Hospitality & Society: Critical Reflections on the Theorizing of Hospitality

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Abstract

This article is the second part of a critical reflection upon the progress of *Hospitality & Society* in its first ten years. Analysis of the papers published highlights conceptual contributions made to the field of hospitality studies. Thirteen major themes are identified: Conceptualisations of hospitality; Migration and Labour; Lifestyle; Social Hospitality; Hospitality, Consumption, Global Citizenship and Ethics; Addressing Neglected Areas of Research; Hostipitality, Violence and Exploitation; Hospitality Careers and Higher Education; Historical Studies; Image, Identity and Power; Space, Design and Food; Hospitality Management and Neoliberalism; Hospitality and Technology. Following reflection on the original goals of *Hospitality & Society* and the progress made, a research agenda is proposed emerging from the analysis contributing to the aim to transform the landscape of hospitality scholarship.

Keywords: Hospitality & Society; critical reflection; hospitality studies; research themes; hospitality scholarship; research agenda.

Introduction

Conceptions of hospitality have evolved substantially over the past 20 years. Hospitality & Society was created to provide a welcoming space to facilitate and drive further inter, multi and trans-disciplinary dialogue about the disparate intersections of societies, their practices and hospitality. In this second part of the review, we first attempt a grounded reading of the articles published over the past ten years in the journal, and highlight the conceptual contributions these articles have made to the field of critical hospitality studies (Lugosi, Lynch and Morrison 2009; McIntosh and Harris 2012; McIntosh 2021; Zhang 2021) in the context of the 'creative, critical and interdisciplinary approaches to hospitality' we sought to foster (Lynch, Molz, McIntosh, Lashley and Lugosi 2011:4). Our analysis reveals thirteen themes that characterize the diverse and multidisciplinary scope of the journal: Conceptualisations of hospitality; Migration and Labour; Lifestyle; Social Hospitality; Hospitality, Consumption, Global Citizenship and Ethics; Addressing Neglected Areas of Research; Hostipitality, Violence and Exploitation; Hospitality Careers and Higher Education; Historical Studies; Image, Identity and Power; Space, Design and Food; Hospitality Management and Neoliberalism; Hospitality and Technology. After taking stock of the journal's first decade, we propose future directions for the journal's focus emerging directly from the foregoing analysis and reinvigorate our call laid out in the opening editorial (Lynch et al. 2011) to expand and develop the field of critical hospitality research.

Conceptualisations of Hospitality

In what is in many ways a foundational paper, Bell (2011) focuses upon theoretical issues and development contributing to broader critical and theoretical agendas with a concern for hospitality work and hospitable spaces. Bell examines the two spaces conceptually in order to think about the different 'work' that hospitality performs in both formal and informal settings and explores some of the ways that hospitality *is* society. The author encourages reflection upon how flickering moments of host-guesting contribute to the ongoing work of social relations and thus to the building and maintaining of society. 'Hospitality *IS* society' is an overarching theme picked up in many of the papers in the journal, for example, Buchberger (2011) or Byrne (2016). Bell's work also exemplifies the wider intellectual thread in the journal: the exploration of alternative conceptions of hospitality, which subsequently underpin the application of the concept to the study of diverse social and political issues.

A major goal of the journal is to infuse the study of hospitality with stronger theoretical foundations and in this respect, many of the scholars published in *Hospitality & Society* have engaged with the work of Jacques Derrida (2000, 2001; see also Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000). Derrida's ideas have been particularly influential informing debates concerning welcome especially contextualised regarding issues of migration. It is apparent that, for so many, Derrida has been and remains an important inspiration. For instance, in a wonderfully rich and thought-provoking paper, Kakoliris (2016) extends (and dissolves) the academic boundaries of hospitality, shedding light on encounters with difference and posing questions regarding ethical responsibility. The paper is based upon Derrida's interpretation of D.H. Lawrence's poem 'The Snake' and serves as a tool to reflect upon the responsibility of humans seen as hosts to non-human animals. It is of topical interest given discussions regarding animal welfare and the ethics of animal consumption. Derrida's analysis discusses Levinas and an 'uncomfortable hesitation to grant animals a 'face'' (Kakoliris 2016:244), which would then require humans to assume an ethical responsibility towards them. These arguments also stress that hospitality is no longer limited to humans, as indeed is already accepted in certain religions, and informs some food consumption practices.

Oberprantacher (2013) provides an engaging theoretical debate based on a key contemporary situation, that of people commonly dismissed as illegal aliens in liberal democratic states and their conditions of welcome. The paper critically engages with Derrida's thinking concerning Derrida's

deconstruction of conditions of welcome and its preference for ethics as hospitality; it seeks instead to advance theory by proposing 'an equally promising hospitality as politics' (165). Boudou (2015) presents a political analysis of hospitality and emphasises the power relations involved in its practice arguing that hospitality is simultaneously a welcoming and controlling apparatus allowing the passage of outsiders whilst legitimating separation between those inside and outside. Boudou associates inclusive and participative practices as fundamental to both hospitality and democracy. Kearney (2015) extends these debates by discussing the hermeneutic approach of Paul Ricoeur to reciprocal exchange in the host-guest relationship in comparison to the deconstructive approach of Derrida to asymmetrical rupture in the host-guest relationship. Kearney (2015) exposes the wager that exists between hospitality and hostility as experienced in the lives of every citizen in conflict zones throughout the world today. Bulley (2015) explores hospitality in the context of international relations and argues that Derrida's focus on the threshold (and the primacy that metaphor bestows upon the host) reinforces the focus of International Relations on the state as the only ethical power and space. In contrast, he suggests thinking of hospitality as a spatial relation with affective dimensions whose practice continues across the threshold such that hospitality is seen as a constitutive relation between ethics, power and space. Such thinking leads to a focus on how hospitality produces international spaces and manages them to contain the resistant guest and is illustrated through the example of a refugee camp.

Shaul (2017) provides a thought-provoking contribution examining how hospitality operates at a scalar level (households, communities, States and so on) and identifies overlapping levels of politeness, social, cultural, economic, religious, and ethnic conditions placed on hospitality. Shaul deploys Derrida's concepts of 'unconditionality' (grace) and 'conditionality' (law) in order to consider the 'intermediate schemas' into which hospitality typically falls and, most importantly, suggests the challenge 'for Derrida is not how to *accept* grace, but how to *inject* it into the law itself, how to find intermediate schemas between grace and the law'.' (12). In a related vein, Komter and Van Leer (2012) investigate hospitality towards political refugees who are offered prolonged shelter in private homes. They investigate a relationship that remains neither one between strangers nor one based on the intimacy characteristics of friends and family relationships. The paper advances theoretical understanding of hospitality relating to power, dependency and reciprocity and the host and guest-as-stranger encounter.

Schänzel, Brocx and Sadaraka (2014) deploy Derrida's ideas of welcome in order to contribute to literature examining a 'traditional' form of hospitality with regard to 'Visiting Friends and Relatives' (VFR) hosting in an immigration context. Munasinghe, Hemmington, Schänzel, Poulston and Fernando (2017) creatively draw upon Derrida to encourage an opening up of hospitality management higher education to new ways of thinking. Partly drawing upon Derrida, Poulston (2015) explores the potential for philosophical and functional aspects of hospitality to coexist in feelings of hospitality providers about their work and seeks to contribute to the theory and practice of hospitality work through its description as a form of expressive labour, a 'gift of hospitality'. Certainly, further critical discussion of the idea of hospitality as a gift engaging with previous debates would be worthwhile, for example, Hyde (1983) or Mauss (1997). Other authors also employ Derrida and are addressed through other themes (in particular, Hemmington and Gibbons 2017; Araya-Moreno 2020).

