts to be considered in researching your ‘own’ people. Rather than being condemned, they should be utilized as key fieldwork tools.

**Voice**
Reflexivity encompasses voice (Hertz, 1997). Voice is how the researcher expresses himself/herself within ethnography. By choosing whose stories (and quotes) to display, the voices of both the researcher and the subjects are heard. According to Manning (1976), as a ‘situated actor’, the researcher brings to each interview his/her own histories. In order to make sense of what is observed and/or what is told, the researcher may draw on his/her own experience, particularly if it is something that has been already experienced. Charmaz (1997) argued that voice is the manifestation of the author’s will, intent and feeling. It varies along three main dimensions: the freshness of the inquiry, the relationship between the researcher with the informants and the place of the studied phenomenon in larger systems of meaning and practice.

In this study, the voices of both the researcher and the researched have been discussed. In the beginning, four areas of inquiry were raised. These were highly influenced by the researcher’s personal experience of the context. At this stage, the research was a reflection of the voice of the researcher, however as the work progressed, the literature review contributed in identifying the key research objectives. Hence the rationale of the inquiry of this study is based on both the author’s voice and that of other researchers discussed in the literature reviews. During the fieldwork, it was the voice of the subjects that was heard. Researching your ‘own’ people is a challenging situation where the voice of the researcher can have the tendency to mute that of others. The second dimension of voice comes from the relationship between the researcher and the informants. In this study, the researcher was related to the participants by virtue of her
nationality and belonging to the North Indian Diaspora. In some interviews she was also related by virtue of her age, gender and religion. The second fieldwork was geared towards issues related to Diaspora and using her ‘insiderness’ attribute, the researcher obtained a significant amount of data from her respondents. The narration of the conversations recorded has been given a fair chance to allow the voices of the respondents to be heard. The extracts of conversation appearing in both chapters six and seven illustrate views and conversations that reflect different perspectives.

One of the key outcomes of this research in terms of methodology is that ‘voice’ is a critical element to take into consideration when researching in one’s ‘home’ country and/or one’s ‘own’ people. This study has provided ample evidence that the choice of the researcher in such as situation as to whose voice to mute and who’s not to is a reflexive action. However, in order to obtain in-depth qualitative knowledge, the researcher has to continuously mute her own voice in order to allow others to speak out. Hence the narratives in this thesis are not only reflecting the voice of the researcher and of her experience in Mauritius and in the Diaspora but also that of those who have continued to live there and have encountered different life events.

**Ethical issues**

The initial stages of both fieldworks were to obtain consent from the hotels and the participants. In both cases, verbal consent was obtained after a short explanation of the research at the outset. The participants were reassured that all information supplied will remain confidential. All names of participants used in this thesis are pseudonyms. The second fieldwork involved visiting the participants in their homes. This implied that the researcher had to respect the space of the latter. For example on all visits in the rural regions, the researcher wore Indian traditional outfits in order to fit in; this was also followed by certain habits such as removing the shoes before going in the house and greeting people in the traditional ways.
Moreover, as many of the topics of the second fieldwork were concerned with the culture and identity of the participants, care was taken in order to respect the emotions of the participants as they related about their religion, their way of life and those people who they were talking about but who had passed away. The researcher used the beginning of each visit in order to build trust with the participants. This involved re-introducing herself and explained about what she is studying and also about her life in Mauritius. This seemed to reassure the participants that she was not a stranger.

**Conclusions**

This chapter has set out the research strategy used in this study. From social constructionist ontology and an interpretivist epistemology, the research has set out to understand the multiple mobilities encountered by the hotel employees at home. The first fieldwork was carried out in order to understand industry mobility. A series of topics identified from the literature review was selected and investigated through eight focus groups consisting of forty eight hotel employees ranging across different departments and levels in the organisation. This method has allowed the researcher to collect qualitative data which were recorded and transcribed. Using a grounded theory approach, themes were identified from thick text descriptions. The research also used a reflexive approach in order to influence the direction of themes for the second fieldwork. Here the researcher’s own diasporic orientation came into play in order to inform the topics for the next stage of the research.

The second fieldwork was marked by multiple visits in the homes of twenty participants belonging to the North Indian Diaspora. This group was identified based on the findings of the first fieldwork. By carrying out the fieldwork in the natural settings of the participants, it has been possible to apply mobile methods such as ‘talking while walking’ and collection of visual information such as home landscapes and material cultures as part of the data collection process. These methods have allowed for the active recovery of thoughts, images and objects. Moreover, in-depth interviews
were carried out with each participant about ethnic identity and this was recorded. Overall, the methodology chosen for this study has proved to be effective in collecting rich data. The next three chapters present and discuss the findings from each fieldwork respectively.
Chapter Six: Industry mobility

Introduction
This chapter presents the findings from the focus groups conducted in the first fieldwork. It starts by looking at the reasons for joining the hotel industry. Drawing on literature on career decision-making, several factors are identified as influencing the choice of working in this industry. Some of them are related to the individual’s own conscious assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of pursuing a career in this industry while others are related to constraints in the labour market. In this part of the chapter, factors such as age, gender, type of education, type of training and/or skills prior to joining the industry are discussed. Macro-level factors such as industry entry criteria, salary and scope for progression are also analysed. The aim is to understand the characteristic of those who join this industry in order to understand mobility patterns that occur later. The second part of the chapter analyses the role of information in the mobility of employees. Through the concept of social capital, this part traces the role of information in influencing the decision to join the industry and how this perpetuates itself as individuals develop networks during their stay in the industry. Here, Urry’s concept of network capital is explored in relation to how employees use networks in order to gain information about jobs at both inter and intra-industry level as well as intra-firm level. The concept of social capital is also analysed from an organisational perspective to illustrate how some of the hotels in the study have developed systems that foster communication and sharing of information in order to reinforce trust and employee commitment within the organisation. The third part elaborates on the concept of organisational commitment and how it is used as a strategy to reduce both inter and intra-industry mobility. The last part of this chapter analyses actual industry mobility within the participating hotels after joining the industry. The focus is not to produce numbers of physical mobility that have taken place but rather to understand the various types of movements that take place, the factors influencing these movements, who moves and who does not. In order to
do so, it uses the mobilities paradigm to describe the intra, inter-industry mobility as well as intra-firm mobility of the participants.

At this stage, it is important to re-iterate the multiple dimensions of mobility discussed in the literature review. Carnicer et al (2004) distinguished between internal and external mobility. Internal mobility refers to movement of employees within the company. This is also known as intra-firm mobility. It represents a change in the assignment of job responsibilities and/or functions. Intra-firm mobility can be further differentiated into three categories: functional mobility or job changes that do not modify the organisational category, promotions that are changes of organisational category but without actually changing the job function; and mixed mobility or simultaneous changes in both job changes and organisational change. On the other hand, external mobility implies leaving the present employer and going to another one. This can be classified as either voluntary or involuntary. Further fragments occur when external mobility can be observed across the same or different industries. Where this movement takes place in the same industry, it can be defined at intra-industry mobility while where the movement takes place between different industries, it can be defined as inter-industry mobility. In general, both inter and intra-industry mobility are movements associated with upward social mobility although there may be cases where this does not happen. In this thesis both internal and external mobility are assumed to be indicators of social mobility where the new position leads to better pay, level of responsibility and status compared to the previous position.

The default industry
Deciding upon a career involves identifying and collecting information about different career options before making a decision. However, apart from information, sometimes these options are constrained by the various economic flows occurring at the same time that the decision has to be taken. For example, many of the participants claimed that they joined the industry as there were no other jobs available in other sectors. Indeed, previous research has suggested that the tourism and hospitality
industries are a refuge when jobs opportunities in other sectors are scarce (Szivas and Riley, 1999):

*I was without a job, this opportunity presented itself*

(Chandranee, Housekeeper, La Pirogue Hotel)

Edgar referring to Chandranee:

*In those days there were no jobs. Unemployment was high; you did not know what to do so you did whatever you got.*

(Edgar, Housekeeper, La Pirogue Hotel)

*Especially after the closure of the textile and sugar factories lately, many youngsters with School and Higher School certificates have joined the hotel industry.*

(Prem, Waiter, Heritage Hotel).

Many participants also claimed that it was relatively easier to find a job in the hotel industry despite the fact that they had been educated to do something else:

*I went to IVTB after college and studied agriculture and when I was looking for work, it was not easy to find. When the hotels started to open more and more, I then applied to work in the laundry department.*

(Deven, Laundry operative, Movenpick Hotel).

The participants also described the industry as one which does not require much experience from its employees before they start. Ladkin (2000) stated that although vocational training had a key effect on career paths; however it would also be possible for an employee to work their way up through the ranks in the hotel industry. This also meant that the industry draws in individuals with varying educational backgrounds and no industry specific expertise or training:

*There are women now who work here with no experience but once they join, they learn the job and they are still working…I left the
police force to work here! (Antish, Head Housekeeper, Heritage Hotel)

I did my ‘O’ level and it was easier to get a clerical position in this industry rather than anywhere else… I like the hotel industry.
(Fiona, Human Resource Officer, Le Prince Maurice)

I worked in the textile industry before and then I did some courses and got this job as a clerk in the hotel. (Vikash, Administrator, Le Prince Maurice)

However some participants did not agree with the above, and stated that work experience was important in this industry. Most of those who held this perception occupied skilled positions:

Hmm… nowadays the majority of our employees are coming from the Hotel School of Mauritius … so they have an idea.
(Ajay, Restaurant Supervisor, La Pirogue Hotel)

Low barriers to entry coupled with high unemployment in other sectors made the hotel industry an attractive place for joining the labour market. With the increasing number of hotels on the island, this tendency seems to be growing across individuals independent of age, gender and education level. The study shows that many young male school leavers were joining this industry as their stepping stone in the labour market. They described this industry as an easy industry to find a job in compared to others but they also believed that this move was a temporary one. Hence, despite being in the industry, these young workers had turnover intentions. Shore and Martin (1989) noted that turnover intention is an appropriate dependent variable because it is linked with actual turnover. On this basis, the author prompted the focus groups with the question of whether the search for other jobs still existed and the following discussions were recorded:

I am here for a while only…I want to go to University and become an engineer. (Akash, Waiter, Manisa Hotel)
There is no job…that’s why I am here. Everywhere I apply I am not getting it because I am too young but I will keep looking… We look for better package including better salary and working conditions… why not?

(Ali, Waiter, Le Telfair Hotel)

As for me, I am still looking and if I do get something with a better pay, I will leave. (Brenda, Administrator, Le Prince Maurice)

We look for more experience, more knowledge, for earning more money and sometimes because where we are at the moment there are no further opportunities. (Viky, Receptionist, Manisa Hotel)

Yes always … Just like in this TV programme ‘choisir ou travay’² they show jobs available. You never know what could happen tomorrow … so it’s good to keep looking. (Sam, Cashier, Heritage Hotel)

However it should be noted that despite high mobility intention actual mobility can be low because of high unemployment in an industry and/or other industries. Therefore low mobility may be masking other important causes and barriers to career mobility. Job satisfaction and perceptions of job alternatives are the main predictators and immediate precursors of actual external career mobility (Maertz and Campion, 1998). Hjalager and Anderson (2000) stated that there is an increasing need to consider the links between the tourism labour market and other labour markets in order to understand the genuine reasons of inter-industry mobility. Therefore in the case of the hotel industry in Mauritius in relation to other industries on the island, the former has been described as one where the barriers to entry are rather low thus making it easier to enter the industry compared to other industries. This can be illustrated in multiple quotes above.

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² This can be translated as ‘choose your work’. The programme used to come on TV every day after the 7.30 pm news.
Using Rollins and Vaugeois’s five orientation model it can therefore be concluded that the employees in the hotel industry displayed in the first instance the refuge orientation. They have entered this industry due to their inability to find employment elsewhere. Secondly, some held the positive orientation. This includes those who joined the industry as they held a positive perception about it. Many of those who belonged to this category had invested in industry-specific training either prior to or after joining the industry. Thirdly, the instrumental orientation was found in all those who had initially joined the industry as a refuge. With time, these individuals changed their perceptions about the industry and this was mainly related to the financial benefits of the work. They related it to improving their current standard of living. These orientations not only help in the understanding of the types of employees in the tourism and hospitality industry but they can also be used in order to understand the types of movement which take place within each orientation. Hence employment in the hotel industry results into a dynamic series of changes to orientations as the individuals spend more time in the industry.

Moreover, the above quotes also show that career mobility can no longer be calculated by counting the number of job occupied by an individual but there is also is a need to look at psychological mobility. Arthur and Sullivan (2006) distinguished between the two. They stated that physical mobility refers to the transition across boundaries and psychological mobility is the perception of the capacity to make transitions (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). The above quotes show that many of the young employees who were at the beginning of their working lives, perceived a boundaryless future ahead despite structural constraints (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). Although they were in the same industry and doing the same type of work as others, their levels of physical and psychological mobility was different. DeFillippi and Arthur (1996) attribute this difference to different competencies which they describe as ‘ways of knowing’. These involve the individual’s motivation and identity (know-why), skills and expertise (know-how) and relationships and reputation (know-whom). In the above case, young male school leavers were least motivated (know-why) to work in this
industry as they believed that because of their education levels (know-how), they could get something better outside the hotel industry. However, it should also be noted that psychological mobility may not necessarily lead to physical mobility. Even those who initially started working in this industry thinking that it is a temporary move, ended up making a career of it:

*I joined when I was nineteen…I had just finished school and wanted to earn some money until I can get a better job but I never left. I have progressed a lot here…maybe more than I would progress elsewhere.*

(Chenga, Kitchen Manager, La Pirogue Hotel)

Mobility in this industry is related to progression opportunities and relatively competitive salary packages offered. According to the respondents, the hotels in Mauritius offer better salary and benefit packages than other industries; hence making it a rather attractive industry for many:

*As I told you before, I used to work in a textile factory and used to earn Rs 3,500 per month and with overtime coming home at one in the morning, I could earn up to Rs 4000 … whereas here, my basic salary is Rs 4000 when I start. With overtime, I can earn Rs8000… So many people say here is better … I can then have a better life as well as my family.*

(Mooneswar, Housekeeper, Heritage Hotel)

Ross (1997) stated that those who decided to stay in the industry also associated it with factors such as job autonomy and a pleasant life style. Hence for many participants, both physical and psychological mobility out of the hotel industry were reduced by better salary and better working conditions than in other industries. Wong (1992) described this as a strategy used by organisations to survive with increasing development of large scale organisations and to secure control over employees. Higher levels of remuneration such as salary, fringe benefits and career prospects
are being used as hallmarks of exchange between employee and employer to create immobility.

However, according to Philips and Pazienza (1988) different individuals have different career decision-making styles. While the above showed that age and level of education were key influences in both physical and psychological mobility, the quote below shows gender was also a significant factor:

\[ I \text{ joined this hotel because I needed some experience but I have to work Saturdays as well here…my husband wants me to get another job because he works nights and we do not see each other a lot.} \]

(Brenda, Administrator, Le Prince Maurice)

Moreover, the participation of women in the hotel industry in Mauritius is still stigmatised:

\[ \text{As for me, it took two years sitting at home after my studies before I got this job. My parents were not very happy that I work here but I convinced them… otherwise I would probably be still at home now!…but they want me to find a job somewhere else… they think that it is the wrong environment for a young girl to work.} \]

(Mansee, Administrator, Le Saint Geran).

The study shows that female participation in the hotel industry is still low compared to male. From the study, their participation can be observed twofold: firstly, all young females were concentrated in administrative work and secondly the older ones were concentrated in low skilled jobs. This can be interpreted in two ways: firstly, young females in possession of transferable skills coupled with de-motivation (caused by the stigma of working in this industry) could lead to both high physical and psychological mobility. This will be elaborated more in the last part of this chapter. On the other hand, older females working in low skilled jobs experienced both low physical and psychological mobility due to limited skills. Hence, the above confirm previous findings that women in the hotel industry tend to
carry out the lowest status work (Adib and Guerrier, 2003) and that they are horizontally segregated into particular operations (Ng and Pine, 2003).

The participants who joined the industry as there were no other jobs available confirmed that they stayed as they were given opportunities to climb the organisation ladder. It is therefore also important to analyse the patterns of both inter and intra-industry mobility by the time at which it takes place. For example whether it is at the beginning of a person’s working life or whether it takes place at the top of a series of previous occupational positions. In this perspective, tenure was also identified as a major factor influencing both inter and intra-industry mobility. The respondents who had spent more than three years in their current positions stated that they did not perceive the need and possibility of working in a different industry. As stated in Jovanovic (1979)’s job matching model, job changes slow down over time with job tenure. Parrado et al (2007) also found that those with higher wages and older employees tend to avoid inter-industry movements. The majority of respondents who had long tenure in the industry, both low and high income earners, showed little interest in moving to a different industry:

*I have worked at La Pirogue for fourteen years…I do not think I can work anywhere else…it will like starting again…here I know everyone and I am used to it.* (Ishwaree, Cleaner, Le Saint Geran).

Therefore, intra-firm mobility opportunities in the form of promotion were also important in retaining those who came in this industry by default. Promotion opportunities are considered better in this industry compared to others. Hence, employee perception of promotion opportunities and tenure within the organisation reduce both physical and psychological mobility:

*I joined as a waiter … trainee waiter, waiter, head waiter and then kitchen manager.*

(Chenga, Kitchen Manager, La Pirogue Hotel).

Even for those with shorter tenure, both inter and intra-industry mobility was low when opportunities for progression were available. Therefore
scope of progression influenced mobility both physically and psychologically by motivating employees to stay in the wait of a better position. In this case, age was not a significant influence:

I work as a waiter… I joined after my school certificate exams. I have been trained very well and if I leave I have to do something which is the same. The company will be sending me to the hotel school soon to study. I do not want to do anything else now… not after two years of working in this job. (Ram, Waiter, Dinarobin Hotel).

Hence, the above shows that many of the participants chose to work in the hotel industry despite having no hotel-specific training due to factors such as unemployment, ease of penetration, opportunities for progression and attractive salary and benefit packages. They described themselves as having landed in the industry by default. Although physical mobility may be low, psychological mobility is still experienced by those who have the three ‘ways of knowing’. The following section discusses the third ‘way of knowing’ which influences individuals mobility in the labour market.

**Social Capital**

As stated by Arthur and Sullivan (2006) one of the factors influencing both physical and psychological mobility is the ‘knowing-whom’ competency. It refers to relationships with work colleagues, professional associations, friends and family that provide information for decision making. Urry (2007) also emphasized the role of networks in mobilities. The hotel industry in Mauritius is a growing industry substituting the once dominant textile industry. As such many of the participants had worked in the textile industry before. With the increasing number of hotels opening on the island, they admitted basing their decision on connections that they had within the industry:

My friends always told me to join but I did not. When I joined this industry, the way I thought it was is not exactly what it is. When I got in, I realised the prospects that this industry ha… anyway even
if you leave the job, you will need to move backwards, so what’s the point?  
(Nitish, Barman, Dinarobin Hotel)

The study shows that industry-specific connections played an important role prior to and after joining the hotel industry. Potential employees use personal connections in the industry in the form of friends and relatives in order to obtain information about the industry. Through the exchange of industry-specific information, social capital is created. According to Lin (2000), social capital may be defined as investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected returns. Social capital is firstly conceptualised as the quantity and/or quality of resources available to the individual and which can be used or accessed through its location in a social network. Social capital enhances the likelihood of instrumental returns because social resources affect action outcomes. Social capital is therefore measured by embedded resources and network characteristics (Bourdieu, 1977b; Lin, 2000). Hence by being connected to friends and relatives who work in the hotel industry, potential employees access information which serves as a key resource to gain entry in the industry. Although access to information influences the ability to join the hotel industry, the study also shows that the nature and the quality of the information played an important role in the decision of joining the industry:

I never thought I would leave the police force to work in this industry...when my friend told me about how much money he earns with overtime and how the work is less stressful compared to being in the police I decided to try and here I am! (Antish, Head Housekeeping, Heritage Hotel).

