Tourism workforce research: A review, taxonomy and agenda

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ABSTRACT

This paper offers a critical review, purview and future view of 'workforce' research. We argue that the tourism (and hospitality) workforce research domain, beyond being neglected relative to its importance, suffers from piecemeal approaches at topic, analytical, theoretical and methods levels. We adopt a three-tiered macro, meso and micro level framework into which we map the five pervasive themes from our systematic review across a 10 year period (2005–2014). A critique of the literature, following a 'representations' narrative, culminates in the development of a tourism workforce taxonomy, which we propose should provide the starting point for a pathway to guide the advancement of a more holistic approach to tourism workforce knowledge development.

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Introduction

Tourism relies intrinsically on those who work directly in, or impart influence on, its various sectors. Notwithstanding the impact of technology and technology substitution within the workplace, tourism organisations depend largely on the labour-intensive inputs of their workforce. Consequently, tourism jobs which, to varying degrees, depend on location and the nature of the business, have an important role to play in driving economic and employment growth. Yet, the workforce is widely cited

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as a neglected research domain (Ballantyne, Packer, & Axelsen, 2009; Baum, 2007, 2015; Baum & Szivas, 2008; Ladkin, 2011; Solnet, Nickson, Robinson, Kralj, & Baum, 2014).

The argument for neglect is reinforced by reference to classifications of tourism topics addressed in the published literature—Ballantyne et al. (2009), for example, identify 20 themes in tourism research, of which only one (Education) has partial overlap with our field of concern here, the workforce. Likewise, Cheng, Li, Petrick, and O'Leary's (2011) study classifies tourism research (in this context inclusive of hospitality) into 29 'subjects' none of which can be linked directly to the workforce with the exception, again, of Education. It is probable that workforce themes have been subsumed into classifications such as 'Hotel and Restaurant Administration' and 'Management and Administration' which hardly does justice to our area of interest, given that themes such as 'Literature', 'Agriculture' and 'Medicine' merit separate categories.

In this paper we set about qualifying this contention of neglect by positing the reason as partially due to the complexity and heterogeneity of the tourism industry (Baggio, Scott, & Cooper, 2010). There are perceptions of the sector and its workforce that are both entrenched and well-reported, addressing characteristics of employment across tourism's sectors, for example low entry barriers, mobility, seasonality, and challenging working conditions. These seemingly intractable perceptions may well have dampened the appetite for research, led to fatigue in the sense that no obvious 'solutions' have emerged from much of the research and, as a consequence, have resulted in a general ambivalence regarding persistent workforce issues (cf. Iverson & Deery, 1997).

We will argue and substantiate the case that these factors have culminated in three structural research issues in need of attention. First, because much prior empirical research conducted in this domain has been at the organisational and managerial level, there is a risk that the body of work fails to position itself within the wider social, political and economic context or schema of tourism research and, as such, could be adjudged to make a limited contribution to the consolidated advancement of the tourism workforce narrative. Such studies frequently have, as their underlying objective, the desire to 'solve' a perceived 'problem' rather than to explain a phenomenon (e.g., Terry, 2014). Similarly, more often than not such articles are limited to human resource *management* research. As such there is until now no consolidated and comprehensive thematic review of the wider tourism workforce area, although a number of papers review sub-categories of tourism issues. Second, as characterised by a number of such review articles (e.g., Davidson, McPhail, & Barry, 2011; Deery & Jago, 2015; King, Funk, & Wilkins, 2011; Kusluvan, Kusluvan, Ilhan, & Buyruk, 2010; Lucas & Deery, 2004; Ryan, 2015; Singh, Hu, & Roehl, 2007; Tracey, 2014; Woods, 1999) much of the extant work is categorized as 'hospitality' to the neglect of a wider tourism context. And thirdly, those articles that have attempted to scope tourism employment more broadly have done so largely thematically, or 'atheoretically' (e.g., Baum, 2007, 2015; Ladkin, 2011), without sufficient critique of the underpinning assumptions inherent (or absent) in the literature. In undertaking this discussion, we acknowledge that the term 'workforce' itself is largely absent in the tourism literature. 'Workforce' has much wider currency in relation to other sectors such as health (see for example, Kirch, Henderson, & Dill, 2012). However it may be that other discipline and context research areas view the workforce 'resource' and the language associated with it in a slightly different way and with differing terminologies. Our use seeks to accommodate a breadth that other available terms (such as the more widely employed 'human resource management') do not afford.

This paper reconciles the disparate 'component parts' of the tourism workforce or employment domain, to include, *inter alia*, the industry's labour process; human capital policy and planning and labour markets; industrial and employee relations; education, training and the development of talent; service delivery; organisational and occupational cultures, and many others—under the unifying nomenclature of 'workforce'. As suggested above, these themes are frequently bundled together under what is, arguably, the somewhat lazy umbrella of human resource management (or HRM) which implies a particularly nuanced perspective on tourism work and the roles that are played within it. As we will explain later in this paper, we consider 'workforce' to be a far more inclusive and, from a labour process perspective, rather more neutral concept. In adopting this approach, hitherto neglected interrelationships between these component parts can be identified and gaps prised open.

Specifically, the aims and, concomitantly, the structure of this paper are to: define and clarify workforce research in tourism and propose a unifying definition and model, that incorporates its

multi-level nature; after outlining the methodological parameters of our systematic review report on our comprehensive analytical review of the broader suite of tourism (and hospitality) workforce literature across a defined period outlining five key emergent themes; develop a 'representations' narrative to critique the literature's shortcomings; and finally, propose an explanatory taxonomy to guide future researchers. In so doing, we challenge the academy to conceptually and theoretically locate their work in this taxonomy in a manner that contributes to the advancement of knowledge about work, the workforce and the workplace in tourism. We conclude by reflecting on the implications of this review on tourism (and hospitality) workforce research by offering some concerns to the broader tourism academy to consider the applied implications, and we offer suggestions designed to guide future workforce researchers, enabling them to gain a level of recognition within the tourism academy commensurate with its significance.

Before moving forward we wish to qualify the inclusion of hospitality research in this analysis of the tourism workforce, especially since the two areas have not always been the easiest of bedfellows (Morrison & O'Gorman, 2008). All tourists must sleep somewhere and all tourists must eat. The provision of accommodation/lodging and foodservice and beverages, and entertainment, the core offer of hospitality organisations, are thus intrinsically connected to the tourism experience. Indeed, some tourists travel almost exclusively for some of these experiences, for example food tourism (Getz, Robinson, Andersson, & Vujicic, 2014). Thus, we reason, the workers who provide these hospitality services are as much a part of the tourism workforce as are the workers at other tourism products, for instance theme parks or cultural institutions.

Literature and background

Clarifying the definition of 'workforce'

In operationalising the term 'workforce', rather than employment, labour, human resources (or their management), manpower, or other nomenclature, we acknowledge the breadth of the workforce domain, from worker to organisation to broader labour force issues. Or, as one senior industry stakeholder describes the term, "[it] embraces workforce development at its broadest level, including a range of themes, such as structural adjustment and job redesign. It also takes into account the external factors that impact upon workforce planning" (Service Skills Australia, 2013: 4). Accordingly, workforce is a term readily understood and applied in the policy and practitioner lexicon (cf WTTC, 2015). We propose that workforce equates to all those people within an employment pool, whether in entire countries, regions or destinations; sectors; or organisations, both large and small (www.oxforddictionaries.com). Within tourism it can be defined as "the workforce in the businesses in which tourists spend their money" (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2004: 69), with the caveats that some tourism industry employees work in organisations that provide free-to-user services, for example visitor information centres/convention bureaux (see Devine & Devine, 2011), some work in non-remunerated positions as volunteers (Holmes, Smith, Lockstone-Binney, & Baum, 2010; Terry, 2014) and that organisations need to be seen in somewhat broader terms than just at the level of the firm.