Contributors have drawn upon other major thinkers from sociology to explore dimensions that add considerable value to our understanding of hospitality. Welten (2015) provides an overview of Bauman's perspective (partly inspired by Levinas) on liquid hospitality to inform a critique of hospitality and the hospitality and tourism industry in our contemporary globalized world. Welten argues that the hospitality industry must do more than run hotels and operate tours, it has to foster

aesthetics and hedonism, and that is only achieved by veiling the non-aesthetic, by washing away all obstacles to happiness. Employing ideas of Durkheim, Tressider and Martin (2018) add to hospitality experience literature from a novel perspective. They focus upon the management of employee deviant behaviour and emphasise the importance of understanding the time-space continuum in which the behaviour is contained. Yar and Tzanelli (2019) explore the contemporary consumerist trend of staged kidnapping which is analysed deploying Beck's risk society and Lyng's voluntary risk-taking theses as a form of edgework. The paper contributes both to broadening the focus of hospitality studies and encourages reflection on the meanings of 'hospitality' and 'hospitable'. The journal would strongly encourage further reviews of, and studies employing the contributions of, major scholars and their work relevant to further strengthening the theoretical underpinnings of hospitality. This would also be enhanced by engaging with wider literature that extends beyond Western writers, such as Derrida, whose work often remains dominant in existing debates.

Migration, and Labour

Migration and labour comprise another major theme. The treatment of strangers at the threshold is the stage where the drama of hospitality occurs and where encounters with the differences of others are played out. Germann Molz and McIntosh (2013) argue that thresholds do not simply occur 'at the edges; they also proliferate from within, ordering and negotiating the spaces within spaces' (88). The threshold metaphor communicates one of the fundamental paradoxes of hospitality in that it is both a point of entry as well as a point of exclusion. The treatment of migrants provides a vivid illustration of the threshold of hospitality in practice. Phipps (2014) illustrates the threshold (and hospitality spaces within spaces) in the context of a population choosing the right to self-determination and creating an independent country. Phipps focuses upon the 2014 Scottish referendum and the Scottish government's plans for independence, particularly regarding immigration. The paper provides a powerful contemporary reflection on hospitality in a societal context, adding to those papers interrogating hospitality as politics (cf. Boudou 2015). It explores what happens when decision-making occurs, in refugee and asylum determination cases, to exclude or to set aside humanitarian protection for political purposes. It provides a note from present day controversies around hospitality and society and the way these terms are contested in national and community struggles for inclusion, protection, and justice and how an intentionally more hospitable society might be. Germann Molz (2015), interpreting Derrida, usefully contextualises the aspiration for a hospitable society and the transformative potential of hospitality. Employing absolute hospitality as a guide:

...encourages us to relate to one another in the 'least bad' and 'most just' arrangements possible. Instead of reifying a version of hospitality that affirms the power of the host or subjugates the guest to strict conditions, the aspiration towards absolute hospitality opens up new possibilities... acts of conditional hospitality that are perhaps oriented towards something more pure.

Informed by Derrida, Araya-Moreno (2020) provides a thoughtful perspective regarding hospitality and migration studies examining when migrants are welcome. It employs the ambivalent concept of hospitality to investigate the bureaucratic processes involved in identifying desired 'skilled' immigrants perceived as most likely to integrate culturally and economically. The study reveals that bureaucracies no longer operate in an impartial and rational manner and that it is necessary to consider hospitality as a scalar concept distinguishing national discourses from bureaucratic practice. The paper is not only of interest from a migration angle but also as an example of the power of a hospitality analysis applied to the operation and management of organisations, a field that remains underexamined, yet which holds substantial potential for practice and research (cf. Cockburn-Wootten 2011, 2021; Lugosi 2011, 2014, 2017). Watt (2011), in one of those sadly rare papers addressing unionized employment in the hospitality industry, examines the employment histories and prospects of immigrants employed in main-grade and supervisory positions at a unionized hotel. Unsurprisingly, unionized employment offers relatively advantageous earnings, benefits, and security. Hotel employment for most of the migrant workers represents a downward mobility relative to class positions in countries of origin and a downgrading of their 'institutionalized cultural capital'. Watt makes the point that lower-end service jobs are not inherently bad or good but constructed as such by institutional arrangements including the role played by trade unions. This finding is important in stressing that research should critically interrogate the rationale for such arrangements at both institutional and societal levels. Like Slavnic (2013) (discussed below), Watt's paper is a good example of a study that connects microbehaviours to wider societal issues. Rydzik, Pritchard, Morgan and Sedgley (2012) shine light upon gender and mobility in the hospitality industry investigating the experiences of Central and Eastern European women working in the United Kingdom. The study critically explores how hospitality employment both encourages and restricts mobilities. Heimtun (2012) also explores gender and mobility in the hospitality industry through examining how female Swedish seasonal workers in Norway negotiate migrant living. In what probably has much broader relevance, Heimtun finds how the bubble lives constructed by the workers are shaped by the geographical location and a lack of local contact zones, and mainly upheld by financial motives for taking the job.

Global mobility has continued to accelerate and remains a prevalent theme in contemporary society. However, despite the development of new technologies and infrastructures that facilitate mobility (Cranston et al. 2018), it is accompanied by contradictory forces, including xenophobia, the politicisation of migration and migrant workers, and the evolution of protectionist labour market regulations. These challenges, coupled with the reliance in many countries of the hospitality sector on migrants, and the important roles that hospitality employment plays in migrants' lives, suggest that intersections of migration and labour will continue to be important themes for future research.

Lifestyle

Lifestyle is a major concept explored in several studies concerned with hospitality. Holland and Martin (2015) consider the conundrum of whether work choices of so-called lifestyle migrant entrepreneurs are instrumentally driven by desire to provide income to support lifestyle or to align work, lifestyle, and a sense of self. In their sample, they find that initially a separation exists between lifestyle and work but through business ownership, work and lifestyle become one.

Home hosting for commercial or non-commercial purposes is the subject of several papers and often associated with host lifestyles. One contribution to the lifestyle discussions is that of Ikonen (2017) who explores commercial home hosts and specifically ones targeting dog owners as potential guests seeking both leisure time and dog sports in a rural setting. The study focuses upon boundary work by the host, negotiating public and private domains, perceived to be emotionally demanding and motivated by lifestyle passion, which is viewed as a desirable attribute in the new economy. Brandth and Haugen (2012) further advance understanding of commercial homes, specifically in relation to farm tourism, by exploring the boundary work involved in the home hosting scenario where work and home overlap. They point to how such boundary work leads to a more conditional hospitality.

In a thought-provoking conceptual article, Russo advances our understanding of hospitality through reflecting upon domesticity and the home and its links to hospitality. Domesticity is discussed in relation to everyday experiences such as intimacy, familiarity, hospitality, and care, providing a platform for further reflections upon the individual sense of feeling comfortable and happy, as well as the ability to offer authentic hospitality and its problematic relationship with the marketplace. In a

wide-ranging conceptual piece in harmony with the journal's foundational aims, Zahra (2012) reveals how application of the home and hospitality as social lenses have the potential to move hospitality into the mainstream of social science (cf. Lashley et al. 2007). The paper highlights how the study of the home and hospitality can serve 'as a unifying locus for interdisciplinary dialogue' (247). The further enhanced relevance of the study of hospitality is seen in the context of the global pandemic prevalent at the time of writing with the increase in working from home, which *inter alia* gives rise to challenges in relation to boundary work and hosting colleagues and customers via the internet. For example, Abdelmonem (2012) advances our understanding of the idea of the home and home space through examination of how 'ordinary people' in Cairo construct and consume private and public domains of home on a daily basis. The study reveals the home as a spectrum of social spheres where part-time spaces and a dynamic spatiality exists and shows its adaptability to home-based professional activities such as hospitality, home-working or care-work.