However, the study also revealed that after joining the industry or firm, inequality of social capital occurred. Those who occupied low skilled jobs were relatively disadvantaged when it comes to connections and networks in the industry. Being at the low end of the ladder, access or use of social resources was limited. Moreover for those who were disadvantaged in terms of their position in the organisation, the study found that there was a
general tendency for these individuals to associate with those of similar group or socioeconomic characteristics:

I usually stay with my friends who work together. There is no point going to other people. Everyone has their own group of friends here. Cleaners stay together, waiters stay together…it does not mean that we do not talk but during breaks we stay with people we work with. (Sheila, Housekeeper, Heritage hotel)

The fact that there are different levels of social capital means that social capital reflects a structural process whereby social groups occupy different socioeconomic standings in organisations. Moreover, as these individuals develop the tendency to interact and share sentiment with others of similar characteristics (Homans, 1958; Lin, 2000), this can further their position at the lower end of the organisational ladder. This would therefore imply that members of a certain group clustering around relatively inferior socioeconomic standings and interacting with others in the similar social groupings, would be embedded in social networks poorer in resources and in turn, poorer social capital (Lin, 2000). The above quotes also show that the nature of the information derived from the connection affects the decision-making process. This is also known as information richness (Koka and Prescott, 2002). The quality and the nature of the information determine the extent to which social capital becomes an advantage to the outsider. In this case, information richness can contribute to changing perceptions of the outsider. Through information, social capital becomes a resource that facilitates access to jobs (Portes, 1998). Individuals who have personal contacts in the hotel industry are able to obtain information about job vacancies in a shorter time, at a shorter distance and hence this also reduces the costs of search for the potential employee:

As for me, I did my studies and after that I applied for jobs everywhere except the hotel industry … It was hard to find a job … then a friend who worked in this hotel told me about the vacancy and then I applied and got the job here

(Mansee, Administrator, Le Saint Geran)
In the hotel industry in general and other sectors in Mauritius, even if you have been to school, with your qualifications only you will not get a job, but if you know someone, you will definitely get the job. (Premduth, Waiter, La Pirogue Hotel)

Personally, I got this job through a friend. Today, to become a security officer you need to have your ‘O’ levels but I don’t have this. If I did not know someone, I would not be here now. (Prahan, Security Officer, Le Prince Maurice Hotel).

From the above quotes, two points can be noted. Firstly, it is clear that for individuals who are contemplating joining the hotel industry it is common practice to use information provided by their personal contacts in the decision making process. Secondly, this information is made accessible through informal and propinquitous communities comprising of friends and family. This practice has become an essential way of penetrating the hotel industry leading to an unavoidable ‘burden of mobility’ in order to sustain social networks (Shove and Pantzar, 2005).

Both Gulati (1995) and Wittel (2001) stated that ties act as a signal and mechanism of trust. Putnam (1993) stated that social capital refers to connections among individuals based on reciprocity and trust. When the information comes from a known person, it is trusted. The study revealed that participants felt more secure by asking their friends and relatives about jobs rather than using formal channels of recruitment:

If you apply from the newspaper you will be waiting for ever! ... it is better to ask people who work there. Hotels here don’t advertise for petty jobs. I think only office jobs and management go in the newspaper...low levels jobs are never advertised as far as I know. (Nikola, Kitchen porter, Le Telfair).

One of the Human Resource officers confirmed that it was common practice in many hotels in Mauritius to recruit employees through people who are already working in the organisation. However, for positions
requiring high levels of responsibility such as management level jobs, they would follow formal channels of recruitment:

*We encourage people who work for us to bring people they know when there is a vacancy…some people like it some don’t.*

(Cheryl, Human Resource Officer, Movenpick Hotel).

The above shows that hotels tend to consider the use of industry connections in order to gain entry into employment as a safe and trusted way of building a committed workforce. Therefore these organizations supported the use of social capital as part of their system of recruitment:

*It is quite true that in this industry, if someone recommends a person for work, we trust that the recommended person is good … But we still select people through interviews and check if they are able to do the job.*

(Fiona, Human Resource Officer, Le Prince Maurice).

These connections create a form of trust and reciprocity between the employer and the employee which then further produces social capital (Putnam, 1993). According to Herriot (1994) through the notion of reciprocity mutual obligations are fulfilled by both employer and employee. Trust increases as obligations continue to be met. The hotels participating in the research believed that when their employees recommended someone for a job, they had the confidence that the former will not try to deceive them. This form of trust is essential for social capital to be accepted as a resource in mobility as a whole.

While social capital is an important resource to gain entry in the hotel industry, its impact becomes more complex as individuals spend more time in the industry. According to Urry (2007) social capital is formed by communities characterized by propinquity where contact is an essential part of the process. However as communities are no longer fixed and sedentary, it is important to look at the evolution of social capital across groups as distance increases. The study also shows that as individuals spend more time in this industry, they form connections with groups that
they do not necessarily have regular contact with. These can be those who work in other hotels where they have worked before or even those within the same organization but located at different levels in the hierarchy. Such contacts generate what Urry termed network capital. It arises out of co-presence where trust is generated at a distance. Information about jobs within the same firm as well as in other firms help individuals make decision about both intra-firm and intra-industry mobility. In other words, the more connections an individual has with others in the same industry or organization, the more network capital the person has. The key difference between social capital and network capital here is that social capital necessitates some form of contact for the exchange to occur, while network capital can also be exchanged at a distant. Network capital in the form of volume and quality of information reflects the level of embeddedness of a person in a network. High network capital increases the opportunities for intra-industry and intra-firm mobility. Movement from one hotel to another is based on information obtained from industry-specific networks. Here again, the quantity, variety, quality and nature of the information will determine the movement:

*My friend who worked with me before told me that the same job I was doing at Pearl Beach hotel was paying more here at Dinarobin…I did not wait…I filled an application form and I got it as I had experience.* (Ram, Waiter, Dinarobin)

Intra-firm mobility in the form of promotion is facilitated by increased access to information about internal vacancies. Koka and Prescott (2002) claimed that social capital within organisations is increased as connections are formed with individuals occupying managerial positions. This increases the quantity of information available (information volume), the variety of information about jobs or specific jobs (information diversity) and the quality and nature of the information (information richness). However, the use of social capital inside the organisation to gain access to job information is not seen fair by many. As stated by Urry (2007) networks are becoming central within social life and access to these networks can imply inclusion for some but exclusion for others:
When someone recommends you to come in it’s ok…you still have to work hard when you get the job otherwise they will throw you out but to get a promotion…the person who deserves it should get it…favouritism is not good…in some of the places that I have worked, people get promotions because of their religion…this is not fair. (Premduth, Waiter, La Pirogue Hotel)

As in the case of social capital, for network connections to be become capital, it is important for them to be recognised by the industry and/or organisation. As stated by Urry (2007) the necessary systems have to be in place for network capital to create mobility. The above statement shows that the use of industry-specific networks is viewed as an effective way of bringing reliable and trustworthy employees within the organisation. Being embedded within these networks, therefore represent an essential form of both social and network capital for the potential employee. However, when the same practice is introduced in intra-firm recruitment, it is seen as an unfair system. According to Lin and Dumin (1986) a better position of origin promotes access or use of better social resources. In other words, those who occupy better positions already have network capital advantage over the others by being homophilic (Lin, 2000), hence increasing their possibility to be mobile. On the other hand, those at the bottom of the ladder are clustered around networks with relatively poor access to information and hence poorer network capital. The next part of this chapter shows that in the case of the hotels studied, many have developed alternative ways of increasing the social capital of all individuals at work so as to foster commitment and trust within the organisation.

Organisational commitment

From the above, it can be seen that social and network capital creates an intricate web of relational network which impacts on the employee’s mobility both before and after joining the industry. Moving away from this micro-level analysis, the study found that organisations also invested in the social capital of their employees in order to increase commitment. Competition to recruit and retain employees pushes these hotels to create
a good working environment through the appropriate organisational culture:

In the hotel industry, there is a lot of competition. Some hotels are able to propose a better package to their employees than others. Therefore there are some people who feel that there are better opportunities elsewhere but the work environment may not be the same...there are people who then want to return where they come from.

(Cheryl, Human Resource Officer, Movenpick Hotel).

The study shows that Movenpick Hotel, Le Telfair, Dinarobin and La Pirogue Hotel had successfully increased employee commitment through the creation of social capital for their employees. Organisational commitment refers to an employee’s involvement in and identification with the organisation (Mowday, Porter and Steers, 1982). Hotels increase employee commitment by exchange of information within the organization and this, in turn increases employee’s social capital (Watson and Papamarcos, 2002). All four hotels were managed by foreign general managers who brought about major changes to the management of people in these hotels:

The way of doing things in different hotels varies ... I have worked in many places...in some you have to obey and not say anything even if you are not happy but here the management is better ... all people can talk to their supervisor and there are regular meetings to discuss the issues... Every three months heads of departments come down to speak to employees about any changes. We have also recently introduced a profit-sharing scheme and have told employees about it. (Cheryl, Human Resource Officer, Movenpick Hotel)

Through communicative action, organisations exchange information about actions and plans (Weick, 1995), making the employee feel valued. For Cobb and Wooten (1998), this makes employees perceive the organisation as a fair system where everyone stands an equal chance
thus reducing the need to change employer. Enhancing the social capital of employees also reduces transaction costs of organisations (Coleman, 1988) by increasing organisational commitment which in turn reduces absenteeism and turnover. Therefore, the manipulation of social capital by the employer is a way of controlling the employee’s mobility.

Information exchange is an important part of organisational life. In management terms, it is said to reflect the culture of the organisation. It both affects and is affected by the level of trust between the employer and the employee. According to Putnam (2000) social capital depends on members of a group. In a few of the hotels in this study, they fostered employee commitment by sharing information with employees. These ranged from information related to profit, progress of the organisation, internal vacancies, changes and actions. Employees who have worked in this industry for a long time stated that such new style of management has emerged in recent years when foreign investors and managers have started taking over:

*I have worked here for ten years in Voile Dor before it became Movenpick…I can tell you that things have changed…when you are not happy you can say…they tell us everything…now I heard they are going to give us part of their profits every year…that's really encouraging.*

(Suda, Kitchen assistant, Movenpick Hotel).

According to Bourdieu (1977a) employees benefit from psychological and social affirmation obtained through membership in an organisation that looks after the welfare of its members. In all focus group interviews, the participants valued employers that listen to them and also keep them informed. Although this is new to the style of managing people in the third world and developing countries, it seems to have broken the ice in many of the hotels in Mauritius. Shared norms and symbols are important features of a strong organisation culture (Watson and Papamarcos, 2002). By sharing information with employees, norms are shared as well. Norms that are strongly shared constitute an important factor in the formation of
social capital. Norms in some of the hotels are emphasised by regular interaction with employees and become internalised and form the psychological contract between the employer and the employee. This then changes the perception of employees towards the organisation leading to higher commitment (Watson and Papamarcos, 2002).

Sharing of information in order to enhance social capital can also be explained using the social exchange theory. The employer willing to share information with the employee is expecting the latter to exchange commitment and trust towards the former. This would be a plausible reason to explain the high number of participants in the focus groups who have spent more than three years in a company. Long tenure and commitment is further enhanced by organisations fostering trust and commitment through investment in the social capital of the employees. Social capital at both micro and macro levels make this industry attractive to many. For some it started as a stepping stone in the labour market but has ended up becoming the start of a career. Although it is an industry by default for some participants, it is famous for good pay, good working conditions and possibility of growth. Hence, most of the participants revealed that such conditions of work reduce the need to move. The strategy of investing in the social capital of their employees can be seen as a way of eliminating the impacts of network capital within both the industry and/or the firm. As organizations voluntarily engage into sharing information with their employees, the use of network information during employment is decreased. Moreover, as organizations invest in social capital this can result in the immobility of some of their employees. In other words, employees remain with their employers and engage mainly in intra-firm mobility.

Finally by adopting styles of management that create a form of psychological contract with the employer, these organisations are actively creating cultural boundarylessness. As mentioned in chapter three, this concept refers to situations where workplace values and norms change in order to create a strong business community. New styles of managements
and values such as teamworking, passion and creativity are emphasized over traditional norms such as discipline and solidarity (Garsten and Jacobsson, 2004). This in turn makes the boundaries between work and private life blurred (Kamp et al, 2011). Through cultural boundarylessness, these hotels are deploying strategies in order to reduce inter and intra-industry mobility. A more detailed explanation of this follows.

**Industry mobility**

Before considering any type of mobility, it is important to reiterate some of the traditionally held assumptions about work mobility. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, mobility in the labour market has often been associated with vertical movements where moving up the ladder is highly valued as a measure of career mobility. The vertical movement, usually upward in nature, is accompanied by an increase in salary, status and level of responsibility. However, Hall (2002) argued that a career is not only about movement but it refers to the sequence of attitudes and behaviours related to the work experiences and activities in a person’s life. Employees today are not the only decision makers concerning their careers. In most cases, employees place their careers in the hands of organisations by default. The latter actively engages in multiple strategies in order to manipulate the career decisions of individuals which in turn influences their mobility in the industry. Herriot et al (1994) grouped all these strategies under the term Organisation Career Management (OCM). It refers to five key items: firstly, the importance given to training and development within an organisation, secondly the extent to which employees are informed about job moves and opportunities, thirdly whether the organisation makes career development opportunities for all or restricted employees, fourth the level of choice given to individuals regarding their career moves and fifth the extent to which the organisation operates a fair system of career. Hence by increasing the level of social capital of their employees and by investing in their training, the organisations in this study are actively engaging in OCM in order to control the mobility of their employees. However, the study also shows that the traditional linear movement up the organisational ladder is not the only
type of mobility experienced by the employees. For many of the participants, the job that they did when they joined the industry changed over time. These changes were not necessarily accompanied by any change in pay, level of responsibility or status:

_When I joined La Pirogue fourteen years ago, I used to work in the kitchen as a kitchen assistant… I used to do the washing up most of the time but sometimes other things too … after this I worked in Laundry but then new people came and they transferred me into housekeeping. I am now a cleaner for the last five years._ (Ishwaree, Cleaner, Le Saint Geran)

_I worked in laundry before but then they needed more people in the kitchen. I was offered a choice … I chose the kitchen as the hours are convenient for me and the money is the same… I look after my grandchildren and in laundry I used to finish late._ (Suda, Kitchen assistant, Movenpick Hotel)

Ishwaree and Suda have worked in the industry for fourteen and ten years respectively. Despite long tenure, upward mobility did not take place as predicted by linear career models. Arthur et al (2005) argued that organisations are no longer able to offer their employees well-defined careers paths. In the cases above, increased tenure did not parallel with linear upward mobility. Instead, lateral or horizontal movements have taken place. These have broadened the skills and competencies of these employees. However, although they had acquired broad experience in their work, movement to better positions did not take place. Unlike Garavan and Coolahan (1996) who claimed that lateral or horizontal movement leads to a moving up of the ladder, in this study this was not applicable to low skilled jobs. Therefore, although lateral or horizontal movements at work result in the mobility and broadening of skills, they can also hinder the vertical mobility of a low skilled employee by pulling the latter further into low skilled jobs both within and between organisations. However, when compared to their male counterparts, they were more
immobile. Male workers who started at low skilled levels, moved up the hierarchy much faster:

I was going to leave in the beginning. I started as a housekeeper but then I applied to join the restaurant and they gave me a job as a waiter. I took it as the money was better. (Premduth, Waiter, La Pirogue)

Therefore the conditions for upward mobility in the hotel industry are still gender biased where women at the bottom of the organisation hierarchy have little access to promotional opportunities. As a result of this, they experience low mobility. On the other hand, those who joined skilled level positions tend to be vertically mobile both in the industry and in the organisation where they work. This was also influenced by the level of education; level and nature of skills and experience that they have in the industry:

I joined as a waiter but my supervisor knew that I had done my A-levels. When the cashier job came up, I was the most qualified one for the job among all the other waiter… most of them did not even have an O-level.

(Sam, cashier, Heritage Hotel).

When I went to France, it was not hard to find a job in hospitality. My experience here at La pirogue and my qualifications from the hotel school of Mauritius made it easier … even when I came back I went straight into the same level job…it was also easier to be promoted for me because I had the baggage … I mean the qualifications. ((Stephane, Food and Beverage Manager, La Pirogue Hotel)

I joined Le Telfair when I was still training at the hotel school. I was working as a kitchen assistant but when I was qualified I was promoted to kitchen sous-chef and now I am also the kitchen
supervisor. (Annabelle, Kitchen supervisor and sous-chef, Le Telfair)

Therefore upward career mobility was more prominent for those who were formally trained for the job and for those who had the experience. Training was exercised by both the employer and the employee while experience was acquired through lateral or horizontal movement in the industry and the organisation:

*I started at a waiter and worked for two years. I also worked in the kitchen whenever they were short of staff...then I was appointed as head waiter. I did this for more than three years before I was promoted to restaurant supervisor...it was then that I went to France...when I came back with my experience I am now the Food and Beverage manager.*

(Stephane, Food and Beverage Manager, La Pirogue Hotel)

Hence, in the case of management level jobs, lateral or horizontal movement may lead to a moving up of the ladder both within and between organisations. When individuals occupy several positions without necessarily higher pay or status, they extend their skills and experience. The hotel industry is known for forming employees from the bottom level in order to increase skills and competencies to move up the ladder. However, the findings show that upward vertical movement can only happen if it is compensated with training. Therefore, those occupying low skilled jobs in this industry are likely to move more on a lateral or horizontal basis unless they obtain the right training to be upwardly mobile. This training embeds employees with resources which are essential determinants of motility in the hotel industry. Becker (1962) called this process human capital investment. Whereas schooling has been commonly known to contribute to the development of certain skills in individuals in order to allow them to obtain a job in the future, Becker's
theory emphasizes how firms may invest in their employees in order to create human capital.

The impact of investment in human capital can be analysed from both macro and micro levels. At the macro-level, investment in human capital by organisations helps to achieve competitive advantage (Peteraf, 1993) while at micro-level it helps employees develop knowledge, skills, abilities and other characteristics required for improved performance (Schmidt and Hunter, 1998). This study found that investment in human capital is a key strategy used by Mauritian hotels and employees to regulate employee mobility as well as both inter and intra-industry mobility. In Dinarobin Hotel for example, new employees were selected based more on their potential and willingness to learn rather than their current knowledge, skills, and experience. According to Lepak and Snell (2002) this helps organisations incorporate in their employees firm-specific skills and according to Subramaniam and Youndt (2005) human capital becomes a strategic asset for an organisation when the skills and knowledge created are unique and valuable to both the employer and employee. This in turn leads to ‘human capital advantage’ (Boxall, 1996) over their competitors.

The following extracts are from management level staff in the human resource departments:

_We like to take on young staffs who want to learn while working. We start them at the hotel and if they are good, we pay for them to go to the hotel school at Ebene. With older staff, they do not want to study…we prefer those who want to learn and get better._
(Brenda, Administrator, Le Prince Maurice)

_We have a training plan for each employee…This is a new scheme but they like it a lot…Most of the people who work for us have started from the bottom and have now reached good positions. We only give promotions to those who have the skills._
(Fiona, Human Resource officer, Le Prince Maurice)
Since Movenpick took over, there has been so many changes…The HR department has become bigger and more money has been allocated towards training. The employees are doing better than under old management because they are trained from the beginning.

(Cheryl, Human Resource Officer, Movenpick Hotel).

As stated above, creating human capital advantage is one of the top-list priorities stated by all three human resource management staffs interviewed in this research. With the growth in the number of multinational companies joining the hotel industry in Mauritius, there has been an observed improvement towards investment in training and development compared to before. This is attributed to the changing ideology towards employees reflected by Western management styles. The move towards increased investment in human capital was also justified by the fact that all hotels were aware that majority of their staffs had joined without any industry-specific skills. Hence investment in training was perceived as an essential way of satisfying the skills needs of these types of employees:

We often have very young staffs who have never worked in hotels before…you cannot expect them to know what to do…so we have to train them from the beginning but also encourage them to learn more if they are going to make this a career.

(Fiona, Human Resource Officer, Le Prince Maurice).