By definition, the term 'workforce' focuses foremost on 'the worker' and workers in the collective, as groups. This defines individual-level analyses. The individual level is imperative in the tourism context because this is where the paramount employee-customer, or guest-host, nexus resides. Work*force* implies the potential power of individuals and groups once put to work and this labour power is most directly of benefit to the tourism organisation. Thus the organisational level entails the priorities, processes and performance of firms and associations vis-à-vis their workers, and this level approximates with organisational behaviour, human resource management and related areas of theory and practice. The organisation typically frames both the individual and collective ('the team') interactions presented earlier, and hence we introduce the fluidity of this proposed definitional conceptualisation. Of course the workforce is also an agent of, and shaped by, broader environmental factors in which individuals, groups, organisations and economies/national and regional labour markets operate and with which they have symbiotic relationships. These include geo- and national political and socio-cultural, legal and technological dynamics, which exert substantial influence on organisations.

A three-tiered conceptualisation of the tourism workforce intersects with wider workforce studies and research (see meta reviews of workforce themes that all have implications for tourism, for example, Cullen & Turnbull, 2005; Ehnert & Harry, 2012; Hancock, Allen, Bosco, McDaniel, & Pierce, 2013; Jiang, Lepak, Hu, & Baer, 2012; Van De Voorde, Paauwe, & Van Veldhoven, 2012; Watson, 2004) in that it brings together both critical and organisational aspects, framing the tourism workforce in both societal and organisational terms as well as intermediate points in between.

Hence, in our analyses, we were firstly attentive to a range of issues at the individual level including; who it is that works in tourism (e.g., profile, diversity); why they choose to work in tourism (and, indeed, the choices or lack thereof that they may have); and the meaning of tourism work (real, symbolic). Here it is pertinent to acknowledge the contributions of a range of work both within the hospitality and tourism literature and beyond it, all which tap into the primary social science disciplines to capture more holistic perspectives of work in the sector. For example Walton (2012), decries the under-utilisation of labour history to augment understandings of contemporary hospitality relations, illustrating this by reference to the persistent failure to accommodate sexual services as part of the industry. Via the lens of geography, Zampoukos and Ioannides (2011), highlight how labour geographies contribute to the perpetuation of labour divisions, according to gender, race and class. While space restraints do not permit a fuller indulgence in the literature beyond the T&H field, our conceptualisations and 'route-map' are certainly informed by geographers like McDowell, who deconstructs gendered discourses (cf. as relevant to migrants also, McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007), and Terry, whose analysis highlights the importance of manipulating legal jurisdictions on labour market economies. Empirical work has brought to light these inequities as class issues, for instance in upscale hotels (cf, Pritchard & Morgan, 2006; Sherman, 2005).

These broader issues lead, secondly, to a consideration of a range of employment, organisational and managerial themes generally associated with HRM systems and the practice of HRM. These include service management (how organisations frame the employee to tourist/visitor/guest interaction); labour or employee relations (seeking to accommodate the needs of the workforce—both tangible and emotional within the framework of organisational and wider business objectives); strategic HRM—which tends to be located organisationally and links HR policies and practice to wider organisational goals and focus; and sustainable HRM (Kramar, 2014). Finally, we accommodate broader environmental or contextual factors (located locally, nationally and trans-nationally) such as: social and cultural perspectives of tourism and the tourism workforce and how these vary according to economic, geographical and cultural context—the status of tourism work; the impact of tourism work and the tourism workforce on the wider society in which it is located; the impact of social (demographic), economic and technological change on the tourism workforce and on tourism work; workforce themes within the context of tourism policy formulation and implementation; tourism within the wider labour market and skills narrative; tourism in terms of its workforce and labour process debates; and the position of tourism work and the tourism workforce in discussions of employment futures (Solnet, Baum, Robinson, & Lockstone-Binney, in press).

Our contention is that it is not possible to understand and engage with any of these levels, be they the individual worker, organisational and managerial (HRM) themes, or the critical and 'broad brush' environmental understandings which our conceptualisation provides—in isolation. Yet our review reveals that the extant tourism (and hospitality) workforce literature is characterised by precisely such a piecemeal approach. Building on this concern, we appropriate a macro–meso–micro conceptualisation, firstly, to make sense of the layered and hierarchically structured characteristics of the tourism workforce phenomena, and secondly, as a framework to critique extant knowledge and propose future directions to overcome the inherent deficiencies that we articulate. These three levels have been purposefully and widely applied in economics (e.g., Jenkins, 2005), in other service industries (e.g., Melton & Cunningham, 2014) and occasionally in the tourism literature (e.g., Lovelock & Boyd, 2006; Meler & Ruzic, 1999). However, there is no consensus or consistency vis-a-vis the conceptualisation of this framework, which is partially understandable given that units of analysis differ from one disciplinary or investigative context to another. Even in the workforce domain, divergent applications are used, for example, Seck, Finch, Mor-Barak, and Poverny (1993) and Gardner and Cogliser (2009) both consider the three levels to all operate within organisations. Nonetheless, we adopt a more comprehensive conceptualisation according with the integrative model of Halcomb and

Davidson (2006) and workforce analysis of Reifels and Pirkis (2012), and this is presented in Fig. 1. Before operationalising this model however, it is worth apprising ourselves of a body of tourism and hospitality research which have provided review, or review-type articles.

A retrospect of prior workforce reviews in tourism

Over the past two decades, a kernel of key review articles has provided insights into the state of workforce-related knowledge and research in the tourism and hospitality arena. Typically, these meta-analyses have focused more directly upon the hospitality sector rather than on the wider tourism environment. We have selected over-arching workforce, tourism employment or HRM reviews and deliberately set aside reviews of a more specific focus (e.g. Deery and Jago's (2015) work/life balance review) regardless of their merit and recognising the limitations this may impose on our analysis. We first address these generic hospitality workforce reviews before turning to analyses that capture the broader tourism workforce landscape.

In one of the first workforce reviews in the hospitality literature, Woods (1999) futures work pondered on two scenarios - that HR will evolve to become more strategic or that HR will devolve into departmental remits (a theme that Solnet, Kralj, & Baum returned to in 2015). Systematic, even empirical, reviews followed. Lucas and Deery (2004) examined the HRM-related papers published in five leading tourism and hospitality journals in 2002 and 2003. They found that, using an a priori classification schema to quantify categories, the majority of HRM papers were concerned with employee development and employee relations, with somewhat fewer articles concentrating on employee resourcing and general HRM issues. Singh et al. (2007), on the other hand, in a sample of 40 HRM articles published in the *International Journal of Hospitality Management* between 1994 and 2003, identified nine common HRM themes; hospitality careers, training, satisfaction, turnover/recruitment, legal issues, gender, workplace, personnel development and performance measurement.

More recent reviews have undertaken more extensive searches. Kusluvan et al. (2010), surveying the hospitality field, discerned seven research foci; employee personality and emotional intelligence; emotional/aesthetic labour; HRM practices; internal marketing; organisational culture/climate; business and HRM strategy; and employee job attitudes and behaviours. Because of their concern for the practical implications of research findings to date, the authors generated a relatively long list of generic recommendations to practitioners on how best to manage employees for optimum business outcomes. Some of these spilled over into policy and planning domains. Similarly, a more conceptually driven review (Davidson et al., 2011) highlighted the issues of generational change, training, skills and service quality, technology and the workforce, applications of strategic HRM, high performance work practices (HPWP) and use of the Balanced Scorecard, as well as casualisation and outsourcing as the most pressing areas of research concern for HRM in tourism and hospitality. Thus, both these latter reviews extended the earlier work of Lucas and Deery (2004) and Singh et al. (2007), who largely limited their analyses to employee and organisational issues, to make inferences about broader relevancies.

A more recent review has taken a different tack. Focusing on just five HR functions; strategic HR, staffing, training, performance appraisal and compensation and benefits, Tracey (2014), concludes that there are many thematic overlaps in the published literature but also suggests that unique contextual variables have emerged and need closer interrogation in a quest for bettering our understanding of individual and organisational outcomes. There are then, in these reviews, some resonating themes that were flagged in Woods (1999) futures review; that a range of HRM nuances and approaches are driven by location- and sector-specific factors. In short, many of these review articles reproduce the idea that the hospitality (and tourism) industry (and its workplace) is a unique context warranting bespoke research treatment.