Tomasella and Ali (2019) add to our understanding of hospitality business performance. They find that hospitableness is expressed through the way small (lifestyle and family) businesses engage in social responsibility; moreover, how personal values, such as altruism, friendliness and passion for food, influence hospitableness, and are perceived to add value to the business leading to competitive advantage. Further critical work on exploring in depth personal values associated with hospitality would be beneficial. Kelliher, Kearney and Dennis (2018) investigate the innovation management capabilities of hospitality micro firms. They propose a theoretical framework to inform the creation of an innovation culture within micro firms with its basis in 'sensing, seizing and reconfiguring dynamic capabilities' (159).

In an empirical study, Escolar-Jimenez (2020) contributes to ongoing discussion in the small hospitality and tourism homestay enterprise literature about the community-based tradition of sustainability. The study set in the Philippines adopts a business perspective and analyses ways of achieving competitive advantage; it identifies key variables of cultural tradition and heritage, cultural identity, and infrastructure ventilation (comfort, rest, relaxation with 'homely atmosphere'). Stansfield, McIntosh and Poulston (2020) offer insights into the views of hospitality artisan entrepreneurs in relation to sustainability. The entrepreneurs are identified as creative disruptors in relation to the global sustainable business agenda. A sustainability consciousness shared by the entrepreneurs is a key motivating factor informing sustainable business practices.

Mottiar and Quinn (2012) focus specifically upon the role of mothers in the commercial home guest experience. The study contributes to our understanding of gender, tourism and hospitality work, specifically family and the division of labour while on self-catering holidays. This gendered analysis makes a significant contribution to the field and the journal welcomes a greater focus upon issues of gender and intersectionality. Li and Connell (2011) investigate the neglected temporary commercial home and consider the similarities and differences to long-term commercial home hosting. They find that event home hosting has the same benefits of long-term hosting, particularly those of income and social diversity but with fewer downsides such as disturbing home life and having to make longer-term commitments. Oskam (2020) adds to Airbnb studies and tourism management through examining spatial concentration patterns of Airbnbs in 26 major European cities. Drawing upon the original promotion of Airbnb as spreading tourism, it is argued that policies favourable to such rental properties, are in fact based upon a false assumption as in practice there is most geographical concentration closest to the city centres to the disadvantage of residents, consumers, and workers. The study touches upon an undercurrent of so many studies, the tensions that arise owing to the relationship between hospitality and the marketplace, also raised in the study by Russo (2012). The relative explosion of studies of Airbnbs is noteworthy in that studies connecting to extant literature

on commercial and non-commercial home hosting are rare and is a good example of a phenomenon where, in the terms of Zahra (2012) and Lugosi's (2020) arguments, interdisciplinary dialogue and openness to wider studies of hospitality and home hosting would be of considerable benefit.

Couchsurfing is the focus of an illuminating themed issue of the journal (Vol.1, Issue 3). Germann Molz (2011) prefaces the issue by proposing the concept of 'network hospitality' which:

'emerges out of this complex interplay of mobility and immobility, online and offline interactions, brief but intense encounters, and local articulations of a global project... emblematic of the emerging forms of hybrid and on the move togetherness that characterize contemporary social life more generally.' (226-7).

Hospitality as an encounter is at the heart of many of the studies and (following Levinas) the wonder of how people are able to co-exist and interact. Bialski (2011) picks up the thread of network hospitality and describes how strangers become close (fostering trust, mutual learning and 'personal growth') using technology. The study problematizes contemporary definitions of closeness and trust through surfacing online behaviours concerned with exhibitions of status and power leading to occasions of tension, awkwardness, and distrust. Steylaerts and O'Dubhghaill (2011) provide an overview of couchsurfing as a trend, examining couchsurfer perspectives and experiences, particularly resistance to homogenisation through attempting to construct individuated experiences within the confines of the host-guest dichotomy. The production of space and the forms of engagement it generates are important in many home hosting studies. Building upon a strong theoretical anchorage supported by an impressive empirical basis, Zuev (2011) advances a new concept of hospitality, that of xenotopos 'the place of strangers' (227). Zuev applies a rhythm concept to examining the experience of the hospitality space drawing attention to the importance of understanding local life rhythms as key intangible dimensions of couchsurfing. In their contributions to this issue, Chen and Buchberger (2011) also address hierarchies of gender, race, and nationality that are simultaneously erased and reinforced in couchsurfing encounters.

Social Hospitality

This theme has been particularly rich. Sredanovic and Lelleri (2015) explore hospitality in practice in the context of a contemporary topical social issue, refugee movement and reception, surfacing aspects of the nature of hospitality. Their study examines a welcoming project concerned with refugees to Italy whose numbers exceed the capacity of *in situ* refugee housing structures. Their analysis identifies different ideas of hospitality embodied in competing governmentalities of those organisations and professions concerned with initial emergency response and long-term integration. They find that refugees must comply with frequently rigid hospitality rules, demonstrating the highly delineated conditions encountered in the welcome.

Stephens and Te Ao (2014) also consider hospitality in a societal context adding to debates concerning hospitality as advocacy as well as hospitality as politics, the latter arguably ever-present at some level where hospitality is involved. The authors specifically explore issues arising from a social controversy concerning unwelcome guests (asylum seekers) at a prestigious art festival in Australia and the activists and artists who reframed the festival in the spirit of hospitality as advocacy. The study provides an important contemporary reflection on hospitality in a societal context.

Sanjaume-Calvet (2015) examines a mortgage victims' platform in Spain both from the perspective of ethics and the politics of hospitality as well as being an exemplar of disobedient hospitality, in defiance of mainstream discourses. They identify the platform as a form of hospitality founded in civil disobedience, which mines the unconditional and conditional tensions inherent within the concept of

hospitality. They propose a valuable research agenda for *hospitality as a movement*, which would investigate other territories and political practices of social movements claiming rights and empowerment for workers, immigration, gender or LGTB groups.

The association of hospitality with social inclusion, equality of treatment and opportunity, and more specifically empowerment informs an argument of Cockburn-Wootten, McIntosh and Phipps (2014). They depict hospitality as being able to create spaces of empowerment and vulnerability and advance the concept of *hospitality as advocacy*. An advocate is one who may speak up for and help to empower vulnerable people, which may involve challenges to and a rearrangement of the social order in ways that are more just and humane. The process of advocacy may expose the advocate to vulnerabilities and risk. This latter theme is picked up by Cockburn-Wootten and Brewis (2014) through the exploration of hospitality spaces in organisations. They consider the role of community social workers who must create spaces of empowerment together with their role as advocates for the vulnerable and as facilitators of empowerment together with their role as organisational members. The social work role has seen enhanced professionalism, which is criticised here for inadvertently undermining key social work values through practices of ideological control, norms, and exclusion. The study contributes to a broader understanding of the subjective experience of everyday life where work is constructed, contested and communicated.

In a powerful analysis of the consequences of neoliberal ideology, Kravva (2014) associates civic hospitality with food assistance policies (soup kitchens, social markets and a food bank) and other municipal strategies intended to manage poverty and deprivation. Using the example of Thessaloniki, it is argued that the municipal authorities do not meet the requirements of hospitality to provide comfort and to host. The findings set the scene for analysis of the ethics of food production, food consumption and the right to food, viewed by international conventions as a basic human right, but which has been transformed into a highly politicised matter. Kravva's analysis exposes the contentious intersections of power, exclusion and inequality reflected in the provision of hospitality for socially disadvantaged groups.