According to Bontis (1998) human capital advantage can also be achieved if the organisation has the right structural capital to enable this. Structural capital refers to the organisation culture, structure and the management processes existing in the organisation. It provides the appropriate platform for human capital to develop. From the fieldwork, the structural capital is reflected in the resource-based model used by all of the participating hotels except Manisa Hotel. Emphasis in this model is to create human capital which is valuable and unique to the organisation, hence a strong emphasis on both firm-specific and industry-specific human capital. Barney and Wright (1998) stated that having unique human capital is also
Worker knowledge and skills levels are important pieces of information which are only available to current employers and not to potential employers. According to Veum (1999) this asymmetric information motivates current employers to provide training to employees to increase their performances as well as to retain them within the organisation. De Grip and Sieben (2004) stated that it is important to differentiate between general or transferable training and firm-specific training. Becker’s (1962) investment in human capital model describes the effect of on-the-job training on mobility. The model can be applied to both inter and intra-industry mobility. In the case of inter-industry mobility, the model predicts that when on-the-job training is general, which means the skills can also be productive in a different firm, then the likelihood of external mobility is high. Similarly, according to Sullivan and Arthur (2006), industry-specific training can hinder labour mobility into other industries but can also be of value to other organisations in the same industry. According to Stevens (1999) such type of training is related to the concept of transferable skills where the same set of skills can be used by other firms in the same industry. This study shows that as levels of transferable skills are increased, the employee is more likely to move. However, the direction of the move will depend on whether the transferable skill is industry-specific or not. In other words, an employee who can transfer skills from one firm to another is likely to be more mobile within the same industry whereas an employee who is able to transfer skills across multiple industries is likely to be inter-industry mobile. Those who joined at a later stage in their career, claimed to have based their choice to join the industry on the possibility of transferring the skills from previous jobs. Some of them transferred generic skills from previous non-hotel related jobs. Most of them worked mainly in general administration, facilities and maintenance. In this case human capital was not specific to the industry but could still be used. Therefore, generic transferable skills increase the motility of the employee by facilitating inter-industry mobility:
But as for me, it is my first time working in the hotel industry, it is not even one year. But I did similar work before but not in the hotel industry but when I started, I already had a notion about what I am required to do. It is as if not difficult for me to get into this field...The base is the same.

(Edgar, General Maintenance Supervisor, La Pirogue Hotel)

Intra-industry mobility was also facilitated by generic and transferable skills acquired either through personal investment in human capital or through investment from other organisations worked for. Many of the participants, who joined the industry as their stepping stone in the labour market, have worked in multiple hotels on the island as they described the nature of the work to be the same. According to the human capital theory, developing general skills increases external job opportunities and the likelihood that employees will market their skills elsewhere (Mincer, 1988; Lynch, 1991). Hence generic and transferable skills increased the probability of intra-industry mobility as well:

It is as if you are working in La Pirogue hotel, tomorrow you work in Le Chandrani hotel, and after that you work in Le Maritime… It is the same. (Stephane, Food and Beverage Manager, La Pirogue Hotel)

In this study, industry-specific skills were high especially for those who worked and occupied several positions in this industry across time. However, intra-industry mobility was low for those who had long tenure with a specific organisation but high for those employees with short tenure. This low mobility is attributed to the effect of firm-specific skills on the mobility of employees towards other organisations both in and out of the hotel industry. As employees spend more time within an organisation, they acquire a wide range of firm-specific skills which offset their industry-specific skills to the point that the latter is no longer used as a strategy for external labour market mobility. As stated by Matusik and Hill (1998) firm-specific skills can also hinder mobility into other organisations as these skills are not mobile. In other words, firm-specific training is a strategy to
reduce the mobility by endowing employee with skills, symbols and values which are not transferable into other organisations.

Therefore when the training is firm-specific, which means that it is customised to accommodate the needs of the firm providing it, then external mobility is low. From the findings, generic and firm-specific training are both essential elements of on-the-job training across all participating hotels. For low skilled workers, firm-specific training was more prominent as they entered the industry with little knowledge and skills. For such workers, moving to a different organisation after acquiring the skills was described as difficult. Hence, developing the ‘human capital advantage’ through training is seen as a way of retaining employees and also deploying good performances from them. One of the participants had travelled from Rodrigues Island, in order to work in one of the hotels in the study. He described his decision to move was mainly because the hotel where he was working in Rodrigues did not offer any type of support:

*I worked in Cotton Bay hotel in Rodrigues for two years but no promotion, no training. I used the cooking skills that I already knew to work in the kitchen there… but I got fed up…I came to Mauritius because I know by one of my friends that the companies here give more training than in Rodrigues.*

(Joanito, Kitchen sous-chef, Heritage Hotel).

Employees also invest in their human capital through education and training undertaken outside the organisation. This micro-level investment can be identified as hotel-specific education and training undertaken by individuals either prior to joining the industry or during their time spent in the industry. This is different to macro-level investment as at micro-level the individual voluntarily invests in the training. Such investment has impact on the motility of the employee as it increases access to mobility resources. The participants, who had industry-specific training either prior to or during their employment in the hotel industry, were found to occupy middle or upper-level positions. Although they started at the lower end, with their human capital, they had better access and opportunities to
appropriate resources to become mobile. Their mobility up the organizational ladder was speeded up as stated above. Hence from a micro-level perspective, investment in human capital empowers the employee with the appropriate skills to be able to be upwardly mobile in the organisation that they are working in. The decision for investment in human capital at micro-level was based on some form of direct or indirect exposure to the industry prior to the start of the career:

When I was at school, I used to spend all my vacations and long week-ends at what we know today as Dinarobin hotel. In those days, there were many bungalows there and I used to spend all my vacations there, so I discovered this world of hotel and… I wanted to do this. So, it was all thought through and even before finishing school, I knew already what I had to do.

(Stephane, Food and Beverage Manager La Pirogue Hotel)

Hence as quoted above, for people like Stephane, the decision to work within the industry was a purposeful action. Such individuals also claimed that once the choice was made they then tailored their education pathways to meet the needs of the job. Such participants entered the industry at a young age after hotel-specific schooling. Unlike Purcell and Quinn (1996) who claimed that jobs in tourism are not the first career choice even among those who had been trained specifically for this industry; the case of the hotel industry in Mauritius is different. Industry-specific skills are acquired though hotel-specific training after a rational weighing of the advantages and disadvantages of the industry.

Conclusions
This chapter has shown that industry mobility is a complex process. In the hotel industry, this complexity starts at the entry level where young and/or unskilled individuals are pushed by unemployment in other sectors and pulled by low barriers to entry and attractive salary package. However, the above push and pull factors are reinforced by information available to potential employees about the industry. The flow of information from friends and relatives connected with the hotel industry becomes an
important resource upon which individuals base their decision. This information has the ability to change perceptions about the industry and to also compress time and distance between the employer and the potential employee. This information also carries with it an element of trust and reciprocity which will help connect the new employee with the employer. Hence, this study informs that decision to join an industry is highly dependent on the information flow from social connections within that industry. This form of social capital has become an important resource for employment in the hotel industry in Mauritius. Once joined, industry mobility can be identified in both physical and psychological ways. While it is easy to measure physical mobility by counting the number of job changes in an employee’s work life span, psychological mobility is difficult to measure as it is the perception of the capacity to move rather than the movement itself. Psychological mobility is comparable to motility. The study showed that many young employees experienced high psychological mobility as they believed that they had the level of education that would also enable them to join other sectors. Psychological mobility was also reinforced by generic and transferable skills. The study also shows that this perception of capacity to move decreased with tenure. As young employees spend time in the industry they realise that the scope for progression is higher than in other industries and therefore decide to make a career out of it. With tenure, individuals acquire both industry and firm-specific skills which restrict their mobility within the same industry and/or firm. But the study also found that during their employment, individuals form networks both within the organisation and the industry which allows them to access information about promotions and better job opportunities in other hotels. Thus social capital is further extended and transcends distance by allowing employees to use network capital supplied by those that they do not necessarily encounter face-to-face. The study also shows that although network capital is a resource for the employee, it also excludes those who have insufficient connections in the industry namely women and low skilled workers. In order to counter effect network capital, many of the hotels operate Organisation Career Management (OCM) strategies which help disseminate information about job opportunities. This
in turn is viewed positively by employees as it provides equal access to the internal labour market. Therefore the study shows that organisations can also increase the social capital of all their employees by communicating with them on a regular basis which in turn increases organisation commitment.

Apart from OCM, these hotels also use the resource based model of managing people where employees are seen as critical success factors. In this approach, organisations invest in the human capital development of their employees through training. The study shows that human capital investment is carried out by both employer and employee but they have different expectations from investments. While employees invest in human capital in order to enhance external labour market mobility, employers do so in order to reduce the latter’s external mobility. Therefore employees and employers differ in their willingness and interest to invest in training. Overall, inter-industry mobility is uni-directional towards the hotel industry. This means that through occupational transition, many had moved from other industries mainly the sugar and textile industries. However, once reached, the destination occupation which is within the hotel industry tends to become the final destination for many. The reasons given by the respondents are twofold: firstly, due to hotel-specific training, they had acquired industry-specific skills and therefore it would be difficult to work in another industry. Secondly, through firm-specific training, they had acquired firm-specific skills which in turn hindered their willingness to join other organisations both within and out of the industry. Therefore both mobility and immobility are related to type of skills.

Overall this study has investigated industry mobility as it occurs at different stages in an employee’s life. The notion of timing is important to the study of mobilities. From the moment an individual begins the decision making process, images constructed by perceptions of working in this industry flow in their minds. Supplemented by social capital, the final move into the industry is made based on the belief that it will be a temporary one. During the initial stages of employment, the younger employees experience high
motility and carry on perceiving that inter-industry mobility will soon take place. As this is further delayed and as they spend more time in this industry getting used to its values and symbols through the organisation culture, they are endowed with social capital which bond them with this industry which they joined by default. As time elapses, the imagined inter-industry mobility fades away to give place to either intra-firm mobility and/or intra-industry mobility. On the other hand, organisations continuously use systems that act as both catalysts and inhibitors of immobilities. Organisations have become the moorings where employee immobility both starts and ends. This mobility/moorings dialect is what gives movement a context (Urry, 2007). This study has also re-emphasized the complexity of mobilities by informing that the politics of mobility revolve around power and that it related in different ways and means different things to different people. It is on the basis of this politics that the next chapter analyses the mobilities experienced by a subgroup of the above participants, mainly those of North Indian origin.

Based on an interpretation of the findings, two groups have been identified as having relatively low mobility. Firstly, the findings show that women tend to occupy low skilled jobs with little scope for upward vertical mobility. They are also segregated in gender specific departments such as housekeeping and Laundry. Mobility in this industry has therefore become an action of domination by men. This reflects the key characteristic that movement is differentiated through power. Being at the lowest end of the hierarchy and in many cases very poorly educated, these women have least access to social and network capital. Moreover with low motility, it becomes difficult to become upwardly mobile despite OCM strategies. Moreover, the fear of losing social capital acquired in an organisation may also make them stay despite little opportunities for progression. On the other hand, young educated females were also identified as working mainly in administration where the opportunities for progression are scarce. These two groups of women tend to experience the glass ceiling effect at different stages in their career. While those in low skilled jobs experience it from the beginning of starting work in this industry, the other
group does so at a later stage. Moreover, the demand of this industry exerts pressure on some women as the difference between work and social life gets liquefied as they manage both work and family commitments.

The second group which experienced differential mobility are the people of Indian Origin namely those of North Indian origin. The participants were mainly consisted of two groups: the Hindus and the Creoles. In all hotels except, Le Telfair and Le Saint Geran, the Hindus were in majority. This was related to the location of these hotels in areas where there were mostly Hindus. The findings show that despite being in large numbers, the Hindus tend to occupy lower skilled jobs compared to the Creoles and their mobility in this industry was also low. Out of the forty eight participants, only four were at middle management level. This group was also found to be the last to benefit from social and network capital. In order to determine the possible reasons of low mobility, the research was drawn into understanding how this group behaved at work and also what influenced these behaviours. In order to achieve this, interviews were conducted with twenty members of the North Indian Diaspora. As stated in the methodology chapter, these interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants where other forms of data were also collected. The next chapter will present these findings and chapter eight will conclude over the relationships found in both sets of data.
Chapter Seven: ‘Home’ and Mobilities

‘The banyan tree has thrust down roots…and somehow drawn sustenance from diverse unpromising conditions. Yet the banyan tree itself has changed, its similarity to the original growth is still there, but it has changed in response to its different environment. For those who leave South Asia, in almost every case, there is no going back’ (Tinker, 1977: 19).

After an analysis of the findings from the first fieldwork, it became clear that mobility in the hotel industry is highly influenced by social and network capital as well as skills levels. One of the key demographic features of the workforce in the participating hotels was ethnicity. The employees who were interviewed consisted mainly of Creoles and Hindus. Although ample research exists on labour mobility and ethnicity, the review of literature showed that these were mainly concerned with minority groups. In the case of these hotels, those who experienced the least mobility were not minority groups. The ratio of workforce participation in the hotel industry was almost equal for both groups. Hence concepts related to minority employment mobility could not be applied to these findings. Instead, this study decided to take on a different perspective by analysing the ways through which members of the North Indian Diaspora acquired social capital as well as skills. In order to do this, the research turned towards looking into the processes through which members of the Diaspora form relationships with others and the factors that may affect their skills attainment. This led this study to look into the lifestyle and culture of the Diaspora. In order to do this, it was essential to analyse practices through which the Diaspora attempts to reconstruct a ‘home’ away from its roots. The traditional conception that home is fixed has been continuously challenged within the mobilities paradigm (Urry, 2003; Tolia-Kelly, 2004). ‘Home’ in this theory is seen as a process where multiple mobilities take place. It is an event where people, objects, images, symbols and emotions are in constant interaction with each other (Massumi, 2002). The
outcomes of these interactions may be the formation of complex identities as well as various geometries of power. ‘Home’ therefore provides the essential moorings that enable these mobilities to take place. The notion that diasporic space does not stay the same as the space which is familiar leads this chapter to try and understand the transformations that have taken place within the Diaspora’s home. However, Ahmed (2000) argued that ‘home’ is not only about fantasies of belonging but it is ‘sentimentalised’ as a space of belonging (p. 89). Therefore being or not being at home is the presence or the absence of a feeling. Furthermore, ‘home’ has been theorised as the lived experience of locality where the person and the space leak into each other through the smells, hears, touches, feels and memories (Tolia-Kelly, 2004). The experience of being at home can be seen as inhabiting a second skin (Ahmed, 2000). These conceptualisations of ‘home’ as a dynamic space in the lives of individuals require any study of human mobility to depart from ‘home’. Through an analysis of the material cultures within the home of the Diaspora, the first part of this section describes the various objects and artefacts that make up their space. A distinction is made between the role of sacred and domestic material cultures. Through an examination of the shrines and sacred artefacts making up the sacred space of the Diaspora, it analyses how these possessions conceal their Hindu identity and how in turn this influences the future activities of the group. Apart from the sacred space, this section also identifies other domestic objects which make up their lived environment. Their significance is analysed in relation to their connection with the homeland and their ability to refract memories and emotions from the Diaspora. Moreover, this section also examines how these material cultures construct landscapes that have been transmitted through re-memory (Tolia-Kelly, 2004) and the impacts that these landscapes have on the Diaspora. The second part of this section looks at the role of visual cultures in the form symbolic goods such as movies, religious programmes and TV serials and how they influence both corporeal and imaginative travel of the Diaspora. The impacts of these visual cultures are analysed from a generational perspective in order to represent the heterogeneity of the Diaspora. The ability of visual cultures
to refract memories and to create nostalgia is also investigated in this section. The next part of the section discusses how language differences exist within the Diaspora. By analysing the use of Bhojpuri among the participants, this section describes the processes of transformation which this language has undergone across time and space. Moreover, as language is a way of connecting with others, this part seeks to understand how use of Bhojpuri shapes the choice of social network of the Diaspora both within the locale and at work. Moreover, it investigates how the use of this language influences educational and skills attainment for the Diaspora. The section concludes by giving an overall view about the ‘home’-making practices identified and how they differ across the Diaspora and whether these differences in mobilities influence further mobilities for this group.

Material cultures
Mobility is a property of both people and things. Basu and Coleman (2008: 317) used the term ‘materiality’ to refer to ‘physical objects and worlds’ as well as ‘more varied-multiple-forms of experience and sensation that are both embodied and constituted through the interactions of subjects and objects’. According to Cook and Harrison (2007) the material environment of mobility is important. It allows for the evaluation of object values and meanings (Appadurai, 1986) and the reconstitution of belonging and memory (Fortier, 2000). The materiality of the Diaspora’s home is made up of various objects and artefacts that have been passed on by previous generations. The most prominent materiality of the Diaspora’s home which reflects a form of attachment to its roots is the collection of multiple sacred artefacts in the form of shrines, religious icons, deities and objects. The second most occurring objects were the multiple kitchen utensils found during the visits. While they have become essentials aspects of the materiality of the Diaspora’s life, the study found that these objects also engender other practices and habits. Moreover a key observation made from the fieldwork was the significant differences in the ‘home’-making processes between the Diaspora in the urban regions and those in the rural regions.
Beginning with the latter, the presence of a noticeable wide variety of traditional Indian domestic objects could be observed in their homes. According to the participants, these reflected their connection with their ancestral roots. Some of the common domestic objects which could be found in the homes of these participants were kitchen utensils such as a ‘Jantah’, an ‘Ounkri Musal’, a ‘Dekchi’, a ‘Karai’, a ‘Thawa’, a ‘Belna Chowki’, a copper ‘Thali’ and a ‘Hawan Koun’ used for ‘pooja’ as well as a copper ‘Gilasa’. These utensils actively give meaning to the space of the Diaspora by being used on a daily basis. A few of them are used on special occasions such as the ‘Jantah’ and the ‘Ounkri Musal’ which are often used before the celebration of a wedding for the preparation of spices and other condiments. For these individuals, these objects represent their Hindu culture. The authenticity of these domestic objects was difficult to trace as most of the participants claimed to have inherited them from their parents and whether these were made in Mauritius or India was unknown to them. However, the participants claimed that another reason for them to still have these objects at home was due to their wide availability from local production as well as specialist shops importing them from India:

I did not get much from my parents because when my mother married my father, he was an orphan. So he did not have anything, my mother did not have either, so I did not have it. But when I got married, they bought a ‘lota’ and ‘thali’ and gave me. I use the ‘lota’ during ‘Durga pooja’ and the ‘thali’ when I do aarti when I pray. I also bought my own ‘dekchi’, ‘karai’ and so on. (Ishwaree, 50)

The above quote illustrates two essential points: firstly that the Diaspora is still dependent on these domestic objects, both physically and psychologically, and secondly that those who did not inherit these from their families ended up buying theirs in order to complete the traditional landscape of a Hindu home. This shows that these objects mobilize the essence of ‘home’ by the reconstitution of ethnicity and a landscape close to where they come from. As stated by Tolia-Kelly (2004) both materiality and landscapes situate the migrant in its new environment. These
domestic objects had the ability to connect them with their culture and ancestral way of life which has been passed on across generations. However, this is not to say that the Diaspora in those regions was living a primitive way of life. Their lived space also consisted of access to modern utensils and appliances, but the participants claimed that they were resilient in using these as some of them claimed that the food tastes better when prepared using the traditional utensils:

I have a blender but I prefer to use my ‘roche-cari’ because my mother taught me how to use it and I like it better. For example, my husband would know if I make ‘chutney’ from the blender or from the ‘roche-cari’. It is better from the stone. (Sheila, 48)

We have a washing machine but my wife prefers to use the ‘roche-laver’. We also have a grinder but we prefer the ‘chutney’ made on the stone in the traditional way. (Prem, 43)

The Diaspora identified these modern objects as being ‘out-of-place’ and dysfunctional. In other words these objects were polluting their space and their use had to be avoided or kept to the minimum. Moreover, Sheila’s claim that the food tastes better when prepared using the traditional way is an example of how the Diaspora has heightened the meanings of things across its journey.

The presence of these traditional objects engenders along with them a series of practices and habits considered ‘right’ as a Hindu. Firstly, the findings from the interviews revealed that Indian food is consumed on a daily basis in all of the rural homes. A normal supper in a Hindu home in Mauritius would consist of ‘roti’, rice, ‘dhal’, ‘curry’, ‘chutney’. ‘Roti’ is an essential part of the meal. Many participants claimed that they cannot do without. However due to time constraint, this is usually bought ready-made from the local supermarkets. The use of Indian spices is also considered better from a taste perspective and also because this is the type of food which had been consumed since childhood. An important aspect of Hindu
tradition as stated above is the practice of vegetarianism. Majority of the participants from the rural regions were strict vegetarians.