Rather than conduct a study of hospitality workforce issues *per se*, some authors have attempted to engage with the broader tourism landscape. Baum (2007) conducted an analysis of change in tourism HRM over the two previous decades, predicated on his 1991 work, which was one of the earliest contributions to take a more inclusive and holistic tourism workforce approach. Influential social, economic, political and technological developments in the external environment are at the heart of this analysis and also provided evidence of contradiction and polarisation. Despite dominant global
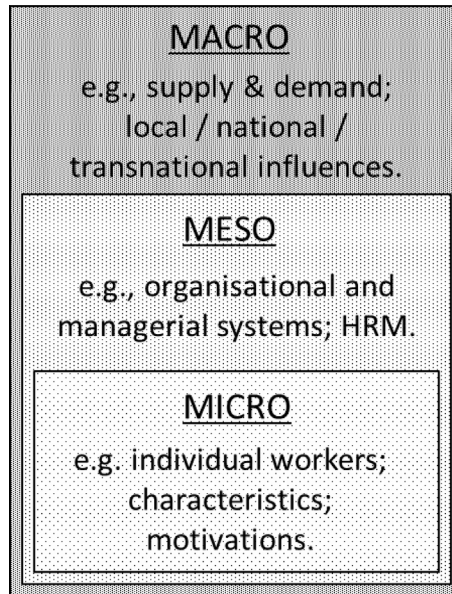
Fig. 1. Three-tiered workforce conceptualisation.

companies and apparent improvements in HRM practice in developed countries, poor work practices and marginalisation of tourism workers remain major issues in many parts of the world. In particular, Baum (2007) highlighted discrepancies and dilemmas in the areas of globalisation and global migration patterns, the impact of technology on the industry and its work practices, the emergence of aesthetic labour as a concern and concerns relating to the appropriate management of diversity in the workplace. In a recent reprise, Baum (2015: 210), while updating some of the developments that are fast-changing the global tourism environment, summed up his analysis, "[i]t is difficult to reach more optimistic conclusions today". Tellingly, none of Davidson et al. (2011) and Baum (2007) or the other reviews cited earlier, provide a coherent justification for their choice of key themes and their exclusion of others, a criticism that can be directed more widely at literature of this kind.

Contrarily, Ladkin (2011), in her exploration of tourism labour, conceptualised a triadic relationship between three key stakeholders for workforce knowledge development; the tourism worker, the tourism employer, and the tourism researcher. Ladkin attempted to develop a pioneering framework to foreground the tourism, as opposed to hospitality, workforce, embracing multi-disciplinary and methodological debate and acknowledging the entanglements of the employment landscape (as did the reviews of Tracey, Davidson et al. and Baum in particular). However, she stopped tantalisingly short of proffering a holistic model that incorporates the multiple levels at which 'workforce' can be seen to operate. What emerges from consideration of these hospitality and big picture, or meta-reviews, whether research or policy orientated, is the sense of academic and application recidivism that overshadows their reading. The identified issues, the conclusions reached and, in many cases, the recommendations proposed across over 20 years of debate, do not vary significantly and highlight a dislocation between analysis and action. Solnet, Nickson, et al. (2014) highlight this with regard to the policy formulation process in tourism employment but it is a criticism applicable equally to academic studies. We contend that there is a need for a comprehensive review, with broadened search parameters, looking for a more holistic 'snapshot' or 'state of play' regarding tourism and hospitality workforce research. Moreover, there is a need to reconcile the component parts of the tourism and hospitality workforce literature, be they topical, contextual, thematic, theoretical or conceptual.

Methods and findings

Our review of workforce research in the tourism and hospitality literature focused on the top four tourism journals and the top four hospitality journals (as measured by Impact Factor, 2014). For the tourism field, the top four journals are *Annals of Tourism Research*, the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *Tourism Management* and the *Journal of Travel Research*. For the hospitality field, the top four journals are the *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, the *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research*. To capture the most recent thinking but also to gain insight into the development of knowledge over a period of time, we restricted the review period to the ten years from 2005 to 2014. In this period, the eight foremost T&H journals collectively published 6,449 articles, with *Tourism Management* being the most prolific source of output with 1,700 articles or just over a quarter of the total articles. When considering the hospitality journals alone, the *International Journal of Hospitality Management* published by far the most articles, with 43% of the total articles in the hospitality journals. We recognise that this selection of just eight journals (out of a potential list of 330 identified by McKercher, 2015[2]) is a limitation, and that indeed some of these journals have not traditionally published workforce related research. However, this is a necessary circumscription in order to ensure that our approach was manageable and moreover enables us to highlight serious oversights in our ensuing discussion (e.g. that the substantial Sustainable HRM literature is not accommodated in tourism sustainability discourses). In making this choice we have, of course, purposefully excluded consideration of the wide range of other T&H journals, contributions to the non-T&H literature that relate to workforce themes within a tourism industry context and, generally, literature other than journal articles (e.g. books, reports, conference papers etc.).

Given the broad nature of our definition of workforce, it was necessary to select search parameters that would identify relevant articles across the entire spectrum of disciplinary underpinnings from whence workforce research may emanate. First, each of the authors suggested their own list of possible search terms. This initial round of deriving search terms resulted in a diverse array that would identify literature related to the worker (micro), the work organisation (meso), and the broader environment as it impacts on work (macro). Through an iterative process, and trialling in journal search fields, the lists of search terms were collated, compared and condensed into a final list of seven search terms: employ* (which includes endings such as employee, employment, etc.); human resource* (which was also operationalised as HR, HRM etc.); work* (which includes endings such as worker and workforce); labour (and labor); frontline; staff; and job. These terms were considered generic enough to identify the most relevant articles, and specific enough not to generate an unmanageable sample.

Using each journal publisher's proprietary database, all articles that had any one of the search terms as author-supplied keywords, with a publication year between 2005 and 2014, were located and downloaded. Details of each article were entered into a bespoke review catalogue. This process resulted in an initial sample of 490 articles. Closer inspection of the articles included in the initial sample revealed 32 articles that were not appropriate for a variety of reasons. For example some were opinion pieces (e.g. an interview with the GM of one company); some were short research notes simply proposing a research agenda; and others only treated keywords as a cursory afterthought. After removing superfluous entries from the catalogue, the final sample of articles for review included 458 articles. Table 1 provides a summary of the workforce articles by journal, whether from the hospitality or tourism domain, the ratio of workforce-related articles to total articles published and the ratio of workforce-related articles as a percentage of total publications in each journal.

An examination of Table 1 demonstrates that workforce research is clearly dominated by hospitality researchers. One demonstration of this is that the lion's share of articles (82 per cent) from our review sample is published in the hospitality journals. Further evidence is in the ratio of workforce-related articles to total published articles—it is consistently and substantially higher in the hospitality journals (15 per cent of all articles published in the leading hospitality journals) than the tourism

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[2] McKercher, B. (2015) *Dedicated Tourism, Hospitality and Events Journals*, circulated on Trinet by the International Academy for the Study of Tourism, 12th October 2015.

Table 1
Summary of review sample.

		Frequency of articles by journal		Total articles published in journal	
		No.	%	No.	%
Tourism	Tourism Management	48	10.5	1700	2.8
	Journal of Travel Research	10	2.2	501	2.0
	Annals of Tourism Research	20	4.4	1170	1.7
	Journal of Sustainable Tourism	4	0.9	633	0.6
	Tourism total	82	17.9	4004	2.0
Hospitality	International Journal of Hospitality Management	172	37.6	1062	16.2
	International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management	121	26.4	592	20.4
	Cornell Hospitality Quarterly (formerly CHRAQ)	58	12.7	510	11.4
	Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research	25	5.5	281	8.9
	Hospitality total	376	82.1	2445	15.4
	Total	458	100	6449	7.1

journals (only 2 per cent of all articles published in the leading tourism journals). Fig. 2 depicts the total articles published in all eight journals by year, broken down by workforce-related articles and other articles. Although a greater number of workforce-related articles have been published in the latter half of the sample period, the total number of articles published has also increased substantially. Thus, the ratio of workforce articles to total published articles has not changed significantly over the same timeframe. We will return to the representation of workforce themes in the T&H literature later in our discussion.