Wilson (2016) contributes to post-disaster hospitality literature and extends insights into the host role through a study of accommodation hosts and the impacts of the 2011 earthquake in Christchurch, New Zealand. The study explores the disruption that occurs to the hospitality encounter and thereby sheds light on factors influencing the construction of a 'good' accommodation host, particularly the strength of relationship with, and sense of responsibility for, the local community and the events in 'their' city.

In summary, the theme of social hospitality is central to the exploration of how societies might move closer towards the ideal of absolute hospitality. It is concerned with a fundamental dimension of hospitality, that of care towards the other and the ethical issues which arise. Social hospitality also interlaces with politics and economic ideologies as well as localised forms of resistance to their practical manifestations.

Hospitality, Consumption, Global Citizenship and Ethics

Hermann, Weeden and Peters (2019) provide an excellent summary of issues involved in relation to ethics, global citizenship and tourism viewed through a hospitality lens perspective, which fits well with the idea of creating a more hospitable society. They identify a need for a global tourism industry to have global ethics working 'together across borders (instead of barriers)' (4) as a foundation for sustainable tourism. The aim is for 'a democracy without frontiers' (4), which is in keeping with Derrida's idea of unconditional hospitality. The authors capture the issues raised by the themed issue they preface (Vol. 9, Issue 1) as:

inequitable power relations in policy decision-making, challenges of inclusion, access and mobilities in industry often associated with exploitation and exclusion, and scenarios where colonialist perspectives rather than global citizenship pervade general attitudes and communication.

Baker and Dredge (2019) offer insights into self-defined global citizens who are characterised as having 'a strong sense of moral responsibility to people and the planet' (9). They found the self-concept resulted from inner dialogue and reflection concerning the individual's moral obligations, their social and political identity as well as life experiences through travel and work. Of particular interest is the reference to national Danish values against which the sample is contextualised and is suggestive of the importance of societal values in the formation of the global hospitable citizen. Indeed, being a 'global citizen' might be interpreted as being integral to the development of the hospitable citizen and is explored by Hermann, Meijer and van Koesveld (2016) in relation to student study tour experiences. Instead of evidence of fostering global citizenship insights, most students expressed ideas associated with consumerism, which included 'multiple colonialist and orientalist stances' (131).

From a critical pedagogy perspective, Prince (2019) investigates the role the host-community plays in the volunteer tourist experience concerned with developing global citizenship. Prince argues that focusing upon global citizenship development prioritises the needs of the guest and thereby underplays the important role that the host's agency performs in relation to the dismantling of social structures. The neo-liberal context is criticised for fostering a de-politicised era, which has undermined the positive intentions of encouraging cross-cultural understanding by replacing it with a focus upon the guest experience. Critical questions remain as to how then global hospitable citizenship values can be fostered. Are they in fact compatible with capitalist forms of consumption and neoliberalism? What roles do education and ideologies play?

Finkelstein (2013) advances an interesting proposition of relevance to a better understanding of hospitality arguing that the consumer age is characterised by a trade in social taste. The democratisation of consumption is interwoven with social mobility and industrial modernity creating a schism between fashion and taste leading to the act of being fashionable becoming increasingly a reflection of a lack of taste. In the context of emotional capitalism, all experiences may be transformed into saleable commodities. Conspicuous consumption is also addressed by O'Regan, Choe and Yap (2019) who illustrate how cultural and traditional values as well as social and personal influences affect consumption. Poulston and Pernecky (2014) explore New Age hospitality problematizing its definition as an experience; its heterogeneous form makes it difficult for hospitality providers to satisfy consumer requirements. In a subsequent research paper, Poulston and Pernecky (2017) put flesh on the needs and product preferences of this neglected market segment. Lombarts (2018) conceptualises *hospitality as an experience* founded upon the four pillars of economy, ecology, society, and culture in which multiple stakeholders may interact, involving a variety of products and taking place in various contexts, such as, healthcare and city management.

The ethics of consumer behaviours permeates several papers. Consumer sustainability values are explored by Cavagnaro, Düweke and Melissen (2018) in relation to hotel guests' stays. For sustainability to occur they identify a need to transform the host-guest relationship moving it beyond a simply economic transaction to one that is supportive of sustainable development. In a critique of extant hospitality consumer research, echoing similar calls they argue that researchers must integrate both economic and sociological research rather than reinforce a 'silly divide' (40). Viewed through a deviance lens, Apostolidis and Haeussler (2018) contribute to literature on the informal hospitality sector through an investigation of consumers' acceptance of shadow hospitality. The study exposes consumer perceptions of the pros and cons of supporting the informal hospitality economy and the

deployment of neutralization techniques to obviate self-blame. The authors associate this consumption behaviour with consumer ethics and propose strategies to limit such hospitality offerings.

Mellinas and Reino (2019) provide an interesting example of 'fake advertising' to hotel consumers. They examine one-word descriptors associated with overall scores received by hotels on website reviews. Their study finds an absence of standardisation of rating systems along with identification of practices, which may mislead consumers regarding quality ratings. The importance of transparency regarding strategies and policies is highlighted. Fragkogianni (2019) explore hotel room purchasing behaviour and found that where brand identification is strongest, tourists are less inclined to pay premium prices. A further exploration of consumers' hotel brand relationship is provided by Peng and Chen (2020) concerning the 'sense of belonging'.

Römhild-Raviart, Weeden, Jarvis and Pantelidis (2019) provide a revealing addition to consumer ethics studies through exploring cruise tourists' perceptions of the sustainability of their holiday. In practice, limited reflections were found which the authors perceive as an opportunity to build upon in terms of encouraging a more critical awareness and social conscience as well as advocacy for a more sustainable industry. Henry (2020) arguably gets to the heart of a larger issue permeating research surrounding the theme of ethical hospitality. In the context of slum tourism, Henry applies social theory to debate its relationship with capitalist society weighing up the ethical issues involved in engagement with, as opposed to non-engagement in, slum tourism (one could equally substitute cruise tourism for slum tourism here). It is argued that rather than an educational experience, in fact slum tourists embody 'the violence of the status quo' (157). Certainly, there is a need for researchers to reflect upon the potential violence of their research contribution regarding their positioning in relation to the topics investigated.

Lashley (2014) offers insights into the morality of hospitality, drawing upon religious and philosophical perspectives. Motives for offering hospitality are outlined ranging from the calculative to selfless to the simple joy of being hospitable. Host-Guest relations inform many of the studies directly or indirectly. Zamanillo, Tamborrel and Cheer (2019) explore the importance of empathy in host-guest interactions often perceived as an enabler of more ethical relations. However, their study challenges this assumption and finds that the key factor influencing empathy is a reduction in power differences. Kosnik (2014) critically considers host-guest relationships in a work-exchange reciprocity context. It is suggested that the host-guest dichotomy, with its elements of power, boundaries, social control, inclusion, and exclusion, disappears when production and consumption roles become fuzzy. Hospitality, echoing Kant, therefore becomes *a way of relating*. Kelly, Losekoot and Wright-StClair (2016) explore adults' hospitality experiences in relation to hospital stays. Whilst studies have revealed negative experiences of such stays engendering feelings of depersonalisation and alienation, they found that positive experiences create feelings of being comfortable, at ease as well as of being healed. The implications of the findings for healthcare personnel behavioural practices are discussed.

In short, numerous studies have examined how the production and consumption of hospitality involves ethical (and unethical) decisions raising uncomfortable questions regarding who benefits and who does not. The concept of the global citizen with its implications of a holistic vision and ethical stance is proposed as an ideal that could somehow assist with navigating the complexities of hospitality ethics. Whilst initially applied to the consumer, by inference it would also apply to the citizen hospitality producer and citizen hospitality researcher as well. In part, this points to the importance of developing a more sustainable sector for the benefit of a global set of stakeholders. However, the notions of ethics and citizenship explored in past work also have the potential to shape the focus of hospitality research, as well as the methods and processes involved in its study.