Secondly, even eating had rules and codes for the Diaspora. Eating with the hand instead of using cutlery is an ongoing Indian tradition. Majority of the rural participants said that they do not use any cutlery to eat but prefer to use their hand. They had been told by their parents and grand-parents that this is the Hindu way of eating. Therefore by performing this basic action of everyday life, they feel that they are closer to being Hindu and are doing the righteous duty of their tradition. Using cutlery is seen as the western way of eating which many do not associate with. Apart from the use of the hand, some of the participants claimed that they do not eat in a normal plate but in a ‘thali’ which is either made of silver or copper. The copper ‘thali’ is the most traditional one and has been found in very few homes compared to the stainless steel one which has now become widely commercialised in Mauritius. For some, the ‘thali’ made of copper had been passed on from parents and grandparents and eating in it provides the satisfaction of fulfilling the desires of the elderly:

Me and my wife we eat in a thali, whereas the children eat in plates. For example, for me the reason I eat in a ‘thali’ is because I want to keep my traditions. I eat in a copper ‘thali’ and not the ordinary steel ones. I have this ‘thali’ from my father. I had it cleaned when he gave it to me. When my children see it, they all want to eat in it because it is clean. We have to give them to show them our culture. In my house, everyone eats with the hand. We rarely use the spoon or fork. (Premduth, 52)

For the younger generation, this practice is not very common and if they happen to eat with their hand in the traditional way, it will be mainly on a special occasion such as a ‘pooja’ or wedding ceremony or when they are consuming traditional Indian food or simply as a way of breaking the routine of eating with normal cutlery. There is no symbolic interpretation attached to the action:
I use both. At home when I eat ‘paratha’, I use my hand to appreciate it more, especially if I am off work. I want to take my time and eat. In weddings and ‘pooja’ I have to use my hand, of course. (Rajeev, 34)

The use of the ‘thali’ is also accompanied by the use of the ‘gilasa’ to drink. This is also traditionally made of copper but has now been commercialised in stainless steel. The use of normal glass is restricted to drinking fizzy and more modern drinks while the copper or stainless steel ‘gilasa’ is used to drink water or juice:

If I have juice, I will have it in a ‘gilasa’ but if I have coke or pepsi, I will have it in a glass. (Prahan, 46)

When asked about the reason behind this choice, this participant laughed but still could not find any:

I don’t know, it is hard to tell. If I have a guest who is a bit religious, I will serve the person in a ‘gilasa’. (Prahan, 46)

The above statements show that these eating practices are imagined as Hindu practices and their use is restricted to those who hold strong beliefs in belonging to that group. Moreover, eating with the hand in a ‘thali’ and/or drinking from a ‘gilasa’ is associated with vegetarianism. The following statement shows how the practice of vegetarianism among Hindus carries along with it a set of eating practices also associated with traditional Indian eating habits:

My husband is vegetarian. He cannot eat in a plate because we eat meat in plates. So he uses metal plates similar to ‘thali’ and I usually eat in normal plates. I never use this metal plate for meat. He has also kept two ‘gilasa’ to drink water because he knows nobody will drink water from them…very rarely would he use ordinary plate or glass. (Ishwaree, 50)

Eating with the hand is only carried out at home or during traditional ceremonies among the Hindus. It is seen as improper to eat with the hand
in public places unless the food can only be eaten in this way. The use of 
the ‘thali’ and ‘gilasa’ can only be at home with close ones and not with 
guests unless the guest is also a religious person for example a ‘pandit’. 
Other guests are encouraged to eat and drink using normal tableware as 
they are considered strangers. The action of eating with the hand is 
carried out in almost all North Indian homes. While the older generations 
are well acquainted to it and perform it as an essential act of consuming 
food, the younger generation performs this action on a more contextual 
basis.

Another practice which was engendered by some of these traditional 
objects is the use of traditional natural therapies. This is an essential 
practice among the North Indian diasporic community in Mauritius who live 
in villages. Ranging from the use of herbs grown in the garden and home-
made recipes, majority of the participants acknowledged the use of 
traditional therapies at home. These are usually prepared using the 
‘Ounkri-Musal’ and consumed only when the health problem was not 
considered serious enough to visit the hospital. Knowledge about these 
therapies was transmitted from generation to generation through the 
socialisation process. Some examples of these therapies are ‘diler safran’, 
‘ayapan’, ‘alovera’, ‘tulsi’, ‘lok’ and ‘neem’. In some of the interviews, the 
use of ‘ayurvedic’ medicine imported from India was also mentioned. The 
participants considered these better than using other types of medicines:

    My grandparents, uncles and aunts use to use these. I saw that it 
was working. Some people say that they are not good but I do not 
think so. When I go to India I bring many ‘ayurvedic’ medicines 
which I take. These days there are also juices made out of 
vegetables that are sold. I think they are good. (Premduth, 52)

The fixity of these traditional objects in the homes of the Diaspora can 
have various significations. Firstly, that the Diaspora is in the constant 
process of connecting with the past through the materiality of the ‘home’. 
Secondly, that the Diaspora is in constant process of reinforcing its 
boundaries from the stranger. However, a clearer conclusion will be drawn
towards the end of this chapter after having considered other aspects of the homes of those in the rural regions. Moreover, as the majority of the objects identified above relate to the traditional roles of women, there is a possibility that the burden of boundary maintenance and reproduction of culture in the Diaspora is gendered.

On the other hand, in the urban regions, many of these traditional objects are disappearing from the landscape of the Diaspora’s home. For those who still have them, they are rarely used but are kept on display at home. Despite being obsolete in various ways, these objects will be passed on to the next generation as a way of keeping the tradition:

Even if I do not use them I like to keep them. They represent my culture, my Hindu religion but I think other religions use some of them too like ‘karai’, ‘dekchi’ and ‘thawa’. I clean them all the time otherwise they will be spoilt. I show my children how to clean them. I will distribute these things among my children before I die. (Shoba, 40)

The home of the Diaspora in the urban regions display modern characteristics such as the presence of washing machines, electric and gas cookers, electric blenders and mixers amongst many other modern appliances and utensils. These have replaced the traditional domestic objects described above. Although some homes have retained a few of the traditional objects and artefacts inherited from their family, they claimed that they are kept more to represent the memory of these people rather their tradition. Thus for this Diaspora, the significance of these traditional objects is reduced as they move into more modern ways of life. In these urban regions, the Diaspora associated vegetarianism mainly for religious purposes rather than as a lifestyle. They have equally embraced gastronomies of other ethnic groups in the country such as Chinese, Muslim, South Indian, French and Creole cuisine:

In the afternoon sometimes my mother makes puddings, ‘crepes, ‘ounde’ or even custard. (Rajeev, 34)
I eat a bit of everything. I eat Indian food but I also eat noodles, fried rice, Briani and others but most of the time it is Indian food. (Ramesh, 28)

Traditional Indian dress codes also have an important place among the Hindus in Mauritius. The study did not reveal any difference between those in the urban and rural areas. Wholesalers and retailers of Indian outfits are many on the island. These outfits range from the ‘sari’, ‘kurta’, ‘churidar’, ‘lehenga choli’ and ‘dhoti’. Most of these are imported from India and are sold as genuine products at a relatively high price. The interviews revealed that although these dress codes symbolise Hindu identity, they also belonged to specific occasions. For example they are worn on special occasions such as during ‘pooja’, weddings, and other traditional celebrations. Many participants stated that they would only wear these outfits on a special occasion but on a day to day basis, they would wear western clothing:

I show that I am a Hindu through prayers mainly but also through wearing ‘churidar’ and ‘sari’ a lot. I cannot wear them to work as they are not right for work. (Mansee, 23)

Sometimes only, well when I go to ‘pooja’ ceremonies I wear a ‘kurta’. When I go to a wedding I would wear a shirt…that’s it. (Rajeev, 34)

These days we wear a lot of modern outfits. Girls wear trousers whereas when I was younger my father would not let me. He would tell me that men will look at me in the streets and this is not good. (Shoba, 40)

Another significant similarity in all the homes visited independent of the region is the existence of the sacred space. A panoply of religious icons, shrines and artefacts were found in all of them. These are part of the sacred space of ‘home’, usually inside the house, in an undisturbed
corner, away from the glance of visitors. It is there that the Hindu disciple prays everyday:

   *In the morning when I get up, I take a bath and perform my morning ‘pooja’. I also showed my son how to do this. How to do the ‘aarti’, how to put the incense sticks near the deities and what to say. If I show him, he will show his children.* (Prem, 43)

For others and those who can afford it, they have raised temple-like shrines in the yard where the prayer space is constructed. During the visits, these shrines were only visible if they were outside. Otherwise, those inside the house were kept away from the gaze of the stranger. Another key religious object which all participants had at home was a copy of the ‘Bhagavad Gita’ and/or the ‘Ramayana’, which are both sacred Hindu scriptures. When questioned about how often they read from it, most of the participants said that they do not read regularly and they would normally go to the temple where the ‘pandit’ would read and explain to them. Some had never read any page at all, as they claimed that they cannot understand it but they believed that it is important to have a copy at home:

   *Yes I have ‘Bhagavad Gita’ but I have not read it. I used to watch ‘Mahabharat’ serial on TV, so I know the story. Sometimes when we are fasting, we go to the temple and the ‘pandit’ reads in Sanskrit and translates for us. The real Gita is in Sanskrit but most of us cannot read Sanskrit so it is hard. Now there are simple versions but the young people are not very interested.* (Premduth, 52)

The sacred space of the Diaspora starts to take shape from the acquisition of a new home. When a Hindu acquires a new home, this is usually celebrated by consulting the temple ‘pandit’ who will select the right move-in date according to the Hindu almanac. The move-in is also accompanied by a series of rituals and prayers including the installation of the family gods and goddesses (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009). In Mauritius, all Hindu homes have in front of them, a red piece of cloth tied to a bamboo stick which is standing near a shrine representing ‘Hanuman’, a Hindu
deity symbolising strength and protection. This is also known as the ‘Mahabirswami’. Acquisition of a new home is marked by the installation of the shrine to which close relatives are also invited followed by a vegetarian feast. During the fieldwork, all homes that were visited had one of these shrines in front of them. The participants considered these shrines and the red flag as part of their Hindu identity:

*Anywhere you see this red flag you know that there is a Hindu living there. I change the flag every year. I normally call a ‘pandit’ to do this as he knows the prayers. Every day I have to light the lamp before six in the evening. It is considered bad to leave the ‘Mahabirswami’ in the dark. When I am not at home, my wife or my children do it. Sometimes the children forget and I shout at them as they should not forget.* (Prem, 43)

From the above, it is clear that the Diaspora consciousness is manifested through religion (Vertovec, 1999). Religious objects and artefacts are important aspects of the Hindu identity. Interaction with the altar at home takes place on a regular basis by both the young ones and the elderly. Religious artefacts are collected and displayed in a dedicated place within the home. This place is dynamic as more sacred artefacts are added to it year after year. From the interviews, it was found that these artefacts were bought from three different sources: the local ‘pooja’ shop, local religious sites during celebrations or from a person visiting India. The production of these artefacts locally or their importation from India by local businesses has become an extensive system through which these goods get circulated and penetrate the ‘home’ of the Diaspora. In other words, religious icons and artefacts cannot or should not be bought from anywhere. There is strong belief that even the places where these sacred artefacts are bought carry symbolic value which gets locked in them:

*All my deities are bought by a friend of mine who goes to India…she sells a lot of these when she comes back…I prefer the one from India itself as they are more beautiful and sometimes I ask her to bless them from there itself.*

(Ishwaree, 50)
Through this commodification of religion (Olsen, 2003), sacred artefacts travel across space making the sacred space of the Diaspora no longer a fixed territory but a product of local and global encounter and movements (della Dora, 2009). These artefacts become necessary nodes along the religious and spiritual journey of the Diaspora. Through prayers and daily veneration by the faithful, the sacred space of the Diaspora gets configured through a number of performances ‘as a two-way multi-sensorial dialogue between the icon and the faithful…’ (della Dora, 2009, p. 227). This inescapable hybridity of human and non-human worlds (Latour, 2005a) imbues these shrines and sacred artefacts with transcendental characteristics. Moreover, religious scripts such as ‘Bhagavad Gita’ and ‘Ramayana’ carry with them the moral values of Hinduism which otherwise would be difficult to transmit. For the Mauritian Hindu, the significance of these shrines, religious scripts and artefacts all transmit signs which connect them with their religion. The participants do not associate these shrines and sacred artefacts with India. Most of them bought theirs locally except a few who had contacts with people travelling to India. Following claims that sacred artefacts are locked in their connection with place (Tolia-Kelly, 2004) and that their movement is the ‘dissemination of place’ (Coleman and Crang, 2002: 11) or a piece of their ‘place’ of origin (della Dora, 2009: 227), it can therefore be concluded that the North Indian Diaspora in Mauritius is in constant connection with India through its religion.

Another important observation was the relationship between the young participants and these religious objects and artefacts. From the interviews, it was noted that they showed great respect as they related about their devotional lives:

*I pray everyday as my parents have shown me. I want to keep my religion and culture…It is part of my identity. When I have children I will show them too. They have to learn otherwise the traditions will die.* (Mansee, 23)
I do not pray all the time because of my work. I do a lot of night shifts but whenever I can I pray at home. When there are festivals I go to the temple. For example for ‘Mahashivratre’, ‘Durga Pooja’ and ‘Ganesh Chaturthi’. (Vikash, 27)

Interaction with the sacred space also extends outside the home environment into temples. For these individuals, each daily activity has a religious moral code. Attending prayer meetings at the local temple is important for them. Failure to attend can also lead to rejection by the local Hindu community. A wedding is also an event which requires a visit to the temple ‘pandit’. Rituals start prior to the wedding itself, where the parents of both the bride and the groom have to see if the couple is a ‘good match’. At this stage, the ‘Kundli’ of each of them is given to the ‘pandit’ who will see whether they are meant for each other. From the fieldwork, participants have said that although this is an important process within the Hindu tradition, many families do not perform it anymore. However, the wedding date within Hindu tradition has to be fixed by taking into consideration the Hindu almanac which can only be read by the ‘pandit’:

We always go to see the ‘pandit’ before a wedding to set the date; we also hold ‘kathas’ in the house. I learnt from my parents. When I was little, my mother used to go to see the ‘pandit’ for the weddings, ‘pooja’ and so on. (Mooneswar, 34)

During the conversations, other auspicious occasions such as child naming, baby shower and ‘hawans’ were also identified as occasions where the home is blessed by a visit from the temple ‘pandit’. Therefore, for most of the participants these rituals carry significant importance and symbolise their identities as Hindus. They also believe that these have to be passed on to their children but some have also acknowledged that the new generation does not show the same commitment to these rituals as they do:

I do my best to show them how and why we do all these things but sometimes they understand sometimes they do not. Most of the time they do it because we are here but when we turn our back we
are not sure if they will do it. Sometimes they laugh and think that it is joke! (Ishwaree, 50)

The above descriptions reveal that the ‘home’ for the Diaspora is one where all the important events are marked by religious rituals and prayers. The ‘home’ has become a sacred microcosm (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009). These rituals are precipitates of the memories of those who came to Mauritius as indentured labourers. By continuously revoking to practices and customs of the past, the present and the future are constructed. Religious performances, prayers and rituals are passed through two main systems of socialisation: the family and/or the school. From an early age, parents show their children the various performances of their religion. But this gets taken over by schools as they join primary education. In Mauritius, oriental languages are compulsory. During their Hindi classes, these children learn both their oriental language and their religion. Other less formal education also takes place through the ‘bhalitka’ which is usually attended after formal school hours. These institutions emphasise both language and religious values in the Diaspora. The sacred space of the Diaspora also extends beyond the boundaries of the home into religious and pilgrimage sites that exist on the island. In many of the conversations, the participants referred to ‘Ganga Talao’, ‘Grand Bassin’ or ‘Mahashivrartree’ as a common religious site for them to which they pilgrim each year. Although referred in the above three different ways, this pilgrimage site is an iconic reconstruction of the Ganges in India. It is a site where the Hindu community in Mauritius has successfully created sacred geographies which have ‘iconic relation to sacred religious geographies’ in India (Eisenlohr, 2004: 86). This religious site has been built around a lake (known as Grand Bassin) to have the same geography as the river Ganges in India. The authenticity and sacredness of this site rests in the belief that water from the Ganges was poured into this lake when the first Indians came to Mauritius, hence paralleling it with the real Ganges in India. Every year thousands of pilgrims converge towards the lake on ‘Mahashivrartree’ in the same way as Hindus living in India perform this religious practice. They collect water from the lake in order to
take home. This festival is one of the most celebrated Hindu ‘diasporic moments’ (Fortier, 2000) in Mauritius. According to Eisenlohr (2004: 87) ‘Grand Bassin/Ganga Talao and the Shivaratri pilgrimage are not just sites of Hindu religious practice, they embody a particular diasporic orientation towards a Hindu homeland evident in the attempt to replicate an Indian sacred geography in Mauritius’.

As most of the participants were multi-lingual, it became important to know what language they used when they pray. Both the younger and the older participants stated that they prayed in Hindi, Bhojpuri or Sanskrit. When asked why they do not pray in Kreol, they showed discomfort and claimed that they were taught the prayers in Hindi, Bhojpuri or Sanskrit and that they could not translate these prayers in Kreol:

I used to pray in Bhojpuri and even today I pray in Bhojpuri.
(Prahan, 46)

I normally pray in Sanskrit as this is how I was taught since I was little. Sometimes I speak to God in Hindi because always we have been told in the ‘Bhaitka’, by ‘pandits’ and Gurus to speak to God in Hindi. So it has become a habit. (Mansee, 23)

Many of the Hindu prayers are written in Sanskrit. Individuals learn these prayers by heart from an early age first at home and then from other formal religious structures. Although the participants claimed that they prayed in Sanskrit, many do not understand this language. Therefore for many, the practice of saying the prayers is more of a mechanical process prompted by the need to be accepted as a Hindu. Prayers are also accompanied by fasting. The act of willingly not consuming all food or some type of food (non-vegetarian) is normal for the Diaspora. All the participants have confirmed that fasting is an important way through which they keep in touch with their religion and God as a whole:

As a Hindu, I respect my elders, my parents. Day and night I do my prayers. I go to the ‘mandir’. I fast for all the fastings in the calendar.
For example, we fast for ‘Ramnavami’, ‘Durga Pooja’ and so on.
(Prem, 43)

Hinduism has flourished within the Diaspora. Religious language has sanctified and universalised cultural behaviours and social injunctions, making them timeless and spaceless (Fortier, 2000). The temple is a space of familiarity that connects members of the Diaspora by reflecting and displaying several aspects of both Hindu-ness and Indian-ness. Hence regular visits to the temple are essential activities of a ‘good’ Hindu’s life although the shrine at home also features the same deities and altars. Therefore official forms of Hinduism (Vertovec, 2000) play an important role in boundary maintenance in the Diaspora. The above pushes this study into new ways of exploring sacred space. Through shrines, altars, sacred artefacts, religious and pilgrimage sites like ‘Ganga Talao’, the Diaspora has consciously established an affective bond with its religion and unconsciously with India. This ‘remote tophilia’ (Tuan, 1974b) makes the sacred space of the Diaspora an open arena of action and movement. Mobilities in this space can be illustrated through the travelling of sacred artefacts from India through systems of circulation such as businesses as well as tourists who have visited India; from religious and pilgrimage sites on the island; through religious performances transmitted by ‘pandits’; through sacred scriptures carrying Hindu values and through prayers representing a way of communication between human and non-human bodies. As stated by Latour (2005b), it is not only humans who perform, non-human bodies perform too. It is through the performance of their symbolic value to the human that they make the eternal contingent and local.