For each article in the review catalogue, the research team identified primary workforce topics. This resulted in an initial list of over 1000 individual topics. Inspection of the list resulted in the identification of semantic similarities between individually identified topics. This enabled the researchers to reduce the initial list of individual topics into 74. From there, the research team engaged in an iterative process of grouping topics into themes and comparing these overarching themes as proposed by members of the team. Then we returned to the review catalogue to consider the fit of topics, topic areas and themes under consideration. These themes were then further summarised into more meaningful and inclusive groups, before finally settling on a set of five distilled over-arching themes that provide a coherent synopsis of the contents and thrust of the articles contained in the review catalogue. Table 2 summarises the five themes and the topic areas related to each. The table also demonstrates the alignment of themes with the macro–meso–micro definitional framework that we introduced earlier for the term workforce, which ultimately will inform our proposed taxonomy.

Fig. 3 illustrates the themes as a proportion of all individual (1000+) T&H workforce research topics in the sample. The micro theme of 'worker attitudes and behaviours' clearly dominates the research. Within this theme, the most prolific topic areas, each with over 50 papers talking to them, included employee/manager values, attitudes and perceptions (69), job satisfaction (68) and emotional labour (51). Topics that are well trodden in the generic literature, such as the psychological contract (3) and emerging constructs, such as job-embeddedness (4), are examples of less-treated workforce research areas.

Three themes represented reasonably equal numbers of topics: 'workforce composition and worker characteristics' (micro), 'job, the workplace and the work environment (of the job/role/workplace)' (meso), and 'organisational practices and functions' (meso). In the 'workforce composition and worker characteristics', the work-family/work-life balance papers (41) and personal characteristics/attributes/traits (40), for instance Gen Y research, were the most prolific. Topics such as working holiday makers (3) and volunteers (2), though scarce, demonstrate the diversity of workforce topics we captured. The most populous topic in the 'job, the workplace and the work environment' category, omnipresent in the T&H literature, was turnover (46). Service management (33) and workplace/work environment (22) was well-represented but research regarding employee experiences (3) and job crafting (1) was scant.
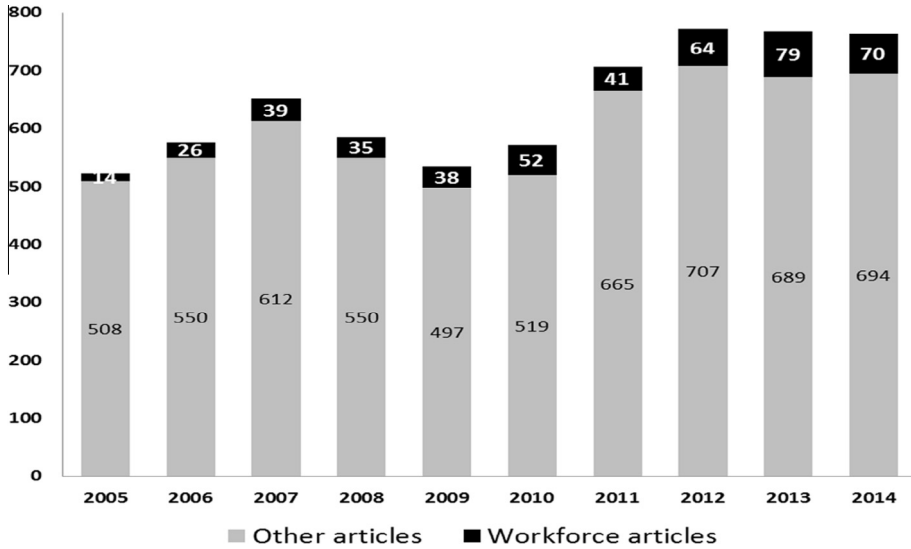
Fig. 2. Total articles published by year.

Table 2
Summary of review themes and topic areas.

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MACRO	Tourism work and the wider society	economics, inc. impact, labour markets, tourism supply, etc.; HRD/workforce policy & planning; tourism planning; labour mobility; Labour regulation (law, unions, etc.); employment agencies; link between tourism and increase in sex workers; T&H workforce research
MESO	Organisational practices and functions	HR/HRM/strategies/systems/practices/functions/high-performance work practices; recruitment & selection practices; training & development; org./managerial practices & responsibilities (e.g. decision making); pay compensation and rewards; scheduling practices; talent management; wages; knowledge sharing and use of information; retention; HRM trends/changes/issues/challenges; rg/dept. performance/effectiveness, inc. labour productivity; organisational change; assessment centres; employee work outcomes; labour costs
	The job, the workplace and the work environment	workplace/work environment; job characteristics and demands; discrimination and harassment; turnover; service mgmt, inc. orientation, delivery, failure etc.; organisational culture and climate; occupational communities/cultures; job crafting; employees' experiences of job/role/workplace; work experience/experiential learning; customer perceptions of treatment of workers
MICRO	Worker attitudes and behaviours	employee/manager values, attitudes & perceptions; job satisfaction; employee/manager behaviours; organisational commitment; emotional labour; burnout/stress/exhaustion/disengagement; organisational citizenship behaviour; engagement; trust; job embeddedness; leadership; empowerment; organisational/ supervisor/co-worker support; job performance; roles; motivation; creativity; psychological contract; team/group; psychological capital; core self-evaluations
	Workforce composition and worker characteristics	employees with disabilities; skills and competencies; employment status (inc. contingent and migrant workers); diversity; volunteers; gender; labour composition /transient workforce; working holiday-makers; personal characteristics/attributes/traits (inc. demographics + Gen Y); work-family/work-life; career; students/graduates/degrees
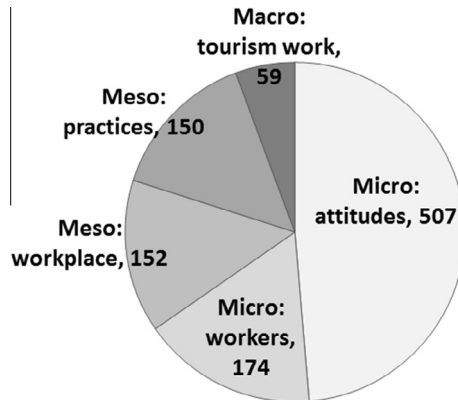
Fig. 3. Representation of themes by individual topics in sample.

The theme 'organisational practices and functions' was dominated by work treating HR/HRM strategies, systems, practices and functions (46). Specific HR functions like recruitment and selection (18), training and development (17) and organisational performance (e.g., labour productivity) formed the staple topics of this theme, while seemingly intractable topics like wages (2) and emergent ones, such as assessment centres (1), only just registered.

Our fifth theme, with the smallest representation in our sample, 'tourism work and the wider society', had half its topics supplied by papers dealing with economics (for instance workforce impacts, labour markets, tourism supply). Policy formulation and implementation also come under this heading. There are also a small number of studies that consider the tourism workforce in a wider international or comparative trans-national context. Relatively few papers were dedicated to what we would see as pertinent issues like labour mobility (4), tourism planning (3) or even T&H workforce research.