Addressing Neglected Areas of Research

Several contributions have been focused on somewhat neglected areas of hospitality provision. Indeed, a themed issue (Vol. 7, Issue 2) was concerned with "illuminating the blind spots" (Mooney, Schänzel and Poulston 2017:105) and draws attention to the limited nature of our knowledge of hospitality as well as the restricted scope of much research into the practice of hospitality, a recurrent theme picked up by other contributors. In line with the journal aims, McIntosh and Harris (2012) seek to further encourage hospitality studies towards more critical inquiry and advocate a critical turn, engaging with critical theory and the addressing of a significant issue by several critical thinkers. Lugosi (2016) calls for an openness to academic difference and a pulling down of the boundaries of the mind by some scholars to advance the study of hospitality. Through examination of a PhD student's intellectual journey, Skokic, Lynch and Morrison (2016) highlight the importance, as well as the restrictive nature, of knowledge boundaries in hospitality looking at both their construction and the importance of exploration beyond if advances are to be made into 'inhospitable knowledge'.

McIntosh (2016) highlights how institutions 'can open or close the door to hospitality' (109) and certainly education institutions, research environments and publication processes all could create conditions conducive or otherwise to the creation of hospitable and more hopefully inhospitable knowledge which could be challenging and disruptive. For example, one such advance is that of Hemmington and Gibbons (2017) who discuss the contribution of Derrida and Derrida's thoughts on the possibility of absolute hospitality explored in relation to hospitality education and the hospitality industry. They suggest a situational rather than technical approach to hospitality education. Regarding inclusionary and exclusionary systemic practices, Lugosi's (2020) reflections on the challenges and opportunities of interdisciplinary enquiry are particularly helpful. Pappas and Michopoulou (2019) contextualise some of the major global challenges being faced, contextualised in relation to the hospitality industry, and draw attention to the benefits of multidisciplinary and inclusive geographical approaches to the study of hospitality. Germann Molz (2016) focuses upon an openness to difference at an individual level in her tribute to the late Professor John Urry portrayed as an excellent example of intellectual hospitality.

Studies by Brian Hay are noteworthy in addressing neglected areas. Papers by the author have explored why some people choose to die in a hotel rather than home, hospice, or hostel (Hay, 2015); also, the importance of the funeral meal at traditional western Christian funerals in the United Kingdom, focusing upon issues of funeral poverty, family interactions, power relationships between funeral director and mourners, financial control/power, as well as socialization processes (Hay, 2020a).

Two further such contributions by Hay have been concerned with children's perceptions of family holidays. One study explores the experiences of children of family holidays whilst staying in four- and five-star hotels and reveals the importance they assign to privacy and personal space as well as surfacing the significance of family holidays in providing a safe space for children to raise challenging family issues (2017). The other study examines the influence of children in the selection of food on family holidays (2018). It draws attention to how his sample of children are very critical of children's menus in hotels, including the limited food choices which do not reflect children's increasing awareness of the importance of healthy food and healthy eating.

Danesi (2011) investigates forms and meanings of commensality through a study exploring how and why young adults eat together. Common behaviours were: 'informal table manners, nomadic behaviours, sharing of costs and tasks, intimate social relationships, meal structure allowing freedom in food choice and rhythms' (153). The study situates the findings in relation to how society is

organised considering communal solidarity, socialization and sociability processes, as well as changes in the relationship between people and food. Byrne (2016) also explores the significance of food and eating practices, but in the context of residential centres for children and focuses upon the table where, as notably specified by governmental regulations, commensality is practised. The consumption of food centred on the table serves several functions: performance of hierarchical roles; site of socialisation into food consumption culture; and the creation of homely environment through eating 'proper meals', all of which contribute to sense of security, predictability and consistency.

The journal has welcomed papers that move cultural understandings of hospitality beyond a dominant western perspective. For example, Curro (2014) highlights how dichotomies of hospitality are fundamental features of Georgian hospitality and in so doing, offers a counterpoint to western philosophical interpretations of hospitality in addition to specific cultural insights. Similarly, Munasinghe, Hemmington, Schänzel, Poulston and Fernando (2017) explore the concept of hospitality and provide a cross-cultural analysis of the meanings and ideologies of hospitality in Theravada Buddhism and Western philosophy. Other papers explore the influence of specific cultural approaches to hospitality management and their influence on, respectively, Confucianism and corporate social responsibility (Chen and Peng 2016) and also Taiwanese (Chen 2011) and Moroccan (Buchberger 2011) cultural influences on couchsurfing. Both these latter authors are concerned with how cultural norms affect the couchsurfing and hosting experience thereby eliciting cultural differences from the largely western literature. Buchberger's study is situated in relation to the wider social network of hosts and problematizes issues of reciprocity, risk, as well as openness of the hospitality encounter. The Bulgarian experience of socialism and capitalism, and their respective positive and negative implications for hospitableness, is examined by Bethmann (2017) in the superbly titled "Getting milk from the chicken": Hospitality and hospitableness in Bulgaria's mass tourism resorts'. We hope to receive further contributions in the future examining neglected areas of research.

Hostipitality, Violence and Exploitation

'Hostipitality' was a term Derrida (2000) proposed to stress the inseparability of hostility and hospitality, recognising the embeddedness of risk, violence, and harm in any act of reception, whether in the social or commercial world. Robinson (2013) draws attention to the hospitality and tourism industry's relationship to present-day slavery and human trafficking. He argues that the labour requirements of the hospitality industry account for an alarming proportion of the world's entrapped and exploited population and considers how the delivery of hospitality by slaves implodes a 'knowing of hospitality' in a traditional fashion. Robinson uses this example of hostipitality to advance advocacy scholarship and encourages 'humanistic and theoretical research agendas' (93). As with other contributions to the journal (see for example, McIntosh and Harris 2012; Lugosi 2016; Hemmington and Gibbons 2017; Cavagnaro, Düweke and Melissen 2018; Lombarts 2018), Robinson encourages reflection on the motivations and purposes underlying hospitality scholarship, a theme returned to towards the end of this article. Kalargyrou and Woods (2015) investigate child commercial sexual exploitation and draw attention to seemingly rare research examples of what might potentially be termed 'advocacy organisations' in the hospitality industry. The authors explore how organisations can be proactive in fighting for human rights in the context of corporate social responsibility, which they associate with competitive advantage through creating a safe and sustainable environment, and good reputation, by investing in strategic and long-term positive socially responsible activities.

A relatively rare example of what might be deemed 'alternative' organisations and hospitable values is provided by Powell, Wang, O'Neill, Dentice and Neill (2019) who examine a hospitality business in the form of a worker cooperative (see also Clark 2004 for an excellent example of a comparable study of an 'alternative organisation' which signalled several societal trends and behavioural changes we

take for granted today). Values identified related to 'Harmony (peaceful living, tolerance, compassion, non-harming, balance); Social justice (equality, freedom, sharing, creative craftsmanship); Interconnectedness (cooperation, community, right livelihood, sustainability); Trust (social bonds, reliability); Post-materialism ('people over things', unselfishness, spirituality)'. Business culture norms identified concerned: 'non-hierarchical management and service, and commercial imperatives' (Powell et al. 2019: 183-4). The journal encourages a greater focus upon less conventional forms of hospitality as well as on hospitable organisations and their management.