Landscapes
According to Relph (1976), landscape is the background to man’s actions and is a reflection of his interactions with environment. Tolia-Kelly (2004:677) stated that the landscape within a home is the ‘material signifier of identification’. Here, landscape in the form of photographs, fabric, furniture and other visual cultures are taken into consideration. In all
the homes visited, photographs of family members could be found hanging on the walls in the living room. These photographs dated back to up to a maximum of two generations. The participants did not have any photographs of their ancestors nor of the place where they came from. Through visits to multiple homes, a similarity in the landscape was also noticeable. For example, the existence of the ‘Mahabirswami’ with the red flag at the front of the house, the iron-roofed hut at the back where a small fire place is used to cook from time to time. The garden full of ‘Tulsi’ trees, a ‘Betel tree’ and Marigold. These plants and flowers are essential in the religious practices of the Hindus. Furthermore, in almost all the yards, another altar was raised which is known as ‘Dih’. It was originally known as the guardian of the village. According to Vertovec (2000), this is an ‘amorphous’ form of Hinduism which falls outside the ‘official’ forms and this started from the Caribbean contexts and have spread across other colonies in the past. For the Hindus in Mauritius, although they do not understand what ‘Dih’ really is, they carryout out the rituals on the basis that ‘Dih’ will protect their home from bad spirits and the devil. Inside the house, apart from the traditional objects mentioned above and the fundamental existence of the altars and shrines, a display of modern appliances and a lifestyle that is quite different to the traditional Indian life could also be observed. The landscape of the home of the North Indian diasporic community had changed whether they live in the urban or rural regions. As stated above, for those living in the rural regions, it was important to have the materials representing their ethnicity but for the others, to live a completely traditional Indian life in Mauritius would lead to alienation by other groups and would position them at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder. It is within this line of thinking that the Diaspora living in the urban areas has appropriated material cultures of modernity. Alienation and appropriation (Miller, 1988) are key processes which help explain the changes that have taken place within the ‘home’ of this Diaspora. Living in a consumer society changes the ideal of domesticity into one where persons and objects move in both time and space under the influence of mass-produced novelty and fashion (Adey, 2010).
Some features of the landscape of the North Indian home also resembled that of other ethnic groups on the island. For example, all homes visited had an ‘argentier’ which is basically a glass cabinet situated in the living room of almost all Mauritian homes. This is where expensive and delicate kitchen ware and China are kept on display, to be used only by guests. ‘Argentier’ is named after a French furniture used to store expensive China during the colonial system. Other features of the landscapes included the display of plastic flowers, the hanging of calendars in every room, the armchair and sofas made of bamboo, the ‘Roche-cari’, the ‘Roche-laver’ and the use of plastic tablecloth. The houses were also built in a uniquely Mauritian style, with a veranda usually built in front of the house similar to French colonial houses; a bathroom and toilet built separate from each other and an enclosed structure. These themes are common to most Mauritian homes independent of class and ethnic group.

The landscape of the rural homes in the Diaspora displays an attempt to remember the geographies of a Hindu home. With material cultures producing landscapes related to the ancestral roots, processes of identification are exercised. Here again, these landscapes are nodes of connection between homeland landscape and Mauritius. They help situate the Diaspora in a multiethnic context. Similar to material cultures, landscapes reconnect through the multisensory body allowing the individual to travel imaginatively. Both the materiality and the landscapes situate the Diaspora in an imaginative way. The ones that were found in the urban homes, have lost the power to refract memories. Through transportation across nearly five generations now, these objects have become mundane belongings. The feeling of stability and security which used to be associated with them in the past, is fading away. Many of these objects are ephemeral while some are in the process of dissolving. The boundary between the landscape of the Diaspora’s home and that of the stranger has become blurred. Through creolisation, the Diaspora’s space has allowed material cultures of the stranger to flow into its landscape resulting into hybrid precipitates of all forms. Yet even the urban Diaspora actively seeks to reproduce their Hindu space by the materiality
associated with their religion. The fear of being 'uprooted' from their ethnic identity leads them into rituals and traditions which imaginatively bonds them with their roots. Although the memories of the homeland have turn fade, they continuously recreate religious nodes of connection which shape and shift their life in Mauritius.

The above has shown us how material cultures have the power to unleash memories and connect individuals across time and space. Moreover the landscapes emerging out of the interaction of materials with space help reconstruct the landscape of a homeland which has never been visited but narrated about, a process also known as re-memory (Tolia-Kelly, 2004). Materiality is not only defined by the physical, visual and oral elements in it but also it is the organization of all this as signifying substance that matter (Baudrillard, 1988). In other words, goods become valued less for their material qualities and more for the messages, and symbols that they communicate. While the experience of consuming Indian material goods is valued more than the consumption itself, they also become vital in the constitution of hyperreality (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994). ‘Diaspora space’ (Brah, 1996:16) of this community is also inhabited by others who also have their own symbolic goods circulating in this space. The entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of ‘staying put’ (Brah, 1996: 16) has created hybrid patterns of consumption in some of the homes visited. Moreover, although many of the objects of material culture described above have a form of fixity about them, they also enact a form of deterritorialization by being in motion across time and space. They have become nodes connecting the Diaspora with their culture and places that they have never been. These objects situate the Diaspora in terms of its roots and its identity by reconnecting with the multisensory body. Although some of their use is ephemeral, these possessions enshrine value in the spaces that they are situated in. They are associated with transcendence (Miller, 2008). They relate to the ‘long term, to family, the past and the accumulation of solidity and respectability’ (p.399). As generations go by, the Diaspora furnishes its journey with material cultures reflecting its ethnic belonging. These travelling material cultures have the
ability to refract identity, history and heritage (Tolia-Kelly, 2004). The above also show that the materiality of the home of the Diaspora is becoming more and more fluid being in constant contact with material cultures of the stranger. Thus the boundary between traditional and modern material cultures is permeable, allowing for the formation of hybrid material cultures.

Visual cultures
According to Tolia-Kelly (2004) visual cultures in the form of TV images are mechanism for remembering the geographies of the homeland. The Diaspora in Mauritius places great importance on the consumption of symbolic goods like TV programs including religious serials and soaps, and Bollywood movies. Both Indian movies and music are very common among the Hindus in Mauritius. This is strongly supported by the media; for example there are TV and radio channels that are dedicated to Bollywood only. Entertainment ranges from old movies to modern movies. As stated by Qureshi and Moores (1999), providers of symbolic goods have started recognising the existence of new generations in the Diaspora and hence tailored these goods to satisfy the needs of this new audience. Bollywood movies and songs appeal to both the younger generation as well as the older generation whether they live in the urban or rural regions. For the older generation, this is more about reminding them about their younger days while for the new generation they portray the ‘modern’ India:

*I like old movies because the songs are nicer that the ones you see now. They are also more respectful than the new ones. I used to go to the cinema when I was little with my friends. It was very cheap then and the theatres were always full. It is good that I can watch some of my favourite movies on TV from time to time.* (Premnath, 55)

*I do not like black and white movies or any old movies. They are too slow but the songs are good. I prefer new movies. The songs are very good. I like the dresses of the actress. Sometimes we even get ‘cholis’ and ‘churidars’ sewed like them.* (Mansee, 23)
Hence, Bollywood movies and music have for long created a hyper-real condition for the Diaspora across all generations so far by stimulating artificial realities of life in India. But the above respondent, Mansee also watches French and English movies while Premnath does not. Western movies are considered inappropriate to be watched at home in the presence of the family. This is mainly because of the many sexual scenes contained in these movies compared to Bollywood movies where such scenes are very rare. Therefore although the younger generations watch both Bollywood and Hollywood movies, the female participants preferred Bollywood while the males preferred Hollywood:

I watch French movies when I am with my brothers or friends...not with my mother or grand-parents around. They don't like when they see the actors kiss...so I avoid it. (Akshay, 22)

I like Bollywood movies because of the romance between the actor and the actress. I like romantic songs and these days the songs are very good. I also understand Hindi so I can understand clearly. But I also understand French and English movies. But I prefer Hindi movies mainly because of the songs and stories. (Mansee, 23)

I watch Bollywood movies but sometimes I do not understand very well. I prefer French movies because of the action. In Hindi movies, it is all about dancing and fashion. I do not like it that much. (Sam, 30)

From the above, it can be seen that media images travel through time and space in order to connect the Diaspora with India. Through the movies and documentaries, they are exposed to that India which many have not seen and this can sometimes reduce the need for physical travel. Unless corporeal travel takes place, all of them formulate a picture of India based in what these images convey and this can further influence their willingness to visit the place. Television in the home of the Diaspora functions firstly as an object as it dwells in a specific place (usually the living room) in the house. It is a point to connection for all members of the
family where information, ideas and values are also shared. Secondly as a media, TV provides the information and entertainment from India and thirdly as a culture, it allows the Diaspora to travel and communicate imaginatively with the ‘absent’ others. The quotes above show how young members of the Diaspora are strongly influenced by the images conveyed by these entertainments (Bandyopadhyay, 2008). Through the media, the home of the Diaspora has become increasingly penetrated, shaped and influenced by the distant others making it increasingly ‘phantasmagoric’ (Giddens, 1991: 19). It has been lifted out of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space (Giddens, 1991. Another important point to make here is that in the case of Mauritius, these movies do not produce any form of nostalgia about the homeland and does not create the urge to visit India. Imaginative travel through the media has substituted the need for corporeal travel (Urry, 2007). In fact, they are perceived as forms of entertainment which are also enjoyed by other ethnic groups in the country. For the younger generation, being exposed to both Bollywood and Hollywood movies produces dialectical sets of cultures. On the one hand, Bollywood movies portray the traditional family where traditional Indian values are reinforced, but on the other hand Hollywood movies portray a more modern setting contradicting the traditional values. While the older generations are firm on their choice of movies and songs, the younger generations experience ambivalence. Moores (2000) argued that mediated information and entertainment invite viewers to its personality systems by providing them with ‘a constant ‘stream’ of symbolic materials from which to fashion their senses of self’ (p. 139). As the younger members of the Diaspora get exposed to mediated information and entertainment from various distant others who have differing personality systems, the influence on the self can be seen as a form of entanglement between the cultures on the move and the ‘indigenous’ culture (Brah, 1996).
Language

The ancestral dialect of the Diaspora is Bhojpuri. Although there is a general assumption that it is slowly disappearing from the soundscape of Mauritius (Sohodeb, 2009), the findings revealed that all participants who lived in the rural regions spoke Bhojpuri while those in the urban regions understood the language to a certain extent but did not use it to communicate at home. For the former, Bhojpuri signified their roots. They described the dialect as a way of expressing their identity and culture as Hindus. They considered it as their mother tongue despite also speaking Kreol as a parallel dialect. Moreover, some respondents used the term Bhojpuri and Hindi interchangeably. According to them, it is the same. However for others, the distinction was clear and it was mainly due to the fact that they had studied Hindi at school and hence could identify the key differences between the two. In other colonies with the same historical setting as Mauritius, the dialect is still considered as a substandard of Hindi commonly referred to as ‘puranya Hindi’ or ‘old hindi’ (Mesthrie, 1993). In Mauritius, Bhojpuri coexists alongside standard Hindi. While Bhojpuri is spoken in folk songs, stories and at home with family and friends; standard Hindi is commonly used to perform religious rituals, in books and in education. Standard Hindi is also the only language used in Indian movies.

However, the Bhojpuri spoken in Mauritius varies in terms of the level of purity in the dialect. The Bhojpuri spoken in Bihar and the one spoken in Mauritius are different. Mauritian Bhojpuri is described as a hybrid between Mauritian Kreol and Bhojpuri. Kreol is the language of the slaves prior to the arrival of indentured labourers from India. The Kreol spoken in Mauritius is a hybrid between French and the dialects used by the African slaves on the island. In Mauritian Bhojpuri, many Bhojpuri words have been substituted by Kreol words. This happened in order to ease communication especially for those who had no linguistic belonging to the Bhojpuri dialect. During the indentured system, the number of Indian labourers from Bihar exceeded those brought from other parts of India who also had their own native dialects. With such a proliferation of multiple
dialects and the number of Bhojpuri-speakers dominating the others, it became necessary to develop a new dialect that would enhance in-group communication (Mesthrie, 1993). This gave birth to Mauritian Bhojpuri and also to a significantly hybridized process of communicating including a population that consists of natives who understand Bhojpuri but communicate in Kreol and natives who understand Kreol but communicate in Bhojpuri:

_The Bhojpuri that we speak here has a lot of Kreol words. When I use to live in the Sugar Estate camps, even the Chinese shopkeeper could speak Bhojpuri… Many people understand the language because if you understand Kreol, you understand Bhojpuri too._ (Ishwaree, 50)

Secondary research shows that it was through the education system that Bhojpuri started changing (Sohodeb, 2009). French and English being the two dominating colonial languages on the island were both embedded in the education system. It became necessary to change the dialect as teaching was carried out in either French or English but was also facilitated with Kreol by teachers. Hence, those who never knew much about Kreol began to use it as a mode of communication in schools and later on within workplaces and other formal structures. This led to the movement of many Kreol words in the Bhojpuri dialect. This process of mixing languages in order to create a new, compromise dialect is known as koineization (Siegel, 1985). Mauritian Bhojpuri, the resulting koine is as of date spoken mainly in villages.

Apart from its regional association in this study, the language was also more frequently spoken by those in their late adulthood. On the other hand, younger respondents hardly used the dialect although they agreed being able to understand when spoken in Mauritian Bhojpuri. For the younger generation, Mauritian Bhojpuri was described as a dialect reflecting rural hood and backwardness. The refusal of using the dialect was also associated with a feeling of shame and discomfort which could lead to marginalization in society as a whole. Overall, these Bhojpuri
speakers used the dialect to communicate with their elderly. Therefore linguistic variations seemed to depend on the identity of the person speaking to or even spoken about:

I don’t speak Bhojpuri at home but when my ‘dadi’ speaks to me I understand. (Mansee, 23)

When this respondent was asked in what language she would answer back to her grandmother, she said:

Sometimes I answer her in Bhojpuri but sometimes in Kreol…she does not like but I try. When my parents are around I answer in Bhojpuri otherwise they get upset…I do speak Bhojpuri but it is more for fun sake. None of my friends speak it. If I speak to them they will laugh at me. (Mansee, 23)

The quote shows that Mauritian Bhojuri is a dynamic language in many ways. Firstly, the purity of the language is challenged by the number of Kreol words being used in it. As of date, there is no standard way of speaking Mauritian Bhojpuri. Speakers have the freedom of choosing how and in what context they want to use it. The participants confirmed that they would usually speak in Bhojpuri to a Hindu only:

I speak Bhojpuri at work…with my Hindu friends…I am more comfortable. They do not like it though. The Creoles tell us that we should speak Kreol but this is our mother tongue…we have grown up in it. (Prahan, 46)

The above implies that the use of Bhojpuri is also extended to the work place. By using the dialect, the individual is reinforcing the linguistic boundary of the Diaspora and restrict their communication to Hindus mainly. Secondly, Mauritian Bhojuri is regionally associated. This is a dialect which is spoken mainly in villages and has been receding in the towns (Baker and Ramnah, 1988). As mentioned earlier, under the indentured system, Indians were brought mainly to work on the sugarcane plantations on the island. All plantations were situated near villages, hence making such places mostly inhabited by Indian labourers who spoke
Bhojpuri and who belonged to the working class. When movements took place to the urban areas and upward social mobility took place, this dialect was perceived as inappropriate for the level of modernity in the towns and was therefore left to those who remained in the rural regions. Social class and geographical location can here be identified as key variables of linguistic variation. The respondents who lived in the urban regions admitted understanding some basic Bhojpuri words but would not speak it and showed no eagerness to be associated with the Bhojpuri culture:

*Where I live, we don’t speak Bhojpuri…I understand some of it but do not speak. I have never heard anyone at work speak in Bhojpuri. Management not let us anyway. I know that in villages they still speak but I don’t.* (Ram, 28)

*I don’t know Bhojpuri. We don’t speak it at home…this is something you hear in villages not here!* (Ajay, 23)

On the contrary, those living in the rural areas accepted this dialect as their mother tongue and showed pride to be identified as a Bhojpurian as illustrated in the quotes above. Mauritian Bhojpuri does not have a fixed set of grammar to it. Speakers can borrow words from Kreol in order to enhance their conversation. According to Singh (2000) co-existence with other languages can produce different outcomes. One of them is that of *language death* which can be further explained through *language murder* and *language suicide*. For example, the loss of prestige of one language as speakers favour one with more social status; this is also known as *language murder*. *Language suicide* takes place where the two languages are related and the one with less prestige borrows and absorbs structures from that with high status. ‘The less prestigious language therefore ‘commits suicide’ by ingesting features ‘alien’ to its system’ (Singh 2000: 71). Both French and English in Mauritius are languages of high status which are used mainly in formal situations while Mauritian Kreol and Mauritian Bhojpuri are generally assumed to be the language of low prestige and are restricted largely to informal use. With existence alongside higher status languages and with increased access to
education, both language murder and language suicide can be observed among young participants. But this is again regionally variable as stated above. Moreover the study found that the burden of speaking Mauritian Bhojpuri was more on women than men. Their traditional roles as a Hindu woman in the Diaspora have required them to become competent in this dialect in order to relate to their in-laws otherwise they would be rejected by the family:

*When I got married I did not speak Bhojpuri…I come from a town so we speak Kreol but here I had to learn as my mother and father-in-law only speak Bhojpuri…so I had to learn.* (Devi, 45)

*My in-laws don’t understand anything but Bhojpuri!...they don’t speak Kreol at all. It’s a good thing that I speak Bhojpuri otherwise it could have been difficult…the children don’t speak Bhojpuri so when they talk to their grand parents, I have to translate for them…you can’t blame the children, things are changing but our old people don’t understand this.* (Sheila, 48)

The case of Mansee is also a clear example of how despite being educated, she is still required by her family to communicate in Bhojpuri in order to keep her identity and values. However, many of the younger participants like her, even though they spoke the dialect, it was a mixed with Kreol. Therefore, although Mauritian Bhojpuri is a dialect reflecting the identity of the Diaspora, its use and content has become more fluid with time giving birth to multiple hybrid versions varying by age, gender, regional location and the characteristic of the interlocutor.

The education system uses both French and English as mediums for teaching. The study found that as level of schooling increases, use of Mauritian Bhojpuri becomes rare. For those participants who spoke Bhojpuri on a day-to-day basis, their level of education was significantly lower than the others. Through increased exposure to a dialect which is not used in formal institutions, some members of the Diaspora are
linguistically impoverished by not being able to access resources in order to move up the educational ladder:

*When I went to school I could not speak Kreol as we only speak Bhojpuri at home. It was hard…the teachers had to learn Bhojpuri in order to teach us…but I tried and with time I learnt Kreol. My father was not happy that we were learning Kreol…he said that we were becoming like those ‘katwa’. (Jugdish, 43)*

*Could not do it…I left school at eleven. It was not easy to learn a new language and when you come home you speak something different…even kreol I never spoke in those days. It is only after starting to work that I developed and learn kreol. (Sheila, 48)*

The above quotes show a typical example of how many of those who live in villages were not able to mobilize free resources such as education because of the language barrier that they experienced. Moreover, acquiring the language of the stranger was not perceived as a resource to move up the educational ladder but rather a threat to the boundary of the Diaspora. On the other hand, for younger access to education and limited use of this dialect at home, has facilitated their integration into both French and English-based training.