Examining the themes as they relate to our definitional framework, the preponderance of T&H workforce research has focused on the micro-level themes related to the worker. Of these two micro-level themes, the 'attitudes and behaviours' theme stands out. Almost half of all the 1000+ individual topics identified in the initial coding belong to the 'attitudes and behaviours' theme. This may be a reflection on the managerial and organisational behavioural focus of hospitality-based workforce research that is highly positivist in its orientation and are typically disciplinarily anchored in behavioural sciences and organisational psychology (as will be discussed later in this paper). Just under a third of all individual topics fell into the two meso-level themes. These two themes were almost equally represented. Most notably however, less than a tenth of all individual topic areas fell into the macro-level theme. The theme of 'tourism work in the wider society' is represented substantially more in the tourism journals than in the hospitality journals. Futures-oriented studies on the tourism workforce are generally well rooted in the wider context of changes in work, technology, demography and consumer expectations, rightly identified as major influences on the workforce (Robinson, Kralj, Solnet, Goh, & Callan, 2014; Solnet et al., 2014; Solnet et al, in press). Again this is perhaps reflective of a more sociological orientation in many tourism journals versus a managerial perspective in the hospitality journals. It also reflects a commitment by some hospitality journals to reach a practitioner audience possibly less attuned to conceptualisation and analysis within the social sciences than to actionable research outcomes within the organisational space. It is interesting to speculate whether changes in the workplace and within the workforce as well as possible future blurring of what we would see as artificial distinctions in how the industry is seen lead to greater convergence in the focus of the respective journals in these fields.

Analysis and critique

Further analysis of our systematic review data has enabled us to raise a range of observations, criticisms and, from these, reflections. We now classify our analysis as workforce themes in the T&H literature that we would consider to be 'overrepresented', those that are 'underrepresented'

and finally themes that we would see as 'misrepresented' as we develop a tourism workforce 'representation' narrative. We did consider a further classification of 'unrepresented' but recognised that this would be a step beyond our data and a venture into the speculative.

'Overrepresented'

Referring back to Table 1, and reiterating our earlier observation, the workforce literature is clearly dominated by research published in the hospitality journals. Reading this in combination with Fig. 3, it is clear there is a wealth of research at the micro-, or individual worker level and at the meso-, or organisational, level and that, arguably, this represents excess to the extent that few theoretical debates are advanced significantly on the basis of these studies. To reiterate, at the micro- level, we identified two major themes; 'workforce composition and workforce characteristics' and 'worker attitudes and behaviours'. An example of research typical of the first theme, which could be conceptualised as the foundation of the tourism workforce, is the work of Kara, Uysal, and Magnini (2012), who studied the gender difference (i.e. personal characteristics) impacts of hotel workers on job satisfaction. Janta's (2011) research on workforce diversity in terms of the profiles and work experiences of Polish migrants finding employment into the UK hospitality industry also fits this first theme. While both these papers are published in our hospitality journal sample, as are most in this theme, there are exceptions. For, example Karatepe, Uludag, Menevis, Hadzimehmedagic, and Baddar's (2006) study of hotel worker's job satisfaction as influenced by their individual characteristics is published in *Tourism Management*. On the other hand, the second theme, 'worker attitudes and behaviours' is represented by papers such as Robinson, Kralj et al.'s (2014) work on employee's job embeddedness on organisational commitment and intention to quit. It is instructive that of the four papers selected above, three operationalise measures from the behavioural sciences, the exception being Janta's work which is sociological in nature, albeit executed via theoretical pragmatism.

Moving to the meso-, or organisational, level, again two themes predominate. The first is 'the job, workplace and work environment'. Evidently, these are organisation influences on the workforce and Chan's (2010) typology of factors influencing a fun workplace serves as a clear example. The second theme, 'organisational practices and functions', is typified by topics dealing with HR practices and systems and knowledge sharing. An example from our review sample is research on the relationship between compensation practices and firm performance (Namasivayam, Miao, & Zhao, 2007). The vast majority of these papers are published across the four hospitality journals sampled in our review. Again, the disciplinary lens is most often informed by behavioural and organisational psychology.

Another factor contributing to what we argue is a proliferation of articles across the micro- and meso- levels is that large studies are often 'sliced and diced' into a series of papers. These articles may emanate from doctoral studies or larger funded projects. An example of PhD work that has been apportioned to tell a number of stories to different audiences is that of Janta's research on Polish migrant experiences, resulting in publication in quality articles in two of the tourism journals (Janta, 2011; Janta, Brown, Lugosi, & Ladkin, 2012; Janta, Ladkin, Brown, & Lugosi, 2011), and one hospitality journal, in our review sample, as well as another elsewhere (Janta & Ladkin, 2009). Similarly, a project to develop a regional tourism employment plan, funded by the Australian Government, yielded three outputs in the review sample for the researchers (Robinson et al., 2014; Solnet, Ford, Robinson, Ritchie, & Olsen, et al., 2014; Solnet et al., 2014). While not levelling criticism at this practice, in the contemporary 'publish or perish' academic environment, impact is still largely determined by somewhat obscure quality and quantity quotients (Hall, 2011), which promotes the generation of multiple outputs from substantive, and possibly even somewhat less substantive work.

Our analysis could lead to the conclusion that workforce research can neatly be allocated as either micro- or meso- level. However, more commonly, we found much of the literature traverses those two levels. Indeed, in the region of half of our sample was cross-coded in this manner. A prime example is Lee, Almanza, Jang, Nelson, and Ghiselli's (2013) work which investigated the influence of leadership styles on employee attitudes towards a target organisational practice. This is a hybrid of the organisational practices and functions (macro) and worker attitudes and behaviours (micro) themes. Similarly, the work of Robinson and Beesley (2010), which investigates the disconnect between chefs' creative instincts and the organisational practices of deskilling and standardisation captures both indi-

vidual characteristics and organisational practices. While this last example is published in a tourism journal, we reiterate that the vast majority of papers captured in our analysis and categorised as meso-, micro-, or cross coded, appear in the four hospitality outlets. To be specific the studies mentioned above operationalise well-trodden social science theory emanating from management literature, for example transformational leadership, organisational climate, turnover intention theory, and so on.

While these in themselves are mundane observations, when one looks at the particular constructs being examined across the micro- and meso- levels, there are hints of further overrepresentations. The first of these is that routine constructs developed in, and borrowed from, the HR and OB literature are being applied in the tourism workforce domain. Narrowly scoped investigations of job satisfaction and organisational commitment are prime examples of this practice. As an example, one study examined differences in levels of job satisfaction in two different regions (e.g. Gallardo, Sánchez-Cañizares, López-Guzmán, & Nascimento Jesus, 2010). Another study investigated the effect of personality traits on job satisfaction and organisational commitment (Silva, 2006). This is largely a symptom of researchers arguing that tourism and/or hospitality are unique and hence important contexts for theory testing (cf. Rivera & Upchurch, 2008; Tracey, 2014), although the underpinning rationale that the T&H industries are uniquely 365/24/7 and/or service orientated probably does not stand up to rigorous scrutiny, when compared to a range of other industries for example retail and healthcare (Duxbury, Thomas, Towers, & Higgins, 2007).

Although this review is not an analysis over time, but rather a snapshot of a period in time, also observable in our data was a lack of innovation, experimentation or sophistication in methodology. In fact over the ten years of our analysis, single cross-sectional surveys analysed with structural equation modelling are the norm. Rapid advances in software analysis packages have facilitated this type of technically sound (Ryan, 2015), yet often less than conceptually profound, work to proliferate. Similarly, qualitative work, scarce as it is, relies largely on single-point-in-time semi-structured interviews (cf. the valuable 2008 Kline & Harris study of hotelier's neglect of measuring the ROI of training), rarely accessing multi-method or more complete ethnographic sociological approaches that have a deep heritage in early hospitality workforce studies (cf. Fine, 2008; Whyte, 1948). Qualitative research is even considered by some as non-empirical and/or conceptual in nature (cf. Rivera & Upchurch, 2008). Needless to say the vast majority of the meso- and micro- level research studies are quantitative and consist of a remodelling of many well-understood variables from management, strategy and marketing journals and overwhelmingly provide support for hypotheses logically derived a priori from the literature. Ryan (2015) claims that this may be a product of hospitality researcher attempts to make their work accessible to practitioner industry audiences. Regardless, the majority of workforce papers in the tourism journals in the sample also employ positivistic quantitative approaches, as even gleaning their titles discloses: for 'antecedents', 'scale development', 'moderating/mediating factors' and so on (e.g., Chen & Kao, 2012; Chu & Murrmann, 2006; Namasivayam & Zhao, 2007).