Labour studies in the hospitality industry seem to have a particular association with the theme of hostipitality. For example, Ong's moving and sensitive study of the generational difficulties for the individual worker to achieve dignity and respect ('the hidden injuries of class' captured in the title of the paper) in capitalistic Macao. Likewise, Slavnic's powerful reflective autobiographical analysis demonstrates how the precarious nature of work, ethnic segmentation and informal economic arrangements that dominated the London hotel industry in the mid-1980s presaged key characteristics of most economic sectors and the experiences of most workers in London, the United Kingdom and globally. As Lashley (2016) succinctly points out, the term 'corporate social responsibility' is problematical when focusing upon the emancipation of wage slaves owing to 'the priorities that shareholders impose in a capitalist economy' (4). Here, McIntosh (2016) is highly relevant drawing attention to how 'different types of institution can open or close the door to personal, civic and corporate dimensions of hospitality' (111). Echoing Lashley's endorsement (2016) of the living wage as well as corporate opening of the door to hospitality, Douglas, Williamson, and Harris (2020) conceptualise a 'hospitable wage', defined as 'a wage that incorporates genuine care and consideration of well-being for a level of care that hospitality employers would expect their staff to apply to guests' (3). They propose 'the Living Wage Movement [as] a practical and pragmatic way to operationalize a hospitable wage' (3).

Given the significance of the hospitality industry as a global employer, it is unsurprising that labourrelated studies feature highly. Two important contributions are those from a geographical and historical perspective respectively of Zampoukos and Ioannides (2011) and Walton (2012), both based on state-of-the-art literature reviews and both agenda-setting papers. Zampoukos and Ioannides (2011) are critical of the superficial treatment of tourism and hospitality labour geography and argue for a rigorous political economy approach focusing upon 'socio-spatial labour mobility and the division of labour from an intersectional perspective' (25). The journal encourages further political economy papers.

Hospitality Careers and Higher Education

Several studies are concerned with careers working in the hospitality industry. Ong's paper (2011) has already been mentioned. Zahra and Hooper (2012) explore the issue from an interesting angle by examining the perceptions and attitudes of mothers towards their children choosing future careers related to work in the home and/or hospitality. Whilst the mothers are generally supportive, the perception is held that society generally does not value this work. It is pleasing to see Zahra and Hooper adopt a broad inclusive approach to hospitality work rather than one restricted to a narrowly defined (or often undefined but inherently assumed by some authors) conception of commercial hospitality as hotels and restaurants. Mooney (2016) also explores perceptions, but here the career experiences of young workers in the hotel industry, viewed from the perspective of older workers in long-term hospitality careers. This study complements earlier studies reviewed concerned with image and identity relating to hospitality work and shows the importance of understanding image formation in order to inform strategies aimed at re-evaluating societal perceptions. This theme was reiterated by Walmsley, Cripps and Hine (2020) who found that, in the United Kingdom, only a small percentage

of young people in their survey considered hospitality employment an attractive option. The implications of these works are that there is a considerable need for researchers to move beyond long heralded and repetitive calls to improve perceptions and move towards a more activist agenda to address the structural issues involved if improvements are to occur in relation to the valuing of hospitality work and creating more hospitable work environments.

Implicitly adopting a management/organisational perspective, Mooney and Jameson (2018) explore how hospitality undergraduates develop a career identity during their studies and contentiously suggest that a hospitality career is 'a calling' (46). In a related vein, Gebbels, Pantelidis and Goss-Turner (2019) propose a 'personology' framework of a hospitality professional. These studies encourage the reader to reflect whether following such paths may help raise the status of hospitality workers or might lead to a reification of a model service worker. By contrast, Cockburn-Wootten (2012) argues that 'professionalism' is a term used as a discursive tool for 'discipline, performance [management] and control', suggesting that researchers should instead focus on implementing meaningful work and dignity, through caring relationships, trust, and education of managers. Cockburn-Wootten proposes that focusing upon a broader understanding of professionalism incorporating communication and collaboration, and challenging a lack of workplace dignity, would open up interdisciplinary work and the possibility for change. In essence, the author suggests the issue is one of managers and management which needs to be the focus of improvement, rather than the employee or a straightforward image and identity construction problem. Arguably, this perception is particularly important in the context of neoliberal management methods, which certainly merit a much greater focus for critical scrutiny. Here, Williamson's (2017) contribution to the debate is noteworthy in distinctly summarising three historical legacies limiting the ability to maximise current career opportunities in hospitality and threatening its sustainable future: distrust, disdain, and the legacy of neo-liberal reform. He argues that the problem is one of low pay and casualized high-intensity work conditions. Importantly, he outlines an activist researcher agenda. Obrador (2020) reflects upon the pedagogical value of embedding critical hospitalities into vocational curricula and presents a studentled pedagogical innovation that enacts hospitality as a critical tool. It is apparent from all these commentators that the time is long overdue for vocational education institutions to fully embrace critical developments on hospitality as part of their standard vocational curricula.

Historical Studies

Some historical contributions deal with rather neglected topics. Thomson (2018) examines the history of Strathpeffer Spa and demonstrates the value of a cultural and narrative approach as a means of understanding a distinctive hospitality-based community centred on a health spa. This wonderfully rich and evocative study is revealing in following the lifecycle of the business over almost 100 years, examining the business dominance over the local community and the reasons for success as well as eventual business failure. Czyzewska and Roper (2017) provide a historical analysis of the Hilton hotel in London contributing towards limited business history research around internationalization and knowledge transfer. Interestingly, their findings contradict institutionalism's assumptions that multinationals must adapt to local institutional settings. Nilsson (2012) provides a rich genealogical analysis shedding light on the origins of air hospitality services today, with emphasis upon understanding major influences over time leading to changes in transport technology, business models and institutional conditions.

In a fascinating historical analysis, Lee (2013) explores important conceptual and theoretical issues concerning hospitality in nineteenth-century accounts of captivity in the New Americas. The study explores how the discourse of hospitality is deployed in constructing nationhood. Terms such as home, belonging and otherness serve to delineate national boundaries. The association of hospitality with

building a nation on the one hand engenders feelings of entitlement, community, national identity; on the other hand, it leads to violent and implied hostility of the host directed against perceived external threats to the idea and geographical boundaries of home.

Walton (2012) reviews hidden literature on the experience of labour in hospitality trades focusing upon labour relations, social conflict, gender, 'race' and ethnicity, migration, and identities. He strongly encourages research by historians in this neglected area of labour studies if we are to have a better understanding of the present. Several later contributions have taken up the challenges posed by Walton (2012). Cameron and Cave (2013) partially respond to Walton's challenge in their historical study of spa accommodation in New Zealand. They highlight long-running contestations of image and identity in the hospitality industry that still need to be addressed today. Focusing on behaviours of social display, they draw attention to the ambiguous roles for women and indigenous Maori played out in the hospitality industry. Wijesignhe (2017) considers the historical antecedents of gender stereotypes in the hospitality industry in order to interrogate 'the tradition of the sexualized, objectified and later commodified roles imposed on women through their hospitality provision' (181). Image and identity are also at the heart of James' analysis (2019) of 19th century travel writing focusing upon representations of the Scottish Highland inn and innkeeper and its influence in contemporary image formation in modern tourism culture.

Bandyopadhyay (2018) reveals the influence of historical productions of image and identity and analyses the consequences today through British tourists' trips to India and their pursuit of colonial nostalgia. Through application of postcolonial and whiteness lenses, the study surfaces tourists' pride of being a superior race compared to savage Indians and justifies their support for the legacy of the British Empire. The implication here is that tourism marketing which sustains colonial narratives perpetuates inhospitable and arguably racist ideologies rather than tourism broadening the 'hospitable mind'.

Cleave (2014) explores how postcards from near the start of the 20th century reveal culinary identity (commercial food production, traditional dishes, and domesticity (311)), alongside social, cultural, and geographical differentiation. Accordingly, postcards act as a visual guide to a time, a place, and an experience; they teach the viewer how to consume sights, in this example regional food. It is very pleasing to have been able to publish all these historical studies which certainly greatly enrich and help deepen our understanding of hospitality enabling us to better contextualise the construction of today's hospitality industry.