Apart from being a barrier to education and training, speaking Mauritian Bhojpuri also restricted individuals to communicating with people who speak the same language. For some, this has developed into an efficient way of reinforcing the boundaries of the Diaspora:

*[They] think they are better because they speak French… [They] are ‘grandnoire’. So we do the same, we speak Bhojpuri…there is no shame at all. (Suda, 46)*

*I prefer to speak to Hindus at work. The others are not like us…they do not understand our culture…I have mostly Hindu friends…they are like family. I also have some Muslim friends but I never take*
them home because my family will not like it...[they] are not like us. (Ashok, 32)

I make friends with everyone but I have more Hindu friends...I think it is normal in Mauritius to have more friends from the same religion...but I don't mind Creole, Chinese...anything. (Ajay, 23)

There are some Creole women in my team...we talk but [they] are not really good friends...I feel more at ease with Hindus as they understand the things we do...we share food at work and if it is Creole, then I cannot eat their food. (Ishwaree, 50)

I don't choose my friends...actually my best friend is a Creole. We have never had any problems at work. Sometimes the bosses walk around and come to you...you have to talk otherwise it does not look good. (Ram, 28)

Three key points can be noted from the above: Firstly, by using the term [they] continuously, the Diaspora is emphasizing that other ethnic groups are stranger to them. Through this, although being part of a locale and/or the same organization, the Diaspora still makes a clear difference between 'them' and 'us'. 'Them' is a seen as a threat while 'us' is safe. The second point to be noted here is the association of French with the word 'grandnoire', meaning 'of a high status' in Kreol. Therefore the Diaspora is consciously aware that being able to speak French has more status than Bhojpuri and thirdly the quotes show that the Diaspora chooses to form networks of friends who belong to the same ethnicity. The last point can be examined in several ways; firstly, forming social networks with those who speak the same language and share the same values provides a sense of security and stability. Moreover, it helps to maintain the boundary of the Diaspora at work; however on the other hand, it pushes away connections with 'them' where 'them' are other Diasporas consisting of people working in different departments and possibly at higher levels in the organization. On the other hand, those who lived in the urban regions,
were more likely to interact with other ethnic groups as they are linguistically competent and their creolized pattern of living has enabled them to encounter the stranger across different levels and paths so far. Therefore the distinction between 'them' and 'us' is not necessarily based on feelings of inferiority but there are signs of continuous strategies to build relationships with those who share the same ethnicity as stated in the quotes from Ajay, Ishwaree and Ram.

Returning ‘home’

The findings so far have revealed that the North Indian Diaspora in Mauritius can be divided into two categories: those who hold conservative views about their ethnicity and express it openly by choosing a lifestyle symbolizing their continued imaginary attachment with India and those who have undergone creolisation and have mixed with other ethnic groups to form hybrid identities and ways of living. The participants were eventually asked whether they would consider returning to live in North India. Following the idea that multiple visits may lead to eventual return (Ali and Holden, 2006), the participants were initially questioned about travelling to India for tourism purposes. Only two of the participants have travelled to India for tourism purposes. Cost of travel was the main reason for not visiting India:

*There’s no money to travel...of course I would like to go and see it for real as we see in the films but money makes a big difference in life.* (Mooneswar, 34)

*Where do you want me to go ‘beti’. There is not enough to live in this country now you are want me to go to India! If I had some money maybe I would go.* (Suda, 46)

For the two participants who had been to India, the visit was mainly for sight seeing and pilgrimage tourism. The following quotes are extracts of three conversations where two of the participants (Ramesh and Premduth) had travelled to India before and the other one (Rajeev) had not:
Recently I went to India with my wife, sister and daughter. We were travelling in a ‘riksha’. The driver asked me where I come from. I told him I come from Bihar so that he does not charge me extra if I said Mauritius. I told him that I come from the same place where Shatrugan Sinha comes from (laughter). (Ramesh, 28)

This participant was asked whether he had been to Bihar during this trip and the following was his response:

No I did not go. Bihar from what I have seen on TV, I do not think that I will like it because there is too much poverty there and recently with the floods, so many people have died and I don’t really know where Bihar is situated. I need to check this properly. Anyway I do not think that it will be good for my daughter. My nephew who studied in India, was very sick for a long time when he went for studies. (Ramesh, 28)

Since I went to India, I miss it everyday but I know other people who do not like it because it is dirty. I miss the religious side of it. For example, I went to Rishikesh where each morning they perform ‘aarti’. It is so big, I love it. I recorded it too. (Ramesh, 28)

Media images and messages in this example failed to create nostalgia (Appadurai, 1989), instead they created repulsion as they portrayed here as better than there. However, Ramesh developed a liking for India as it reminded him of his religion and he enjoyed the visits to the temples and other religious places. Hence for this Diaspora, there is remembered for its religious values above all and the ‘myth of return’ (Anwar, 1979) is absent.

For people like Ramesh, India represents Hinduism. Its magnitude of temples, religious festivals and the existence of the river Ganges, are features that attract those who still strongly practice Hinduism outside India. Soja (1980) described these religious sites as a ‘third space’ beyond and between the lived and the material space. For Ramesh, the visit to Rishikesh is a way of ‘encountering the spiritual and the miraculous on a
personal level’ (Reader, 1998: 221) rather than a search for national identity. The North Indian diasporic community in Mauritius although aware that its roots lie in Bihar, does not show much interest in visiting the place. Diaspora tourism (Coles and Timothy, 2004) in Mauritius has mostly been for the purpose of pilgrimage, heritage and shopping. An image of low standard of living formed by the media deters these individuals from wanting to go there and they would rather visit tourist sites in other parts of India. The following extract illustrates this:

Yes, I will go to India to visit if I have the money. I want to see how people there live. Normally, Indians come from India but in India there are regions that are poor and not the same as here. So if there is opportunity to go and see, why not? Yes I will go. (Rajeev, 34)

However, apart from the image of poverty, there are other features which they believe would be similar to the Indians in Mauritius such as the practice of Hinduism and the eating habits:

Prayers, eating in the ‘thali’, drinking in the ‘gilasa’, eating with hand will be the same…I think dress code will be fifty percent the same. Normally India is India. For example, for people like us, we should say that we have come far ahead of them. Here we are in more style. (Rajeev, 34)

My colour will be the same as them. They might be richer or poorer than me. I have been to India before and I can tell you that Mauritius as it is now, I think we are more religious than them. I think even though they are religious, it is mainly poor people who are religious in India. A little bit like Mauritius. Here if there are no women, the religion will be over. Men do not have time to go to religious ceremonies but it is more women who keep the religion going and the culture. (Premduth, 52)

Premduth’s conversation highlights that women play a key role in the maintenance of religious values and practices in the Diaspora. According
to Vertovec (2000), the role that women play in the reproduction of religious practices may be enhanced by migration. These religious practices defined their space and that of their children. However, although gender roles are recreated they may also take on newer and more innovative forms (Rayaprol, 2005) such as for example the North Indian woman is now able to receive education and to participate in the labour force.

The above conversations highlight four aspects within the imagination of roots; firstly, India is the common denominator of this community rather than Bihar. Overall, most of the younger participants described their roots as India while some of the older ones identified Bihar as their roots. The latter learnt about it from their grandparents and sometimes indirectly through conversations between the elderly people in the community. But for the younger participants, they did not perceive the need to enquire about their roots and grew up with the assumptions that their ancestors came from India. Secondly, this again confirms that religion plays a key role in the imaginations of this community. The image of India symbolises the practice of Hinduism and a visit has to include multiples trips to pilgrimage sites. Thirdly, India and sometimes Bihar, is associated with poverty and backwardness. The condition of life ‘here’ is described as better than ‘there’. This distinction of the ‘here’ and ‘there’ supports the last point, that India is only a place to visit to satisfy ones curiosity or religious desires. The centrality of memory and the re-constituting traditions ‘over here’ defeats the idea that India as ‘home’ is a constant object of longing or a permanent site of return. The North Indian diasporic community does not sustain an ideology of ‘return’ (Brah, 1996: 180). The homing desire of the Diaspora has been translated into processes where the locale is constructed to create habitual and habitable spaces in remembrance of India. Home is not only about fantasies of belonging but it is sentimentalised as a space of belonging (Ahmed, 2000: 89). Therefore, the need for return is not present. Home for this Diaspora is Mauritius. As stated by Khan (1995: 96) ‘the place to which one returns is not necessarily the place from which one came’.
Conclusions
The findings show that the home of the Diaspora is a node which connects it members with their ethnicity. It is a place where multiple mobilities are actively producing and reproducing themselves. A dichotomy of a traditional Hindu home and a typical Mauritian home was observable. This space for the Diaspora has encountered several changes since the arrival of the first indentured labourers on the island but some have successfully retained the essential features of their roots. The findings illustrate that there are significant differences between the homes of those living in the rural and urban areas. Majority of the participants in this study live and work on the rural coastal regions of Mauritius except for those who work in the hotels located on the western coastal region. These hotels include La Pirogue, Manisa and Dinarobin. The homes of those living in the villages showed clear evidence of strong ties with their Indian roots. Through material and visual cultures as well as language, the Diaspora in these regions has created a ‘home’ away from home. It has been able to establish diverse connections taking the form of imagined presence occurring in objects and images. Many of the aspects of its members’ lives are precipitates of re-memory of the homeland. The strengths of these precipitates vary by generation. While some have the ability to bond the Diaspora with its roots, others are ephemeral. Through re-memory, memories of North India have been transmitted from generation to generation since the arrival of the Indentured labourers. These have been absorbed through the day to day livings of the Diaspora. However, this study notes that the strength of re-memory fades away as the Diaspora adapts to its new environment. Though material and visual cultures, the Diaspora has successfully created a new living environment based on transcendence (Miller, 2008). The connection with the past, the long term and the family is imbued in these possessions and the landscape that they create in the environments where they are. Through multisensory bodily contact, these domestic cultures trigger imaginative travel to a homeland which has never been visited for most of them. Moreover, technological advancement has set new ways through which they have increased their motility. Through the media, they are exposed to images which allow them
to transgress the boundaries of Mauritius into India without being physically mobile. Access to both material and visual cultures have been made available by mobility systems such as the media and local businesses who have distributed these objects and images across time and space.

Another fundamental feature of the materiality of the Diaspora’s home is the presence of religious artefacts. They mark the fundamental sacred space associated with being Hindu in the North Indian home. As stated by Vertovec (1999), Diaspora consciousness is manifested through religion. In this study, these sacred spaces also played the role of creating the visual landscapes symbolising India. The symbolic presence of the red flag and the plants found in almost all Hindu homes in the villages show that the Diaspora is able to represent, refract and memorialise the landscape of the country of origin but it is a memory of something which has not been experienced directly but has been passed on across generations through re-memory. It is now part of their ‘habitus’ to maintain a consistent and homogenised practice of ‘home’-making through the creation of a sacred space from the beginning. The processes of ‘home’-making described above show how this Diaspora continuously tries to include practices and rituals attached with Hinduism. Some rituals are carried out as it is considered the ‘right way to do it’ for example the consultation of the Hindu almanac. Relph (1976: 32) pointed out that ‘much ritual and custom and myth has the incidental if not deliberate effect of strengthening attachment to place by reaffirming not only the sanctity and unchanging significance of it but also the enduring relationships between people and their place’. Hence, through these rituals the Diaspora is engaging in practices of cultural reprocessings (Fortier, 2006). They create both sensuous and emotional geographies (Hannam et al, 2006) which can be observed in the feelings expressed when the Diaspora related about these rituals and practices. The continued reliance on Hindu priests as figures of authority is a good example of how the Diaspora has grown norms and ideologies because they have become habitual ways of doing things. While Bourdieu related all of these practices as being
triggered by the ‘habitus’, Seamon (1979) described them as space-time ballets. Religion in the Diaspora is expressed in all five forms identified by Vertovec (2000): in official form, Hinduism is practiced through religious organisation such as the temples and national organisations such as the ‘Sanatan Dharma Federation’ and ‘Hindu Maha Sabha’; in collective form it is practiced through self-organised groups such as ‘satsangs’ and ‘kirtans’; in domestic form it is practiced at home through daily and regular ‘poojas’; in individual form it is practiced through fasting and in amorphous form, it is practiced through offerings to ‘Dih’. The Diaspora living in rural regions in Mauritius is constructing a ‘home’ in an ethnoscape symbolising their solidarity towards their religion and their roots. ‘Home’ for them is organised in such a way so as to connect presence and absence around an imagined Hindu space. The study shows that the Diaspora expresses its ethnicity largely by religion. Being Indian also means being Hindu, confirming that Hinduism is an ‘ethnic religion’ (Vertovec, 2000). The key marker between the Diaspora and the others is its religion. The practice of Hinduism is the core of the ethnic ideology of this group. Key operating principles within the cultural practices, and supporting the North Indian identity formation, are, as Paul Gilroy puts it, ‘the social dynamics of remembrance and commemoration’ (1994:204). So far, the Diaspora has successfully created a thread of continuity to hem in differences and resolve any indeterminacy of the Indian identity in Mauritius through the practice of its religion. This has been greatly facilitated by religious organizations and pro-Hindu socio-economic and political conditions in the country. The role of women in this Diaspora is important in terms of the maintenance of Hindu religious cultures and in the upbringing of future generations in the ‘right’ Hindu way. This would often mean staying at home to look after the family, cook and attend regular religious meetings in the community.

Moreover, those living in the rural regions make continuous use of Bhojpuri at home. The use of this dialect has been used as a tool to create and maintain Hindu identity. Bhojpuri has the creative ability to call their Hindu-ness into being, to make the invisible visible through the power of
speech and words, and also to bring character to things though verbal descriptions. However, this dialect has undergone various changes with time. Increased exposure to other languages has caused the movement of several Kreol words in the dialect leading to a hybrid version. The persistent use of this language at home reproduces a social network which is also able to communicate in Bhojpuri. In this respect, most of the participants in this study who spoke Bhojpuri at home claimed that their network of friends consisted mainly of Hindus and Bhojpuri speakers.

On the other hand, in the homes of those living in the urban regions similar material and visual cultures were found. For some, they represented ‘Hindu-ness’ whereas for others, they are mere objects of display that have been inherited from previous generations. Therefore while in the rural homes, the materiality of the Diaspora space held significance and value, in urban regions they have lost their significance and have become mundane possessions whose ability to refract the past attached to India has been weakened through time and space. The material space of the Diaspora living in developed regions is also in a continuous process of change and negotiations as the material spatial practices of capitalism impact on it causing the boundaries of the ‘home’ to erode over the outside space. Appropriation of symbols of capitalism through consumption is viewed as a way of avoiding alienation (Miller, 1988). The ‘home’ of the Diaspora now comprises of modern domestic objects which are used alongside traditional ones. This reflects an attempt to changing the status of the Diaspora within the world they have entered. In the capital and in the towns, they are no longer illiterate, poor and ‘ganwar’ workers (Bissondoyal, 1993, Jain, 2001). They now belong to the middle class, their children go abroad to study, they own land and house/s and they occupy some of the best paying jobs in the country (Hollup, 1994). This new socio-economic condition of the Diaspora can be witnessed in the changes brought about in the ‘home’-making practices of those who moved to the urban areas. They are now voluntarily embracing the world of the colonisers at home. The study also revealed that many of the features in the home of the Diaspora also conformed to the model of a
Mauritian home. It now consists of visual landscapes from both here and there; here being a creolised space resulting from the mixing of material cultures from different ethnic groups on the island and there being the imagined space of their roots. These challenges the notion that ‘home’ is fixed. For the Diaspora ‘home’ has been transformed into a place characterised by hybrid landscapes and material cultures. It is inhabited not only by what is already there but by moving through different spaces which get their value as places through movement (Ahmed, 2000). However, it was mainly those who lived in urban areas who lived a creolised life, those who lived in the rural areas continued in their sedentary ways of life of a typical Hindu and/or Indian treating any form of changes to the home as dysfunctional. The former lives a life that combines both features of Hindu-ness and Mauritian-ness. There is no stasis but continuous processes of creation, transformation and movement (Urry, 2007). Rather than simply adding here to there, this space is formed by both intentional and organic hybridization. Intentional hybridization takes place as the Diaspora feels the need to negotiate its space within a multicultural context by borrowing features from other ethnic groups. This is seen mainly outside ‘home’ boundaries. For example, socialising with other ethnic groups and consuming other symbolic goods. Organic hybridization through creolisation takes place both within and outside home boundaries where the Diaspora has been able to create, shape and weave multiple spaces together through it daily activities producing fusions and hybrids between different cultures and traditions (Minh-ha, 1994). Hence many of the traditions of the Hindu home in Mauritius are being made and remade, always in a state of fluidity (Sarup, 1994) making the Diaspora living in the urban regions highly spatialised.

The study also shows that both Hindu and Indian symbolic goods are consumed within the boundaries of ‘home’. While these can signify a marker of ‘Indian’ identity (Landy, et al, 2004), the authenticity of these goods is not important for the Diaspora (Sinha and Kerkhoff, 2003). In the urban areas, many aspects of their symbolic goods have changed through creolisation. For example new forms of Bhojpuri songs are now played.
using both traditional Indian and African instruments; many of the lyrics in these songs are Kreol words. The North Indian is now able to prepare dishes that originate from other ethnic groups; it is able to watch shows, soaps and movies commonly linked to the ‘others’; it is now dancing on the ‘Sega’. These creolised patterns of consumption have transformed the lived space of the Diaspora in the urban regions from a ‘Hindu’ home to a ‘Mauritian’ home through a process of fusion. The Diaspora now consumes goods associated with the stranger and can become or smell like the stranger (Ahmed, 2000). It has been able to establish multiple relationships and connections in its new locale thus widening its social network. However, this is not to show that the Diaspora living in the urban regions is less Hindu than those living in the villages. Their lived space is still bonded with its Hindu-ness as the break with the past is almost impossible (Adams, 1995). This is reflected in the continuous importance attached to the sacred space within these urban homes. Despite living in a more developed context, the Diaspora has retained religious practices in all forms.

However, participants living in the urban regions do not speak Bhojpuri at home. Instead Kreol is used. Their speech repertoire consists of superstratal languages such as French and English, depending on their level of education but French is understood and spoken by all of them as it is the superstratal language of Kreol. With urbanization and increased access to education, language murder took place in the capital and towns. Bhojpuri lost prestige as its speakers favoured Kreol and French as they had more status and were more useful in order to be upwardly mobile in society. Hence the Diaspora has not only expanded its speech repertoire but also increased its motility by opening up access to various mobility resources. This has also allowed the Diaspora to mix with members of other ethnic groups in the locale and at work. The complexities of postcolonial contexts combined with the difficulties of obtaining both related and unrelated languages coexisting, makes Mauritius a case of multilingualism and polyglossia (Platt, 1977). Each language has its place in this society. Under this situation, individuals with speech repertoire
encompassing as many of the languages have higher motility. In this perspective, members of the Diaspora who have moved into urban regions have learnt new ways of communicating but also enhanced their chances to climb up the educational ladder. Moreover, being able to communicate to a wider range of people has also expanded their social network.

Despite differences in the ways they lived, both those living in rural and urban regions perceived Mauritius as their home. Unlike claims that the Diaspora sees the ancestral place as a place of eventual return (Safran, 1991), those of North Indian origin do not sustain an ideology of return. As stated by Brah (1996) it is a place of no return even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of origin. Although by expressing their religion, they sustain a connection with India, they have also been able to put down roots in a new place thus increasing the sense of that place. This Diaspora no longer views itself as a victim and de-territorialised population. It does not have any routinely familiar habits that act as reminders of nation- hood and as stated by Billig (1995) when remembering is not being exercised, it is in effect forgotten. Although India was the point of departure for the construction of their home around an imagined community, with time things changed. The need to be rooted by virtue of real, active and natural participation in the life of the community was felt. Contrary to previous ideologies that ‘home’ is the place where individuals express their identity, the case of this Diaspora shows that with time it also became attached to the new ‘home area’ in Mauritius. Some aspects of their identity such as their religion, the landscape of the home and the consumption of certain symbolic goods have persisted and this has created the spirit and the boundaries of this Diaspora’s home.

Age was also a significant variable across the participants. While young members of the Diaspora have embraced meaningful structures of national solidarity, others generally older ones are more conservative and have reconstructed homes in an attempt to reproduce the traditional Hindu home. Through material and visual cultures, language, social networks and rituals, they try to shut out the present. However, the findings show
that even those who believe that they have successfully created a ‘home’ away from home displayed some characteristics of Creole identities. The birthplace plays an important role in the ‘habitus’. According to Papastergiadis (2000) the interaction between the structures and the actor cultivate the ‘habitus’ which in turn shapes the culture of the actor. The second and subsequent generations of the North Indian Diaspora were socialised in a multicultural context different to where they originally come from. In this respect, they became predisposed to creolised patterns of living. However, previous research has shown that earlier generations alternate between the feeling of being strongly attached to their ethnic group to feeling part of the host country’s culture (Fuligni, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) and this was also confirmed in the interviews. To sum up, the younger generations of the Diaspora not only displayed creolised identities but all acknowledged it compared to earlier generations who displayed ethnic identities that are nuanced, fluid and situational (Doucet, 2003). On the other hand, for the younger generation, the attachment to Mauritius was more pronounced whether they lived in the urban or rural areas. For them, negotiations between here and there produced a fusion rather than a tension. They comfortably embraced both places in their daily lives. Superimposed boundaries between the inside and the outside where instead of getting absorbed within the wider context or being segregated, the contact has produced a new precipitated form of creolised space. Challenging the Bhabhaian concept of third space in which remembering is described as a painful action; the North Indian Diaspora holds a blurred picture of its homeland. It does not feel in a state of in-between-ness. It has accepted its hybrid identity alongside its Hindu identity. This is more apparent among the younger generations within the Diaspora.