Increasingly, a trend in the hospitality literature is what Ryan terms a "switch from the North Atlantic hegemony of North America and Western Europe to the emergent nations of Asia" (2015: 349). Indeed, a review of journals approximating with our sample found that less than 1% of articles between 1978 and 2008 related to Chinese tourism or hospitality (Tsang & Hsu, 2011). This shift is certainly apparent in our workforce sample, as evidenced by many Asian-heritage scholars publishing empirical work based on data collected in Asian-industrial contexts. This indeed may go some way to explaining the predominant application of quantitative positivist methods. Indeed, similar observations are made in the generic management/HR and OB literature, some of which question the validity of applying Euro-American scientific assumptions in adopting western-developed theory in Asian (mainly Chinese) contexts due to the fundamentally differing intellectual origins, conceptual models, and paradigmatic positions of western versus eastern cultures (Cheung, Baum, & Wong, 2012). This is even more pertinent in the sense that studies often conclude that cultural values and practices have impacted on the findings (Li & Nesbit, 2014). Moreover, sampling issues and an evident paucity of theory development further characterise workforce research as published in disciplinary journals. A significant narrative in the HR/OB field is consensual in arguing that western developed research tools that are grounded in western conceptual and analytic frameworks and when employed to investigate workforce issues in non-western contexts generates outcomes that are superficial and lack penetrative

explanatory qualities (Cooke, 2009). It is important then, to also take stock of these issues when considering the contributions of a significant portion of tourism, or more specifically hospitality, research studies as they appear in journals in the T&H field.

'Underrepresented'

Although it is our contention that there is a general underrepresentation of workforce research in the T&H literature, it is worth acknowledging evidence of a clear trend that points to an increase in published research in this area over the timeframe of this analysis. However, this needs to be seen in the context of an overall increase in total article publications, particularly since 2010 (see Table 1 and Fig. 2). Thus, notwithstanding an increase from the scarce years of tourism workforce research representation in 2005 and 2006, the trend line has somewhat flat-lined. Hence, the obverse of some of the observations from the above section is manifest when looking at the representation of workforce debates in tourism's four premier journals.

Our data show that just 2% of research in the tourism journals in the sample, and 15% in the hospitality journals, over the study timeframe, give coverage to workforce issues. Moreover, the majority of this research output in tourism journals is at the macro-level, and hence misses the opportunity to engage with key issues that are critical in contemporary tourism, for example how the tourism worker might benefit, or not, from emerging economic growth policy instruments like pro-poor or developmental tourism for poverty alleviation (e.g., Snyman, 2012). It is worth pondering the roles played by tourism journal gatekeepers, as others have (Ballantyne et al., 2009). Do they consider micro- and meso- level research work as 'hospitality', and hence less relevant to their audiences?

This last work by Snyman also highlights another associated underrepresentation in the literature—studies that connect the macro, meso and micro levels. Snyman addresses this via investigation of a policy intervention to reduce poverty by taking account of the lives of workers and the tourism enterprises they are employed in, and interestingly is one of few studies in our sample rooted in economics. Similarly, Solnet, Ford et al. (2014), in their consideration of regional tourism destinations addressing skills shortages develop a tool for destinations and organisations to recruit workers who 'fit'. However, studies of this nature are rare.

Notwithstanding the presence of some macro-level studies in the tourism journals, what is certainly clear in a wider sense is that there is a paucity of research published within the academy that investigates this level, in fact less than a tenth of our sample gave direct coverage to work of this kind. Duncan, Scott, and Baum's (2013) workforce mobilities analysis or Terry's (2014) investigation of volunteer tourism's potential to alleviate employment issues are relatively rare examples. Similarly underrepresented is macro-level research in our sample's hospitality journals. Some work, such as that of Zopiatis, Constanti, and Theocharous (2014), which examines migrant labour, Gibson's (2008) cruise industry employment research and Tavitiyaman, Qu, and Zhang's (2011) study of industry factors that impact on strategy and hotel performance, by their very nature must engage with macro-level factors but do so as a 'by-product' of their rather more specific objectives. It is, therefore, noteworthy that there is a lack of recognition of the globalisation of tourism workforce issues. While some research in our sample does acknowledge this theme (e.g., Jarvis & Peel, 2013; Williams & Shaw, 2011), for most it is by implication rather than by deliberate design. Moreover, the literature does not generally report the macro-level research commissioned by transnational bodies (UNWTO, WTTC, ILO), which often traverse the levels, for example engaging with detailed demographic trends (Baum, 2012, 2013).

While we highlighted the concentration of workforce articles in the hospitality journals in the previous section, contrarily, we can also consider this an underrepresentation. On average only 15% of articles in the hospitality journals are dedicated to workforce matters, when compared to the claimed paramount importance of workforce (Enz, 2001, 2009) and HRM themes (King et al., 2011) by practitioners and academics alike. This suggests a significant disconnect. Indeed, this number would be far less if it was not for the contributions of several highly prolific authors both in our sample and outside it. We argue that, as a consequence of the aforementioned absence of theoretical innovation, very little new knowledge, or theory building, occurs in tourism and/or hospitality workforce research. Further developing the theme of methods and methodology, we note that scant research studies can be iden-

tified that attempt to conceptualise and bring together as a whole the research undertaken in an area. Although not within this sample, the work of Lugosi, Lynch, and Morrison (2009) in modelling the relationship between hospitality management, hospitality studies and critical hospitality management research serves as an exemplar of research that can be described as an attempt at 'unification studies', or bringing together parts into a whole (see also Ottenbacher, Harrington, & Parsa, 2009). While acknowledging that paradigmatic positions are highly contested in the T&H domain (cf. Tribe, Dann, & Jamal, 2015), exploratory qualitative studies and 'pot-holing' quantitative studies, usually drawing on only a few articles in order to frame an ostensibly located study, proliferate. This militates against the development of robust frameworks within which knowledge in an emerging (T&H) domain, let alone workforce research, can advance incrementally and with agreed purpose. Studies that debate the finer points of methodology and approaches for T&H workforce research are rare (cf. Ladkin, 2011; Robinson, Solnet, & Breakey, 2014). In a similar vein, conceptual papers which challenge extant narratives and assumptions and propose new frameworks are almost completely absent (Ladkin, 2011 being a notable exception) and this has also been observed of tourism research generically (Xin, Tribe, & Chambers, 2013).

Lastly, we find that workforce is underrepresented in key tourism discourses, and here we provide the case for its exclusion in sustainability discussions. Only a handful of papers in tourism's leading sustainability outlet, the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, were present in our sample. These treated the link between sustainability and workforce as the latter's capacity to effect eco-friendly practices (Bohdanowicz, Zientara, & Novotna, 2011) or the roles of tourism employment in sustaining communities (cf. Bengisu & Balta, 2011; Kibicho, 2005; Snyman, 2012). Elsewhere this theme of employment opportunities economically sustaining regions appears, in remote Australian Indigenous communities in the case of Buultjens et al.'s (2010) study published in *Tourism Management*. The scope and quantum of topics related to sustainability vis-à-vis workforce is a significant neglect. At the micro and meso levels management literature since the late 1990s has accommodated sustainable HR thinking (Dunphy & Griffiths, 1998) and the literature has burgeoned since (cf. Ehnert, Harry, & Zink, 2014). On the other hand, literature has identified how mega trends such as trans-continental mobility and immigration both aid and abet sustainable workforces (Kirkegaard, 2007), while also at the macro level industries and occupations grapple with their sustainability in terms of attracting, retaining and skilling the requisite workforce (Baldwin, 2013; Knowles, 2010). To capture the broadest of foci, the UN, in its 17 'Sustainable Development Goals', identified 'Decent Work and Economic Growth' as its eighth priority (http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/).