Image and Identity

A portrayal of Hotel Babylon through a television series is the subject of a study by Harris, Tregida and Williamson (2011) which examines representations of housekeeping and housekeepers. The series is based upon a book drawing upon the experiences of a hotel manager. It finds representations are mainly of sexualized victims, migrant workers and denigrated employees and suggests more fundamental concerns regarding sustaining service quality, employment relationships and portrayal of careers in the hotel sector. The theme of image, identity and commodification of employees recurs with Harris and Small (2013) who examine the 'face' of contemporary hotels focusing upon body size through analysis of promotional videos and conclude the message communicated is one of valuing slimness leading to a possible form of weight prejudice and discrimination.

Tresidder (2011) discusses and illustrates the challenges involved in interpreting online hospitality marketing narratives. It is argued that it is insufficient to study hospitality only concerning its industrial significance; consideration is required of its cultural and social significance. Dallabona (2015) provides insights into brand extension in the hospitality business by Italian luxury fashion labels, specifically

with luxury fashion flagship hotels. It is argued that strategies of cultural opportunism are present, deploying Italianicity as means to strengthen association with parent brands and increase their prestige, as well as augment their offerings, maximising the brand extension potential of labels. Beka and Cenko (2019) explore the theme of symbolic design, which is expected to have higher customer brand experience. Abdallah, Fletcher and Hannam (2019) provide a critical exploration of the relationships between diasporic identity and Lebanese food in London. The Lebanese hospitality industry is explored in its various developmental stages: growth, adaptation, embeddedness, hybridisation, and contestation. It is argued that contestation of identity is founded upon a mobile sense of place and belonging.

Identity and the importance of representational practices also emerge in studies of hospitality work and labour. Two papers focus upon the work of guiding, approaching it as the performative practice of hosting temporary guests. Varley, Farkic and Carnicelli (2018) make a novel connection between hospitality and outdoor guiding and draw attention to the links between hospitality and *hygge* (a positive affective sensation of cosiness, belonging and well-being), the latter certainly meriting further attention from a hospitality analytical perspective. The authors identify the guides as agents of hospitality, mediating visitors' affective relationships with place and place. In their analysis, they draw upon concepts of dwelling, *communitas* and *hygge* to explore the production of the outdoor hospitality experience against a background of ontological insecurity in industrialized societies. Heimtun (2016) also focuses upon outdoor guiding and highlights the deployment of emotions, affect and emotional labour in performed host/guest transactions.

Space, Design and Food

Hospitality and design are addressed in several ways. Lugosi, Lambie-Mumford and Tonner (2014) draw attention to studies exploring relationships between 'abstract and more mundane, tangible conceptions of hospitality and between its social and commercial manifestations' (225). As per one of the aims of the journal, in a key sentence which reflects the kind of papers we like to publish, they advocate for studies which adopt 'an integrated approach to comprehending minutiae of social life, which simultaneously examines complex interconnections with much wider ideologies, institutions, structures and forces' (228). Beka and Cenco (2019) explore hotel guest experiences, particularly how empathy can be generated through hotel design. A model is generated in which 'pleasant emotions' play a key role and has implications for environmental psychology, hotel design, branding strategy, integrated marketing communications as well as business performance. Höykinpuro and Yrjölä (2020) consider how the sense of (un)welcome is generated by spaces and places in the absence of human interaction (space-to-face hospitality). They suggest six key factors are at play: domesticity, cleanliness, safety and security, restrictedness, intactness, and functionality. Justesen, Gyimóthy and Mikkelsen (2014) focus upon the socio-material construction of hospitalityscapes, as well as the role of disruptive micro-events, in influencing the daily atmosphere and thereby enhancing hospital meal experiences. Choe, Qian, O'Regan and Yap (2018) explore festivalscape factors at an international wine and dine festival noting their influence upon behaviours such as perceived value for money, overall satisfaction, and intention to revisit.

Food design was the subject of a themed issue identified by Zampollo (2013) as the first academic publication to address this topic. Food Design is proposed as a discipline and the case made for it being a distinctive area of research; it embraces: 'Design With Food, Design For Food, Food Space Design or Interior Design For Food, Food Product Design, Design About Food, and... Eating Design' (183). It is very pleasing to see that the themed issue (Vol.3, Issue 3) led to the founding of the *International Journal of Food Design*. Mitchell, Woodhouse, Heptinstall and Camp (2013) eloquently argue that culinary arts education following a 150-year model has not kept pace with external developments.

They provide an example of an attempt at paradigmatic change in culinary arts education in which 'designerly thinking' (Cross 1982: 240) (240) is centre stage. Drawing on the example of cutlery, Renda and Kuys (2013) argue that design for disability 'has remained aesthetically stagnant within the area of hospitality' (229). They identify how product design can lead to changes in product development and illustrate the opportunities for design-led interventions in respect of assistive cutlery in the hospitality industry.

Kesimoğlu (2015) notes how gastronomy in different forms has become symbolically enhanced and incorporated into tourism, policy, and destination marketing, resulting in normative managerial and marketing associations of gastronomy with heritage. A multidisciplinary approach to gastronomy is proposed instead, an alternative perspective viewing gastronomy as relational, reflexive and negotiable rather than fixed. Justesen and Overgaard (2017) contribute to institutional foodservice literature through advancing a hospitable meal model, which incorporates a dynamic understanding of hospitality. Perceived as a starting point for improving the meal experience for the persons involved, the model involves six interconnected dimensions: provision; routine; conditional hospitality; unconditional hospitality; disruptive micro event; and co-creation.

Hospitality and Space, in particular the built environment is a significant theme of papers. Tvedebrink, Fisker and Kirkegaard (2013) explore two relatively overlooked dimensions of hospitality: food design and architectural theatricality. They draw upon the work of Semper (1851[2011]) regarding architectural theatricality and holistic design embracing 'contextual, cultural, ritual and social meanings rooted in architecture' (189), illustrated in the context of hospitals, and demonstrate how food design is a neglected opportunity in today's hospital eating environments. Mand and Cilliers (2013) contribute to literature on the creation of hospitable public spaces. They explore the relationships between a gastronomic quarter and a shopping mall food court and consider whether and how they add to the diversity and vitality of the city space.

In a rich conceptual paper that opens a research agenda, Van den Broek and van der Rest (2014) consider the difficulties in investigating the hospitalities of cities. They propose the metaphor of the agora and the fortress as a bipolar approach to understand the different levels, places, and forms of hospitalities. Their thesis is illustrated through various host-guest relationships ranging from the individual level through to city government and the hospitality industry and higher levels of agency. Morton and Johnson (2019) explore interrelationships between tourism, hospitality and public space found within an urban development plan and focus upon how to develop the most productive relationship. Three dominant themes guiding changes emerge: prestige, variety, and vibrancy.

Hay (2020b) considers the importance of how a hospitality space is perceived and its relationship to the local community. The study explores perceptions of a new commercial hotel located on a university campus; it is identified as an example of a contested hospitality space. Closer alignment to the university beliefs and ideals, as well as offering a more welcoming disposition to university staff and students, might help in achieving its wider acceptance. Perception is also an issue of concern in a paper by Chalip and Costa (2013) addressing rural development. A disconnection is identified between planners preoccupied with economic growth and residents concerned with social equity such that rural development may be viewed as akin to an unwanted gift (Lynch 2012). This 'gift' of economic development threatens disruption to the local *status quo*. Chalip and Costa (2013) develop a model explaining the clash and recommend community-based planning and applied ethnography founded on participation and understanding as mechanisms to avoid such negative encounters.