This study gave ample evidence that the North Indian Diaspora in Mauritius has changed. It can no longer be defined by essence of purity but rather by heterogeneity, diversity and hybridity. The identities of its members are constantly producing and reproducing themselves through transformation and difference (Lowe, 1991). Despite a feeling of strong
belonging to Hinduism, the North Indian diasporic community in this study view Mauritius as their homeland and not India. They have created a Creole home which symbolises ‘neither here nor there (…) rather, itself a hybrid, it is *both* here and *and* there-an amalgam, a pastiche, performance’ (Bammer, 1992: ix). The traditional conceptualization of home as a stable and fixed place where space and time were structured functionally, economically, aesthetically and morally (Douglas, 1991) has changed. Some have turned the alien into their own by drawing on a wide range of cultural resources from other groups living on the island in order to secure their social identities. The Diaspora can choose from the different cultural traditions offered by others such culinary habits, music, movies and dress code. These represent the rich treasury of behaviours from which they select what to have, what to combine with what and to move from this to that (Rapport and Dawson, 1998).

As stated in the introduction of this section, any study of human mobility departs from an analysis of ‘home’ as it provides the essential moorings that enable other mobilities to take place. Having identified different characteristics and behaviours within the Diaspora, there is now a need to extrapolate these findings into those of industry mobility. The next chapter discusses the features of the Diaspora which are believed to have the most influenced their mobility at work. Drawing on data from both fieldworks, the chapter concludes over the key findings of this study by relating Diaspora orientations and consciousness to mobility at work.
Chapter Eight: Diaspora and Industry mobility

Introduction
The previous two chapters have presented and discussed the findings from both periods of fieldwork. The first set of findings has revealed that mobility in the hotel industry is highly influenced by social capital and skills levels. Moreover, it has shown that organisations can influence an employee’s mobility at work and within an industry through various career management strategies geared towards equipping employees with the relevant skills to be mobile as well as keeping them within the same company. Moreover, the first fieldwork also showed that social capital is not fixed. As individuals proceed in their careers within the same organisation or different organisations, they build networks with others with whom boundaryless interactions take place. The findings have revealed the growing importance of both social and network capital as key resources to be mobile in the labour market. Adey (2010) stated that mobility is always in the plural. Hence, a further understanding of mobility in the hotel industry required this study to look into other mobilities taking place and their consequences for different people. In this perspective, an analysis of the focus group conversations against the characteristics of the participants revealed that two groups experienced low mobility both at intra and inter-industry levels: women and those who belonged to the North Indian Diaspora. Both were identified to be comparatively less mobile based on the positions they held and the length of time they worked in the industry. Despite having been in the industry for almost the same number of years as others, they failed to make the move up the organizational ladder or even if they moved to other organizations, they remained clustered in lower end jobs. In order to further investigate this phenomenon, the researcher opted to look into the case of the North Indian Diaspora in order to understand the factors that lead to the relatively lower mobility of this group in the industry. In order to do this, the focus shifted towards exploring the ways through which its members interact, how they build social and industry networks and any other factors
that could contribute to their low mobility. The home of the Diaspora was used as a departure point. The rationale behind this choice was driven by the idea that ‘home’ is a space that later frames people’s understandings and interactions in spaces outside the home.

Within this perspective, diasporic orientations were examined and other kinds of mobilities were identified in the ‘home’ of the Diaspora. The study revealed that these mobilities had strong connections with the ways through which the Diaspora behaved in the work place and in society as a whole. This chapter describes how these connections are formed. It discusses how mobilities at home can also shape mobilities at work. It thus takes this study into a deeper understanding about the connections between diasporic orientations and industry mobility. The first part describes the concept of ethnic social networks and how the North Indian Diaspora engages in the formation of these types of networks. The second part discusses the critical role of ethnic social networks in the understanding of Diaspora mobility at work. It also uses the concept of social capital in order to explain how these networks influence the level of information required to be mobile. The third part looks at the role of language in ethnic social networks. The chapter further discusses how the language ability influences the skills attainment level of the Diaspora using the concept of motility. Finally some disparities between the networking practices of the Diaspora in urban and rural regions are highlighted, followed by a conclusion summarizing the overall model of Diaspora mobility in the hotel industry in Mauritius.

**Ethnic social networks**

The study showed that despite living in a context where a French-based Kreol is spoken by all nationals, members of the Diaspora who live in villages continue to use Bhojpuri at home and at work. They wanted to preserve it as their mother tongue and as a marker of their ethnic identity. The continued use of this language is mostly attributed to the effect of North Indian diasporic community enclaves existing in most villages on the coastal regions of Mauritius. By being surrounded by those who have the
same histories and heritage, the Diaspora has been able to continue both its Hindu traditions and the use of Bhojpuri at home. Moreover, the tendency to relate mainly with those who belong to the Diaspora has led to the formation of ethnic social networks both at work and in the community. Previous studies have maintained that different forms of ethnic concentrations are used as strategies to cope with lack of social networks (Portes and Manning, 1986; Zeltzer-Zubida, 2004). This study has revealed that ethnic concentrations and social networks are actively reproducing themselves in order to safeguard the interest of the Diaspora. The concept of an ethnic niche is one that describes ethnic division in the labour market (Waldinger, 1994). This study has revealed that there is an ethnic niche in unskilled jobs in the hotel industry in Mauritius. In other words, there is a concentration of the North Indian Diasporic community in jobs that are located at the lower end of the hotel industry ladder. While other studies have emphasized on how ethnic concentrations and ethnic social networks in the labour market can be a result of discrimination, this study has found that the ethnic niche and ethnic social networks in particular are self-imposed by the Diaspora in an attempt to preserve its boundaries. The following sections describe the dynamics of these ethnic social networks and their impacts on the mobility of the Diaspora.

**Ethnic social networks and mobility**

The study showed that those who lived in the rural areas engaged in their traditional Hindu ways of life on a daily basis. By doing so they were actively reproducing a surrounding that symbolized their Hindu-ness. Apart from consumption of symbolic goods and landscaping their homes into a Hindu identity, they also placed high importance on building relationships with those who shared the same values and beliefs as them. In a context like Mauritius, this continuous search for boundary maintenance through intra-ethnic bonding has become a necessary way of safeguarding the group’s interest. The study has shown that building relationships with those belonging to the same ethnic group also influences social capital. Hence identifying and understanding ethnic niches in this research is important for two reasons. First, the concentration of an ethnic group in a
specific area is an indicator of the group’s relative assimilation in the society where it is living. The North Indian Diaspora living in the rural areas have displayed little assimilation in the Mauritian society. Their continuous rejection of the values and beliefs of a Creole culture can be seen in their daily lives as described in the last chapter. Hence for this group, assimilation has not taken place. Research has shown that the greater a group’s concentration in a specific area, the weaker the assimilation level (Allen and Turner, 1996; Alba and Nee, 1999). This study confirms this.

Being surrounded mainly by those belonging to the North Indian Diaspora, the rural participants optimized the practice of their Hindu traditions and religion across all generations. This is greatly facilitated by official Hindu systems still in operation in those areas such as the bhatta and the panoply of temples. In this case, assimilation does not see a need to take place as the group lives away from the gaze of the stranger. However the impact of weak assimilation although seen as positive by Hindus, can also be negative on the overall social mobility of the Diaspora. Hence, the second reason for identifying and understanding ethnic social networks is also to relate these population concentrations to employment and social mobility. As discussed in the findings from the first fieldwork, social networks as well as industry specific networks contribute to a great extent to employment and also influence position in the industry. Hence, a concentration of North Indians in the rural regions has facilitated the formation of strong social networks based on ethnicity. However, these networks were mainly influential in securing job information in order to enter the hotel industry. Following penetration in the industry, further networking takes place with other employees. However, while the social network of the Diaspora expanded during employment, the data shows that members of the Diaspora maintained boundaries by networking mainly with those belonging to the same ethnic group.

An analysis of data from both fieldworks leads to the conclusion that the Diaspora is in continuous attempt to reproduce ethnic networks in its workplace. Hence, the notion of ethnic social networks could be extended towards the understanding of mobility in the labour market. These
networks push both younger and older members of the Diaspora to form social connections consisting of other Hindus in the main. Such networks provide security and stability to its members. As stated in earlier chapters of this thesis, gaining access to informal networks of work, leisure, friendship and family has become a crucial part of society. It implies social inclusion. For the job market, these networks imply access to information about jobs and promotional opportunities in the form of social capital. The flow of information from friends and relatives connected with the hotel industry becomes an important resource upon which individuals base their decision. This information has the ability to change perceptions about the industry and to also compress time and distance between the employer and the potential employee. However, this study found that social networks through social capital can only increase mobility in the industry if the connection is made with those who have positions of power in the hierarchy and/or who have connections with those who have power. In most of the hotels who recruited from the rural regions, members of the Diaspora are occupying mainly low skilled positions and have been immobile for a significant amount of time. When questioned about their social networking practices, these individuals confirmed that they belong to strong ethnic networks within the workplace. Therefore, the study shows that by developing social networks with Hindus already positioned lower in the hierarchy, the Diaspora’s social capital level is significantly reduced, hence this explains their relatively low mobility at both firm and industry level compared to the Creoles. With such restricted mobility, the Diaspora eventually fails to develop the necessary network capital to become upwardly mobile. In this research, these networks have reproduced a cycle whereby members of the Diaspora are continuously pushed towards unskilled and low level jobs. In other words, as the Diaspora is already situated at the low end of the organization ladder, continued networking has resulted in low mobility within the industry. This study has shown that strong diasporic orientation in the rural regions has encouraged the formation of ethnic social networks both regionally and within the organisation and/or industry. At work, an ethnic niche is formed by the continued concentration of an ethnic group at a specific level on the
organisational ladder. While research has confirmed that regional ethnic enclaves can influence overall social mobility of its members, this study has also confirmed that they also influence networking practices and mobility in an organization and/or industry. Another element which was found to be significantly influential in the formation of ethnic social networks is language.

**Language and ethnic social networks**

Apart from ethnicity, this research also showed that language can play a significant role in the reinforcement of barriers between the Diaspora and others. From the Diaspora’s perspective, use of Bhojpuri produces the imaginings and the emotions of being a Hindu. Despite the fact that the language has undergone multiple transformations through the koineization process, it is still preferred over Kreol. For the Diaspora, Kreol is *katwa* meaning dirty and using this at home would be polluting their Hindu space. The continued use of Bhojpuri has a tendency to make the group associate with others similar to them in terms of language and ethnicity. This concept also known as homophily (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954), pushes the Diaspora towards those who are Hindu and speak Bhojpuri mainly. Hence alongside the formation of ethnic networks, language networks are also formed. Therefore homophilic relationships on the basis of language and ethnicity are formed both in the locale and at work. The outcomes of this relationship are threefold: firstly, by communicating and socializing with members belonging to the same group, ethnic boundaries are maintained. They engage in patterns of social interaction which reinforce in-group's ‘self-identification and outsiders' confirmation of group distinctions’ (Sanders, 2002, p. 327). Secondly, they consciously build social networks consisting of Hindus and Bhojpuri speakers mainly. Thirdly, by reducing their environment to speakers of a language that has low status, they are actively limiting their language skills as well as their ability to speak other necessary languages.

Each of these outcomes has a major impact on the overall mobility of the Diaspora in the industry. Homophilic relationships on the basis of
language and ethnicity are more persistent for earlier generations while for
the younger members of the Diaspora, this has been mainly on the basis
of ethnicity. Traditional definitions of ethnic boundary have often
emphasized territorial, cultural and geographical elements. However, with
increasing numbers of people living outside their country of origin and
native born generations such as in the case of Mauritius, ethnic identities
and boundaries are fluid. Lessinger (1995) stated that ethnic identity has
become situational making it plural and hybrid in character. Hence for the
younger generation, use of Bhojpuri as a strategy for ethnic boundary
maintenance leads them to situations where they have to negotiate their
identities depending on the context. At home they are required to speak in
Bhojpuri but in wider society, they are required to master Kreol, French
and English. In this study, it was found that the younger members of the
Diaspora have successfully managed to do so through the educational
system. However, the earlier generations are constantly in the process of
boundary maintenance through use of Bhojpuri. They form homophilic
relationships based on both language and ethnicity. While the younger
generations have managed to eliminate the language barriers between
them and other ethnic groups, the study shows that they continue to retain
homophilic relationships based on ethnicity.

Lazear (1997) presented a model of language as human capital.
According to this model, language knowledge and ability may increase
opportunities in the labour market. However, this is only true if the
language is the one that is required to operate. The importance of
communication skills in the hotel industry has been confirmed by various
studies (Juwaheer, 2004; Tsang and Qu, 2000). Moreover, the human
capital theory confirms that language is valuable due to its direct effects on
productivity. Hence, organizations are more likely to value individuals who
are able to master the necessary languages in the specific industry in
which they are operating. Moreover, in order to climb the occupational
ladder, ability to communicate in other languages is considered a core skill
for any employee considering a career in this industry. In the case of the
hotel industry in Mauritius, the ability to speak French and English is core
in order to progress. However, this study has shown that language ability is an important dimension of ethnic identity. The use of Bhojpuri on a continuous basis by the earlier generations in the Diaspora reduces their willingness and sometimes their ability to speak other languages. Lang (1986) stated that language differences can operate as a means of identifying employability. In other words, those who are in a position to hire (who also speak the dominant language) are more likely to use language ability as a means of differentiating between people. Such practices will thereafter determine the mobility of the employee at both inter and intra-industry level. In this research, the language ability of the members of the Diaspora is not binary but varies across a continuum. The attributes that place people on this continuum include age, gender and geographical location. The findings have revealed that those belonging to the younger generation have been able to master core languages through the education system. Hence, the profiles and the career paths of the younger members of the Diaspora is reflected in table 4.1. Moreover, the study also showed that women (particularly the older generation) tend to be positioned at the lower end of the organizational ladder and experienced mainly lateral mobility. Their lack of skills and their continued membership to Hindu and Bhojpuri-only speaking groups have greatly impacted on their ability to progress in the industry. This is more noticeable in the rural regions where the practice of ethnic social networks within the organization has become part of the employee culture. Carrying a low status language as their main way of communicating does not empower the Diaspora with sufficient language skills to work in front line services in the industry and therefore pushes them into back of house low skilled positions where they are neither seen nor heard.

Language and skills attainment
The cycle of constraints related to language begins prior to joining the industry. With difficulties switching from Bhojpuri to French and English at school, many of the older participants admitted leaving school at a younger age due to their language barrier. Learning to communicate in Kreol was not accepted at home. As a result of this, many of the
participants living in the rural regions had low educational qualifications which located them in low skilled jobs as they penetrated the industry. Further barriers emerge, during the working cycle as organizations try to invest in their human capital through training and development. As stated in earlier findings, many of these hotels use resource based models of managing people where they invest in their employees by training them. Due to its language deficiency, the Diaspora is less able to participate in this training. Eventually, this group remains with an accumulation of firm specific skills concentrated in low levels jobs in the hierarchy. This in turn reduces their ability to improve their position in the industry.

On the other hand, the younger members of the Diaspora are able to acquire better levels of education prior to joining the industry. This allows them to join at a better position than the others. With employers supporting training, these individuals are able to mobilize resources to increase their motility. However in the rural regions, as ethnic social networks remain strong, information about better job openings in other hotels or within the same hotel may not be available to them. Hence, despite having acquired the skills, belonging to ethnic social networks located at the lower end of the hierarchy reduces their social capital. The interplay between language and industry mobility can be better understood through the concept of motility itself. Kaufmann (2002) identified three factors shaping mobility levels and patterns: access to mobility-scapes, competence in terms of skills and ability to use mobility-scapes and appropriation which refers to the need and willingness to become mobile. In this study, the findings show that participating organizations invested in providing appropriate training to their employees. Training can therefore be described as a mobility-scape which will allow the employee to be more productive and to progress in his/her career in the industry. Hence, access to training is readily available to the employees. However, the competence of the North Indian Diaspora to acquire and maximize the benefits of training is considerably reduced by its poor language skills. Members of the Diaspora who continue to use Bhojpuri at work fail to develop the necessary language skills required to participate in training although the willingness
(appropriation) to become mobile is present. Hence, continued use of a native language at work not only contributes to ethnic niches in organizations but it also affects the competence of the employee required to participate in career management strategies. On the other hand, the Creoles who are well acquainted with the use of French and English at work are able to capitalize on training opportunities and other relevant mobility-scapes. This study has confirmed that language through the concept of motility is a form of capital that can be mobilized in order to increase industry mobility.

**Ethnic social networks and social capital**

The ways through which ethnic and language networks impact on employee mobility can be understood through the concept of social capital. If as stated by Lin (2000), social capital is measured by embedded resources and network characteristics, then ethnic networks constitute a source of social capital and play a significant role in the employment opportunities of the Diaspora. This study has highlighted the role of ethnic networks as a resource for mobilizing information about jobs opportunities. In the context of Mauritius, the workforce of all hotels is ethnically diverse. Interaction between different ethnic groups may allow individuals to capitalize on different opportunities that may benefit them in the workplace. One of these opportunities is access to information regarding work and progression opportunities. As stated in the work of Koka and Prescott (2002) social capital within organizations is increased as connections are formed with individuals who have access to information. This information varies by volume, diversity and richness depending on the position of the person. In the case of the North Indian Diaspora, the existence of ethnic and language networks in the workplace hinders inter-ethnic connection. The tendency to maintain connections with those who are Hindus and who speak Bhojpuri mainly reduces its access to other groups of employees. This in turn reduces their ‘knowing-whom’ competency (Arthur and Sullivan, 2006). In other words, their relationships at work are mainly with those belonging to the North Indian Diaspora who also occupy low level jobs in the industry. As a result of this, inequality of
social capital exists. Being at the lower end of the organization ladder makes access or use of social resources limited. This would therefore imply that members of the North Indian Diaspora remain clustered around inferior socioeconomic standings in the hotels they work for. Further interaction with those in similar social groupings would be embedded in social networks poorer in resources and in turn poorer social capital. The volume and diversity of information available to the North Indian Diaspora is significantly lower compared to the Creoles who tend to occupy better jobs. However, more importantly the quality and nature of information (information richness) circulated within the North Indian social network is also poor due to the Diaspora’s position. As stated by Koka and Prescott (2002), it is the quality and the nature of the information that determine the extent to which social capital becomes an advantage. In this case, although their membership to ethnic social networks does increase their social capital, it has not necessarily been an advantage to the Diaspora. Hence, engaging in ethnic social networks and native language use influences not only the integration of the Diaspora in the host country but also in the labour market. Social capital remains an important concept through which this can be understood.

Regional disparities
This study has shown that network effects are important in Diaspora research. These networks are important sources of economic and social support in the labour market. They provide social contacts with persons sharing the same ethnicity, language and culture. They provide channels for flows of information, ethnic goods and services. The case of those who lived in the urban regions was different. Compared to the group discussed above, the Diaspora working in La Pirogue hotel, Manisa hotel and Dinarobin all lived in the neighbouring capital and towns. The influence of the geographical location could be observed in the multiple differences in ‘home’-making practices discussed in the previous chapter. Participants in these regions were able to communicate in both French and English effectively despite acknowledging that they also knew some Bhojpuri. Being located in an environment characterized by a plurality of ethnic
groups and within easy access to education and training institutions, the Diaspora has been able to appropriate the necessary language as well as educational skills in order to gain entry in the hotel industry. With relatively lower homophilic relationships based on ethnicity, the Diaspora is able to interact with other ethnic groups which would allow it to capitalize on information regarding job opportunities. However, even in the case of the urban participants, weak ethnic networking processes were still active and therefore despite having a wider social network, the Diaspora was relatively less mobile than others due to connection with those occupying positions of no power.