'Misrepresented'

The largest misrepresentation that emerges from the above discourse is that the tourism workforce domain is synonymous with 'hospitality'. Liu and Wall (2006) spoke to this disconnect in their study of barriers to workforce development in the context of tourism in China. Notably, although they proposed a state policy-T&H industry-regional framework, this stopped short of the micro-level considerations we have proposed in this study. Part of the issue with respect to the tourism-hospitality disjuncture resides in issues of nomenclature. Highly focused OB or HR or even strategy research that is located within hotel, restaurant or similar businesses, by only making oblique references to employment, labour markets or even the workforce, by default remain in the hospitality domain and may not reach the attention of the tourism academy. Moreover, there are structural explanations for this within the academy. Tourism and hospitality may be located in different departments across different jurisdictions. In Australia and the UK, T&H are often incorporated, but the US, and also the emerging Asian tradition, may domicile hospitality in business and management departments and tourism in leisure, parks and recreation. It may not occur to researchers working within these latter arrangements to cross-reference their work to both tourism and hospitality audiences.

An outcome of the rhetoric that hospitality *is* tourism employment is that the workforce narrative is represented only by business and management studies. Thus, sociological examinations of the Whyte (1948), Fine (2008) and Wood (1994) genre are largely absent. One exception to this is a study by Rydzik, Pritchard, Morgan, and Sedgley (2013) that involved tourism migrant workers creating

artworks to express their transformative experiences—contributing to knowledge on identity formation and community development though mobility and tourism employment. Even econometric studies are also fleeting, with works such as those of Smeral (2009) conspicuous by their rarity. This last work also challenges the misrepresentation of tourism workforce as a trenchant problem—as secondary to product and experience development, infrastructure and marketing priorities. Rather, Smeral (2009) argues that measurable inputs of labour, as opposed to capital and/or information and communication technologies, is the key driver of hospitality (and, by proxy, tourism) industry growth. Some other research contradicts established tourism myths, such as that of the prevalence of SMEs, often cited as a key workforce challenge. Smith (2006) contends that the proportion of SMEs in tourism is actually lower than that in other industrial sectors, challenging the sector's depiction as one where small businesses, as Baum and Szivas (2008) contend, convolute workforce development (for other myths see McKercher & Prideaux, 2014).

The job profile of those working in hospitality and tourism is developing in line with wider social, economic and technological change and there are many highly skilled roles emerging in the industry (Solnet et al, in press). Yet the dominant discourse in much of the literature is to start with the what might be called Orwellian stigmas including, to name a few, low skills/deskilling, low entry barriers, the 365/24/7 demand for service, poor working conditions, intrinsically unrewarding repetitive jobs (e.g. Burns, 1997; Pienaar & Willemse, 2008), hierarchical organisations, precarious and/or seasonal employment (e.g. Lundberg, Gudmundson, & Andersson, 2009), even deviance and exploitation (e.g. Harris, 2012). While this may well be the case in some if not many circumstances, the lazy reproduction of these ideas as the assumptive base of research endeavours is, arguably, a misrepresentation of the nature of many aspects of the T&H workforce, especially in the developing world (cf. Gentry's 2007 study of Belizean women and Higgins-Desbiolles' 2012 account of Argentinian hotel workers). Narratives in the migrant (Janta et al., 2011, 2012) and mobilities (Riley, Ladkin, & Szivas, 2002) literature frame tourism employment as a final option, or in the case of working holiday makers, as tourists first and workers last (Cohen, 2011). A notable challenge to this discourse is Vaugeois and Rollins (2007) empirical contestation of tourism as a 'refuge employer'. It is difficult, we contend, to develop new knowledge in a research environment when subjected to the perpetuation of 'half-truths' in the conceptualisation and framing of research problems.

A proposed 'workforce research taxonomy'

This review highlights a number of key issues with respect to workforce research in the T&H literature. Our starting point was to contend that workforce is a relatively neglected theme in the T&H literature and the evidence from this analysis certainly bears this out. Our analysis of the ten year time frame highlights the relative paucity of workforce research published in the leading tourism and hospitality journals and notes the particular inattention to this theme in four major tourism publications. By contrast, the four hospitality journals that were interrogated included rather more workforce-related studies but even here their presence was limited when set alongside other major themes. This disparity in itself leads to questions about how the respective journals perceive themselves and the boundaries of their academic 'patches' and highlights the tensions that exist between the two areas, to which we have already alluded.

Of course, our case for neglect is predicated upon acceptance of the argument that workforce and its associated sub-themes are, indeed, of the level of importance that we ascribe. We accept that there are arguments that, alongside the themes that dominate the T&H literature—marketing, technology, the natural environment, culture and others—some may see workforce concerns as marginal at best. Both the work of Ballantyne et al. (2009) and Cheng, Li, Petrick, and O'Leary (2011) would seem to adopt this position. However, we would counter this argument by noting the cross-cutting nature of workforce concerns in T&H, impinging directly on and drawing from the major social science fields of anthropology, economics, geography, political science, psychology and sociology. How it is that an activity that is central to the lives of people and communities in all cultures—work—can be marginalised in this way when placed in the context of a specific economic sector, T&H, is perplexing. The workforce in T&H is also cross-cutting in relation to a number of the themes which dominate publi-

cations in this area—sustainability, human rights, culture, product/service development and delivery and destination management among others.

We also recognise the possibility that the neglect of workforce research may simply be the product of poor research, that far too few papers meet the standard demanded by the eight leading journals in the T&H field. The rigorous review process through which all papers submitted are subjected acts as an important filter in terms of both quality and fit with the aims of the publication. It is interesting to speculate about the rejection rate and reasons for rejection for workforce-related research by the eight journals that formed our sampling frame. Such information is currently not available but we would challenge editors to publish this data and even allow access to the reasons for rejection of papers within this (and other) domains. This would help to dispel any sense that work in a particular area is not given appropriate recognition within the review process. A further point worthy of mention in the context of publishing regimes, is that various factors privilege knowledge production in journal articles, whose space constraints rather curtail the capacity of researchers to expound the location of their work vis-à-vis broader epistemologies, literatures and knowledge production contexts that impacted their work—and will be impacted by it.

As well as addressing the neglect (or otherwise) of workforce themes in the major T&H journals, our purpose was to assess and classify those papers that did make it through the review process to publication. Our consideration of 458 contributions from the ten year timeframe, led us through a classificatory process that enabled broad labelling of papers as 'micro', 'meso' and 'macro' on the basis of their focus and the empirical 'laboratory' within which the research was located. A number of the papers did straddle more than one area but, broadly speaking, the process of classification enabled us to flesh out our three original categories and to illustrate the areas of workforce research within each.

Fig. 4 presents a classification and the sub-categories in each as a model that straddles conception as a typology or taxonomy of workforce research in T&H, and possibly beyond. In proposing a typology or taxonomy for workforce research, we are heartened by the arguments in favour of this approach by Dellbridge and Fiss (2013) in which they clearly articulate the value that the use of classifications can bring to advancing theory within the business and management space. However, we believe that our approach in this paper challenges the criteria set out by Snow and Ketchen (2014:231) for an effective typology when they argue that "ideal types are comprehensive and mutually exclusive, the types can be validly and reliably measured, and the theoretical foundation underlying the typology is clearly articulated". We do not see the mutual exclusivity of a typology in the tourism workforce space and, as a result, describe what follows as a taxonomy.

The initial feature of this model, as informed by our analysis, depicts the macro as not distinct from, but rather embracing, the meso and micro, thus immediately signalling the inherent interconnections and interdependencies of all these forces and factors on the tourism workforce. The three levels in our taxonomy are populated by examples of selected topics and themes from our analysis. Of note within this depiction is the overlap that exists between our conception of micro and meso, areas that cross-cut concern for the individual with a focus on organisational outcomes and needs. And this distinguishes our model from those that informed its development, notably Halcomb and Davidson (2006) and Reifels and Pirkis (2012).

This area of overlap is worthy of further discussion along two lines, first that overlap captured here is the nexus between organisation and worker—or the host-guest nexus. From a meso perspective, customer attitudes and behaviours are an outcome of organisational dynamics (e.g. Chi & Gursoy, 2009). Yet it is the individual worker, at the micro level, that interacts directly with the tourist/guest to provide the tourism experience. The co-creation of value (Vargo & Lusch, 2004) at the point of interaction between the service provider and the customer is a unique characteristic of the tourism and hospitality work environment (Andersson Cederholm & Hultman, 2010), with implications for workers such as emotional labour, role conflict and cognitive dissonance (cf. Chen & Kao, 2012; Karatepe & Aleshinloye, 2009; Yang, 2010). This guest/host interaction impacts concomitantly on worker and customer attitudes and behaviours, thus highlighting the micro-meso overlap.