The Diaspora in the rural regions viewed it inappropriate for women to work in this industry due to unsocial working hours and exposure to situation considered ‘not good’ for a woman. This is further exaggerated if it is the case of a young female. However, the study has evidence that there are many Hindu women who work in these hotels, but they are in low skilled jobs due to poor education and lack of skills. On the other hand, if the Hindu female employee is educated, the hotel industry is likely to be a temporary employer until a better job is obtained in a different industry. Hence, lack of access to educational resources due to location, lack of competences to use existing educational and training resources due to poor language skills have greatly affected the position of female workers in the hotel industry. All this coupled with social networks low in the hierarchy reduces the social capital of the female members of the Diaspora positioning the former at the bottom of the ladder. Moreover cultural values dictating that hotels are not the ‘right’ place for a woman to work has made this industry less attractive to young Hindu females living in the rural regions.

**Conclusions**

This research shows the impact of ethnic social networks on employee mobility in the hotel industry. In the case of Mauritius, these networks are formed on the basis of both ethnicity and language. For the North Indian Diaspora, connecting mainly with those who are Hindu is a way of
maintaining ethnic boundaries. This is more obvious in the rural coastal regions where Hindu enclaves are more dominant. On the other hand, in the urban regions, members of the Diaspora have mixed with other ethnic groups. Although they display creolised patterns of living and consumption, there is evidence in the findings that even those who live in urban regions maintain ethnic boundaries at work. Hence, for the Diaspora, ethnicity is an essential criterion for networking. The research shows that this is persistent for both the earlier and younger generations. However, when it comes to language, different conclusions can be drawn. Whilst in the villages, Bhojpuri was a key criterion in networking, in the urban regions, this was no longer the case. Those who lived and worked in the towns had acquired other languages which allowed them to communicate and network with other ethnic groups. Apart from forming ethnic social networks, the study also shows that the effects of these networks (network effect) are strong on the mobility of the members of the Diaspora. These have been clearly explained above using the concept of motility. In both rural and urban regions, the initial network effect is related to information flow. The study has shown that the Diaspora continuously seeks information about jobs from its members. Hence, in this perspective, network effect can be viewed as positive. However, the second fieldwork has revealed that network effect after joining the industry is negative. By being part of a social network located at the bottom of the organisation/industry ladder, the Diaspora fails to access the necessary information and opportunities required to move up the ladder. Moreover, their restricted ability to communicate in important languages hinders their promotion opportunities as well as their ability to participate in organisation career management strategies. Such negative network effect is more salient among the earlier generations and women in the Diaspora. On the other hand, in the urban regions, access to education and ability to speak other languages has enabled the Diaspora to offset the negative effect of existing ethnic social networks giving them an equal chance to be upwardly mobile at work.
In this study, Bhojpuri, a language that travelled from North India over a century ago has continued to influence the Diaspora's life at home, in the community and at work. The case of the hotel industry in Mauritius has confirmed that language and ethnicity are important moorings for industry mobility. However, a clear distinction has been made between the Diaspora living in the rural and the urban regions. Their point of intersection lies in the ethnic networks that are common across the Diaspora. Both rural and urban participants valued homophilic relationships based on ethnicity. For those in the rural regions, ethnic networks coupled with poor language skills, pushed them into low skilled jobs. This justifies the working class standard of living that was identified during the visits. On the other hand, those living in the urban regions were also part of this vicious cycle, however their higher level of education and their language skills allowed them to be more mobile that the former group. However, relative to other employees, they were still less mobile. Hence, ethnic social networks influence motility. The nature of the influence of these networks is determined by the relative position of the ethnic group in that situation. If the group holds positions of power, then ethnic networks produce social capital and network capital allowing the group to be more mobile; whereas if the ethnic group is located at low positions, then these ethnic networks produce a cycle of deprivation. The next chapter discusses some of the implications of the findings from this research in both Diaspora research as well as for the industry and concludes over this study.
Chapter Nine: Conclusions

This study has explored multiple mobilities taking place in the hotel industry. The initial focus was to understand labour mobility in this industry. Although work related mobility can be described in multiple ways, this study concentrated on intra-firm, inter and intra-industry mobility. The aim was not to measure the number of job changes in an employee’s working life but to understand mobility-related behaviours and the processes which guide these behaviours. In order to do so, focus group interviews were conducted with forty eight employees working across eight different hotels in Mauritius. They belonged to different levels and departments in the industry. The second focus of this study was driven by the need to understand whether diasporic identities had any impact on these work related mobilities. In order to do so, participants in the first fieldwork were also prompted with questions related to their ancestral origin and homeland orientation. Based on the findings of the first fieldwork, themes for further investigation were identified. Using theoretical sampling, twenty participants were selected from the initial sample. They were all members of the North Indian Diaspora. Through in-depth interviews and observation during field visits, these themes were investigated. The North Indian Diaspora was chosen as it demonstrated several work-related and identity-related characteristics which fit with the aims of this study. The research used the mobilities paradigm as its underlying theoretical framework. Data from both fieldworks was analysed and discussed within this paradigm. In this final part of the thesis, the author draws some significant conclusions based on the theory underlying this research, the literature reviews conducted and the methodology used. It ends by drawing attention to some future areas of research in this field.
Industry mobility

The study showed that the hotel industry attracts many unskilled individuals who are pushed by unemployment in other sectors and pulled by low barriers to entry and attractive salary package. Hence both refuge and instrumental orientations have been found in the sample. These orientations are in many cases reinforced by social capital, in the form of information available from friends and relatives connected with the hotel industry. Although access to information is crucial, the study showed that the nature and the quality of information played an important role in the decision making process. Moreover, this information has the ability to change perceptions about the industry. It carries with it an element of trust and reciprocity which connects the employee with the employer. Moreover, there were also some employees who displayed the positive orientation characteristics. These individuals viewed working in the industry as a career and in order to join they had invested in industry-specific training. Those who held this orientation were more likely to occupy skilled level jobs and the study found that they were also able to climb the organisational ladder faster than the first group.

The study found that during their employment in the industry, many individuals continued being psychologically mobile. In other words although physical movement did not take place, they perceived a boundaryless future ahead despite structural constraints. These were mainly young employees who were at the beginning of their career. Although they were in the same industry and doing the same type of work as others, their level of psychological mobility was different. They had the motivation, the skills and the relationships which could allow them to find other jobs. However the study showed that although psychological mobility was high, actual mobility did not necessarily take place. Hence, young educated employees showed the tendency for higher psychological mobility than the others. Psychological mobility is comparable to motility. The study also found that as those who belonged to the refuge and instrumental orientations spent more time in the industry, they changed
their perception about it. They identified better scope for progression in this industry than elsewhere and decided to stay. Moreover, with increased tenure, individuals acquired both industry and firm-specific skills which restricted their mobility within the same industry and/or firm. Moreover, after joining the industry, intra-firm, inter and intra-industry mobility were highly influenced by type and level of skills. In the case of intra-firm mobility, the study found that individuals who had industry-specific training tend to move up the hierarchy faster than the others while those who were unskilled tend to move laterally and horizontally without any change in the status or responsibility in their work. Moreover, those who had industry-specific skills were more mobile in the industry as they could move across different hotels to find jobs with better pay and working conditions. On the other-hand, the study found a few cases of inter-industry mobility were the employees had joined from other industries, mainly the sugar and the textile industries. Both inter and intra-industry mobility were facilitated by generic transferable skills whereas intra-industry and intra-firm mobility required industry-specific skills. Moreover, the study also found that firm-specific skills enhanced intra-firm mobility only if it was accompanied by industry-specific skills, whereas it prevented intra-industry mobility as employees found it difficult to use these skills in other hotels.

Apart from skills, the study also found that social capital within the workplace also increased the probability for progression. Those who had connections with those who occupied positions of authority within the organisation or industry, were more likely to obtain information about job opportunities. While in the initial stage, social capital was generated by close networks of friends and relatives, at later stages in the career, individuals develop this social capital into network capital. The latter operates with those at a distance who are still able to supply information about progression opportunities. Hence, employees who had network capital were more mobile in the firm and in the industry. However, this practice is often seen as unfair and in this respect many of the hotels confirmed that they would still require the right skills despite network
capital. The study also shows that although network capital is a resource for the employee, not everyone has access to connections in the industry. In order to counter effect network capital, many of the hotels operate Organisation Career Management (OCM) strategies which help disseminate information about job opportunities. This in turn is viewed positively by employees as it provides equal access to the internal labour market. In doing so, they were not only building organizational commitment but were also creating cultural boundarylessness. Employees working in these hotels enjoyed a good working environment which could in turn reduce the need to intra and inter-industry mobility. The study also found that through the resource based model, the hotels that were managed by foreign managers actively invested in the human capital of their employees. Opportunities for training were widely available so that everyone has a fair chance to progress in the organization.

However, despite these strategies, the study identified two groups of employees who were continuously trapped in low skilled jobs and/or enjoyed least mobility. Firstly, the findings show that women were concentrated in gender specific roles such as housekeeping and cleaning. Those who were educated were concentrated mainly in administrative roles. Their low skills coupled with their restricted access to network capital reduced their ability to move the hierarchy despite long tenure. Although movement did take place, it was mainly lateral or horizontal movements which were not accompanied by an increase in pay, status or responsibility. Those who worked in administration felt that there were no scope for progression in the hotel industry and they experienced high psychological mobility as they possessed generic transferable skills that they could use in other industries. The second group that experienced the least mobility in the industry was the Hindus, mainly those who belonged to the North Indian Diaspora. In majority of the hotels located near rural regions, the Hindus were highly represented in the workforce, yet they occupied lower level jobs and tend to be less mobile in the hierarchy. However the findings also revealed that in the urban regions, the same group was more upwardly mobile in the industry. While research on
women working in the hotel industry confirms the above findings, there is insufficient work done on Diaspora and labour mobility. This study has established a connection between Diaspora and labour mobility through the concepts of social capital and motility. The implications of these findings are relevant to the understanding of organization behavior in a cross-cultural context as well as for countries where multiple Diaspora have migrated. The need to examine social networks and how they are formed and to also understand how diasporic orientations and practices impact on assimilation has been highlighted in this study. These can be useful tools for policy-makers across the world.

Coexistence

In the introduction chapter to this thesis, the researcher raised four other inquiries regarding the diasporic situation of Mauritius. Concerns were about how coexistence is possible in a country with such multicultural, multiethnic and multilingual characteristics? How does national identity survive under such divided identities within its population? How do so many languages continue to exist together? And how are coming generations reacting to all these? From the findings of this study, the researcher has attempted to find answers to these inquiries. It is however important to note that these answers are based from the data from the North Indian Diaspora and they may not pertain to other diasporic communities on the island.

By looking at the mobilities that take place within the homes of the Diaspora, this study found that the identity of this group is strongly influenced by its religion. The members of this Diaspora considered themselves as ‘Hindu’ rather than of Indian origin although those in the villages show considerable evidence of a homeland orientation. The practice of their religion was found to be an essential part of their identity. Some of the fundamental features of the material space of the homes visited are the presence of altars, deities and shrines in all of them. They mark this fundamental sacred space associated with being Hindu. They are in constant act of constructing a ‘home’ symbolising their solidarity.
towards their religion. Hence Diaspora consciousness among the North Indian Diaspora is manifested mainly through religion. In this study, these sacred spaces also played the role of visual cultures symbolising India. The symbolic presence of the red flag and some specific plants found in almost all Hindu homes showed that the Diaspora is able to represent, refract and memorialise the landscape of its country of origin without having seen or visited the place. Through re-memory, the Diaspora has been able to memorialise something which has not been experienced but has been passed on across generations to become part of the ‘habitus’ of each member of the Diaspora. As such many of the religious practices are carried out as a way of fulfilling one’s role as a ‘Hindu’ or because this is the way the elders have taught them. Therefore the ethnic identity of this Diaspora is highly related to its religion and this is confirmed by Vertovec’s claim that for the South Asian Diaspora Hinduism is an ethnic religion.

The study also revealed that the Diaspora is fragmented. Gender, age and regional location have been identified as significant factors influencing the identity of the group. Through their traditional roles in the family, Hindu women continuously carry the burden of maintaining the boundaries of the Diaspora. Their participation in traditional and religious Hindu activities pushes them towards their roots. Their roles in the upbringing of future generations in the Diaspora make them the agents of re-memory. Moreover, in the rural regions where they are in majority, the study found that the Diaspora maintained a consistent and homogenised practice of ‘home’-making. Their material space consisted of various domestic objects and artefacts that hold significance with India. These gave meaning and represented embodied practices of ‘home’-making for this community. The study also showed that both Hindu and Indian symbolic goods were consumed within the boundaries of the Diaspora’s home. For them, these signified a marker of their identity.

However in the urban regions, the material cultures and the landscapes of the homes were changing. The value of these possessions was fading away. They did not attach any form of ancestral value to them. These
material cultures had lost their significance and have become mundane possessions whose ability to refract the past attached to India has been weakened through time and space. Moreover, many aspects of their symbolic goods have changed through the process of creolisation. They have now embraced a Creole space where they now consume goods associated with the stranger. The study also found that the material space of the Diaspora is in continuous process of change. The boundary of the Diaspora’s home has eroded over its outside space. The home of the Hindu living in the urban regions now displays the features of a ‘Mauritian home’. It now consists of visual landscapes from both here and there; here being a creolised space resulting from the mixing of material cultures from different ethnic groups on the island and there being their sacred Hindu space rather than their roots. Hence the Diaspora’s home has been transformed into a place characterised by hybrid landscapes and material cultures. The visits showed a changing status of the Diaspora. They have become upwardly mobile. With increased access to education they have managed to improve their lives and that of their succeeding generations. This new socio-economic condition of the Diaspora can be witnessed in the changes brought about in their ‘home’-making practices. On the other hand, for the younger generation in the Diaspora things are changing too. Despite strong feelings about their religion, they have also embraced creolisation in the way they dress, the food they eat, the movies they watch, the music they listen to and the language they speak. Those who lived in the villages, kept their traditional values and habits at home but integrated with other ethnic groups outside their homes. By doing so, the new generations in the Diaspora are associating themselves more with the Mauritian identity.

On the above basis, the study has concluded that the identity of the North Indian Diaspora in Mauritius can be described as in a state of fluidity. While on one hand superimposed boundaries between the Hindu space and the outside space have given birth to new precipitated forms of social life, on the other hand boundaries are being rigidly maintained to safeguard the Hindu space from the stranger. While some members of the
Diaspora have been able to create, shape and weave multiple spaces together through their daily activities thus producing fusions and hybrids between different cultures and traditions, on the other hand there are those who are living in closed havens away from the gaze of the stranger. On one hand, the Diaspora can no longer be defined by essence of purity but rather by heterogeneity, diversity and hybridity. The identities of its members are constantly producing and reproducing themselves through transformation and difference. But on the other hand, there are those who refuse to mix and opt for a sedentary way of life. However, despite this dichotomous division in the group and a feeling of strong belonging to Hinduism, all members of the Diaspora participating in this research view Mauritius as their homeland and not India. As stated earlier in this thesis, they have been able to put down roots and have sentimentalised Mauritius as their home. For them, India is a place of no return but maybe a place for tourism.

Coexistence has been greatly facilitated by both formal and informal structures which have safeguarded many of the practices of the Diaspora. Being a majority in the population, this group has always dominated politics and state governance. Since its independence, Mauritius has always had a Hindu prime minister. Although this may represent a disadvantage to the other Diasporas on the island, for the subjects of this study, this meant that their interests would be safeguarded. All governments have continuously improved the position of the Diaspora. They are no longer the victim and de-territorialised population. Although India was the point of departure for the construction of their home around an imagined community, with time things changed. Contrary to previous ideologies that ‘home’ is the place where individuals express their identity, the case of this Diaspora shows that with time it also became attached to its ‘home area’ in Mauritius. Some aspects of its identity such as its religion, the landscape of the home and the consumption of certain symbolic goods have persisted and this has created the spirit and the boundaries of this Diaspora’s home.
The study also showed that the Diaspora is coexisting in a multilingual and polyglottic context where Bhojpuri is being used alongside Kreol, French, English and Standard Hindi. However, the study showed that Mauritian Bhojpuri is spoken mainly at home while Kreol, French, English and standard Hindi are spoken in the wider society. Moreover, those living in the rural regions make continuous use of Bhojpuri at home. The use of this dialect has been used as a tool to create and maintain Hindu identity. Bhojpuri has the creative ability to call their Hindu-ness into being, to make the invisible visible through the power of speech and words, and also to bring character to things though verbal descriptions. Coexistence has also been made possible through the acceptance of Bhojpuri in the Mauritian soundscape. The polyglottic situation has made room for several languages to exist alongside each other however with different functions and prestige. Bhojpuri is the language of the Hindus; it has low prestige and is spoken mainly outside formal boundaries. The implications of this have already been elaborated in the beginning of this chapter.

The paradigm

In the light of all these, this study has confirmed that indeed the mobilities paradigm can help to understand the behaviours and actions of individuals both at work and in society more explicitly. Through the concept of motility, the mobilities paradigm has enabled labour mobility to move away from the traditional vertical view of mobility and to consider issues related to access, competence and appropriation of resources. This has allowed this study to identify cases of mobility and immobility. By doing so, different geometries of power in the workplace have been identified. The paradigm has provided a different perspective by addressing not only the movement of skills in the labour market but also the flows of information that take place when people move jobs and positions. These flows of information have allowed the study to locate the importance of social capital and network capital in the labour market. Moreover through the concept of boundarylessness, the theory has enabled a different conceptualisation of what a career is. Individuals today are not only physically but also psychologically mobile. Hence the mobilities paradigm took the research
from the fixity of a career into psychological processes that take place as people enter the labour market.

The theory’s approach to space and place using the concept of moving objects has allowed this study to understand the material and visual cultures of the Diaspora and how it has been used by them to create a ‘home’ away from home. Moreover, the paradigm helped to see the connection with the past that are contained in these moving objects and the landscape that they create in the environments where they are. By conceptualising travel as beyond corporeal level, the theory has helped this study in understanding how multisensory bodily contact with domestic cultures triggers imaginative travel. Moreover its appreciation of the use of technology in the understanding imaginative travel has set new ways of understanding how the Diaspora increases its motility through visual cultures in the form of movies and TV programs. Moreover, the paradigm helped explained the role of mobility systems in the circulation of goods related to both material and visual cultures which makes transgression of boundaries possible without the need for physical travel.

The paradigm has moved the study from the traditional conceptualization of home as a stable and fixed place where space and time were structured functionally, economically, aesthetically and morally. It described ‘home’ as a dynamic space not only characterised by the above moving objects but moving images, values, symbols, ideas and identities. Through its attention to the politics of mobility, it has enabled this study to identify those at home who are free to move and those who constrained to certain spaces. This theory has provided the background against which fixities in the life of others have been identified such as in the case of the North Indian Diaspora living in the rural regions. The theory has also enabled this research to locate hybrids and creolised spaces where various types of mobilities are continuously taking place. It has helped to explain how the Diaspora is able to negotiate its identity whilst also retaining the significant elements of its Hindu identity by switching between being Hindu and/or Mauritian. Overall this study adds to the appreciation that the
mobilities paradigm is an essential tool through which no study of social life can be complete.

**Further research**
Throughout this study, the researcher kept reflecting on the findings and whether these would be applicable to those Mauritians who are now living abroad like herself. Indeed, a large percentage of the population of Mauritius lives transnationally in different parts of the world. There is now a need to consider ‘double migrations’ which takes place as people of Indian origin who live in postcolonial settings travel to other countries. Are these hybrids and/or boundaries reproduced in these new spaces? Which elements are sustained and which ones are forgotten? Since this study has confirmed that Mauritian-ness does exist, there is now a need to talk of a Mauritian Diaspora, who has been away from ‘home’ where ‘home’ is no longer India but Mauritius. A final area of research would be the interaction of network capital between those who stayed at home and the transnationals and how this information leads to future mobility.
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