Second, SMEs again are demonstrative of the meso-micro interface whereby owner can be manager and worker simultaneously. Although we earlier leaned on Smith (2006) to dispel the rhetoric that SMEs are a unique tourism 'lifeform', small businesses are nonetheless an important part of the industry's fabric. Thus, the inherent connection between organisation and individual via this example is
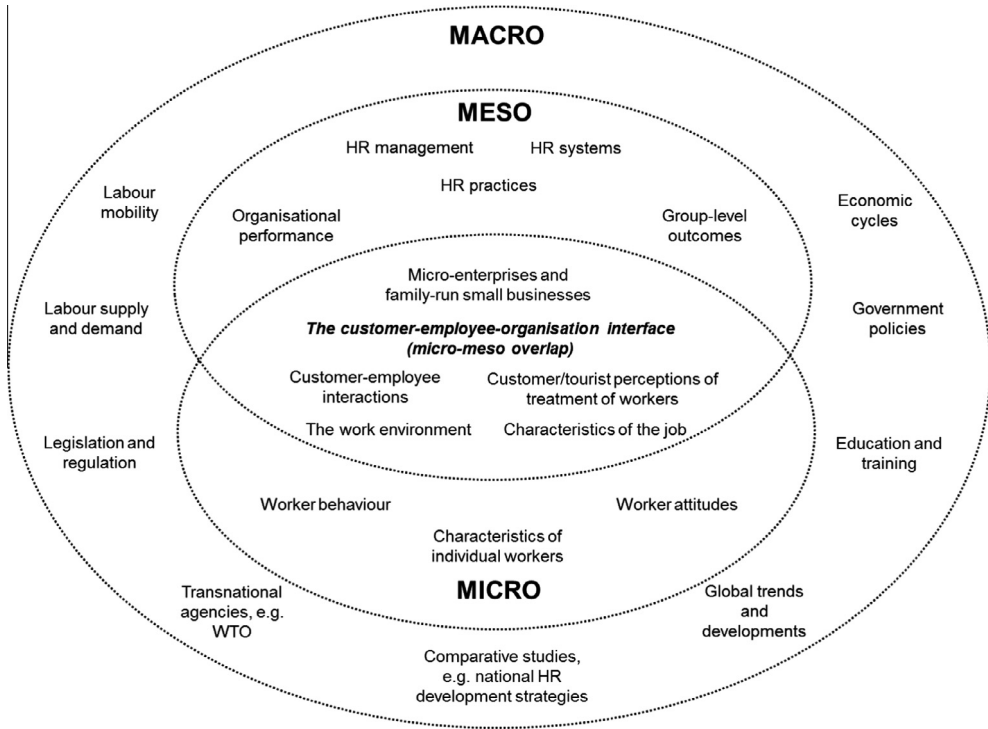
Fig. 4. Taxonomy of workforce research in Tourism & Hospitality.

glaring. Often, as Getz and Carlsen (2005) highlight, SMEs are family businesses—indeed those with four or fewer employees are sometimes labelled 'micro-businesses'. They found that children were often employed, and this leaves open suggestions of 'grey economies' such that various forms of benefits and capital accumulate in lieu of regular wages. This, in turns, raises a range of human rights pertaining to children and their families issues (child labour, sex tourism work) that rarely feature in the extant tourism workforce literature (but see, for example, Black, 1995; Boardman, Johns, Petre, & Weinz, 2015; Edralin, 2002; Plüss, 1999). Moreover, although Brizek and Khan (2007) rightly point to the evolution of entrepreneurship into corporations, Getz and Carlsen highlight that SMEs, in their review of family businesses, are often born of entrepreneurship. Although this is not the focus of the paper per se the various motivations for entrepreneurship in tourism and hospitality, for example lifestyle or 'sea change' or partners (typically female) supplementing incomes or seeking fulfilment (which paradoxically often brings further stresses as Li, Miao, Zhao, and Lehto (2013) study of American B&B operators highlights), bring richness and salience to this micro-meso overlap.

This taxonomy provides a definitional tool designed to assist workforce researchers to locate their work within the broad and multi-tiered spectrum of studies in this space. We also see this classification as potentially of value to journal editors and the reviewers of submitted papers in gaining a clearer insight into research within the workforce family of studies. These studies are bound together by their common roots in seeking to contribute to hitherto under-developed understanding of the workforce environment and its multiple layers. It is our contention that explanatory power will only be attainable through research in this field when those expressing concern for the range of issues to which we have alluded earlier (such as labour turnover, professionalisation of the sector, skills shortages, a mismatch of graduate skills and industry expectations) recognize the inter-connectedness of the micro, meso and macro layers within the workforce environment. Further, this taxonomy brings into sharp relief the three structural research issues enunciated at the beginning of this paper: that

the extant literature is dominated by managerial/organisational/HRM approaches; that hitherto workforce has been considered as the purview of hospitality researchers; and that those few studies that do attempt to reconcile or comment on tourism workforce holistically are lacking theoretical and conceptual underpinnings.

Final reflections and future research

We postulate that this analysis and the taxonomy that we derive from it provides a solid foundation for validating 'workforce' as a nomenclature appropriately inclusive of the various 'component parts' of the tourism labour and employment space. Moreover, it will enable verifiable claims to be made in relation to a number of areas, that the tourism workforce literature is deficient: in its coherence between the three identified levels; in providing understanding of the declared theoretical positions that underpin knowledge claims; in recognising challenges to dominant Euro-American scientific assumptions; and clarifying underpinning social scientific lens/es and enabling greater consistency in the use of terminology.

Our analysis also provides a more appropriate view of how to approach the examination of the tourism workforce in the form of what we might style a 'route-map' wherein future workforce research in T&H can usefully be directed in order both to extend the explanatory scope of research in this area and engage with wider social science constructs in so doing. This leads us to highlight an approach to future workforce research in this field that includes studies which:

– are cross-cutting in recognising interdependencies across micro, meso and macro levels within our workforce research taxonomy;
– explore the nuanced workforce implications of the overlap of the micro and meso levels, particularly in respect to impacts on the customer/guest;
– articulate with greater clarity the paradigmatic framework within which works is located such that it cogently advances knowledge vis-à-vis the extant literature;
– draw explicitly on their social science discipline origins and clearly articulate their methodological and theoretical contributions to social science;
– challenge the ghettoisation of workforce research within 'hospitality' and recognise the central position of such work within mainstream tourism research;
– extend beyond a 'problem solving' managerial perspective on workforce research and seek to engage with explanation as a starting point in seeking change;
– traverse the divide between empirical academic work and the high-value research conducted, or commissioned, by trans-national agencies—both representing tourism (e.g. UNWTO, WTTC) and the workforce (e.g. ILO);
– investigate discourses of work and how tourism employment perpetuates or challenges these narratives;
– enunciate a just and sustainable glocal vision for tourism and its workers.

Our own research future agenda is driven by these imperatives, but this paper is a call to action from all T&H workforce researchers.

In conclusion, this paper has considered the position of workforce research, areas of overrepresentation, its relative underrepresentation, and even misrepresentations in the leading T&H journals. That an academy dedicated to researching an industry which supports 347 million jobs around the world (WTTC, 2015) and is almost entirely dependent on people to deliver services and experiences, can dedicate just 2% and 15% of its research output in its leading tourism and hospitality journals respectively to the workforce space and evidently in such an ad hoc manner is, we contend, a matter of concern. The vision of this review is to provide a platform from which future research that informs and advances workforce theory, policy and practice is able to inform debate in the leading T&H journals and contributes to recognition that, in workforce terms, the two (tourism and hospitality) exhibit far more in common than is generally recognised, drawing on common social science foundations and theory.

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