Hospitality Management and Neoliberalism

The issue of neoliberal management methods arises in several papers. Sheehan (2012) adds to longstanding debates regarding emotional self-management by airline service personnel. The study is concerned with the expectations created by neoliberal management methods, in particular greater job demands coinciding with less favourable working conditions, such that the psychological cost of practising emotional labour is increased. Sheehan argues that the absence of emotional reciprocity creates the most emotional dissonance and the greatest psychological harm. Future work on better understanding of the hospitality encounter is recommended through focusing upon emotional reciprocity.

Farrell (2012) explores hotel employees' work-home balance from a management viewpoint. Despite most managers viewing work-home balance as leading to higher productivity, the needs of employees are subordinated to those of the organisation, particularly the pursuit of profitability. It might be argued that the study shows the importance of a much-needed paradigm shift in which (hospitality) organisational management is required to achieve social and environmental as well as financial goals.

Kensbock, Jennings, Bailey and Patiar (2014) consider distinction work focusing upon the experiences of room attendants in five-star hotels. 'Distinction work' refers to required recognition of guests as occupying a superior class position as integral to service interactions and is manifested in displays of deference which serve to reinforce room attendants' lower social standing and social ostracism. The study adds to discussions regarding the low social value attributed to certain hospitality roles.

Control is a long-recognised dimension of hospitality (Lashley and Lynch 2013). Guerrier and Bohane (2013) address a somewhat neglected dimension of hospitality: surveillance. Their study focuses upon casinos, and they argue that surveillance is required to ensure a safe environment. Whilst considerable surveillance technology exists, surveillance is largely an embodied process with staff watching customers, one another, and being themselves watched over. As with a range of other hospitality organisations, surveillance is necessitated by government and is an outcome of neoliberal ideology which seeks the 'responsibilization' of organizations. Lugosi (2014) argues for the analysis of organisations through a focus upon hospitality. Examples are cited such as exploring how stakeholders mobilise hospitality and how it is experienced. It is also suggested that hospitality can be deployed to build or reconfigure power relations and to reinforce or subvert the *status quo* and existing hierarchical structures, as well as to create alternative organisational spaces and personal networks. This conceptual exploration highlights the potential application of hospitality management practices and principles in a variety of organisational settings.

Several studies variously contribute towards hospitality management, beyond those already mentioned. Efthymiou, Orphanidou and Panayiotou (2020) explore how the 'line of visibility' (287) between frontstage and backstage areas in hotels changes following societal and cultural trends. Such change occurs in response to creation of revisioning of the organisational identity and the production of embodied experiences alongside reconfiguring the workplace layout, as well as aesthetic hiring and product processes. Giousmpasoglou (2019) investigates factors affecting the work of general managers in small and medium sized luxury hotels in Greece. Identified factors are: 'career development and mobility; contact intensity; owner-GM relations; dealing with corruption; networking and reputation' (397). González -Torres, Pelechano-Barahona and Garcia-Muiña (2019) propose a theoretical model of the hospitality service experience reflecting the consumer perspective alongside strategic and managerial ones. The model gives due recognition to service experience as a major success factor and not simply the consumption motivator.

Hospitality management is a very rich vein of research as reflected in the wide range of contributions permeating the various themes reviewed here. Further critical work on management, hospitality organisations and neoliberalism, as well as organisational studies analysed through a hospitality lens, are certainly required.

Hospitality and Technology

The relationship between hospitality and technology is another theme. In a far-reaching paper, Germann Molz (2018) contributes to the geographies of hospitality and network hospitality literature through considering the implications flowing from how network (peer-to-peer) platforms, for instance Airbnb, are transforming the landscape of hospitality. It is noted that the transformation impacts upon 'home owners, residential neighbourhoods, local economies, urban planners and company investors and executives' (229) and that such stakeholders frequently evaluate network hospitality in scalar terms. The deployment of scale is highlighted as a means by which power is asserted, moral responsibility assigned and to underpin claims to belonging.

Bore, Rutherford, Glasgow, Taheri, and Antony (2017) review contemporary electronic word of mouth (eWOM) research in hospitality and particularly hotel literature. They map relationships between eWOM and the following themes: motivations for contributing to eWOM; motivations for reading eWOM; eWOM platforms; big data analytics; consumer behaviour; hotel performance; hotel responses; consumer culture differences. A research agenda is also proposed. Han and Dieck (2019) point to a rapid expansion of studies of virtual reality perceived to offer opportunities to add value to customer experiences, however the studies are critiqued for a scattergun approach. Instead, they propose a focus upon consumers employing a design methodology to understand the needs and wants of customers.

Gavioli and Bastos (2019) explore commensality in relation to new forms of internet businesses. They outline how meal-sharing websites look to take advantage of the expansion of interest in gastronomy and the growth of the sharing economy. In the context of Brazil, a gap is identified between the presentation of the meal-sharing experiences and the actuality. Tzanelli (2014) explores the digital construction of hospitality and its contribution to the development of new and romantic versions of nostalgic national hospitality. The study is illustrated in the context of a cinematic industry associated with Scottish landscapes and heritage giving rise to 'heritage entropy'. Given the rapid expansion of technology and its pervasive influence on societal and business practices, work on the nature and impacts of technology on the production and consumption of hospitality is expected to be a substantial focus of future enquiry.

Transforming the landscapes of hospitality

In launching the journal, we set out an ambitious indicative agenda for hospitality studies scholarship (briefly summarised in Table 1) and have been delighted with the ways in which our international colleagues have engaged with it. It is apparent from the range of topics addressed and the wide range of disciplinary perspectives employed that the study of hospitality whether as a focus of inquiry or employing hospitality as an analytical device is indeed a 'powerful tool of social analysis' (Lynch et al. 2011:5). The former approach allows one to investigate an aspect of hospitality and then critically interrogate why the phenomenon is as it is and consider its presentation and significance. The latter approach allows one to deconstruct the topic of investigation from a hospitality perspective prior to reflection upon its broader significance.

Going forward, we feel that the original suggested research themes elaborated in the opening editorial (Lynch et al. 2011) retain their importance and vibrancy (Figure 1). We would like to see a continuation

of those research themes being explored and further developed from multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives.

Figure 1. An Agenda for Hospitality Studies

- Hospitality has considerable potential for analytical development to explore myriad forms of macro-level structures and mundane practices of interaction in an array of settings.
- We want to encourage contributors to consider the way discourses and practices of hospitality create their own contexts in which certain ways of being together, of caring for one another, or excluding the other are normalized and reproduced.
- Our intention in reviewing these studies has not been to delimit the scope of research on hospitality, but rather to begin to open up new areas for exploration, debate and further scholarly development.
- Research areas we feel merit further attention and debate includes, but is not limited to:

Historical approaches to hospitality; Narrative hospitality (literature, autobiography, travel writing, moving and still images (including artwork); Relationship between hospitality and (im)mobilities; Cartographies and spatialities of hospitality; Hospitality and virtuality; Hostipitality; The ethics and politics of hospitality; Embodied hospitality; Hospitality and materiality; Hospitality as work; Researching hospitality (including researcher reflexivity); Inclusive hospitality (redressing Eurocentric literature overreliance but acknowledge practical and language barriers).

Adapted from Lynch et al. (2011)

Reflecting upon the original agenda set out for the journal (Figure 1), we feel that there is significant evidence of contributions published addressing the goals and suggested research areas identified. This observation is supported by Rejowski et al. (2021), published in this issue, who conducted a bibliometric analysis of *Hospitality & Society* and the evolution of its research agenda covering the period 2011 to 2018. Their analysis of the journal included classification of publications compared against the original research themes and, whilst adopting a different method of analysis and restricted to the period 2011-2018, reaches broadly similar conclusions. Rejowski et al. (2021) benchmark their content analysis of abstracts and keywords against the original research themes proposed by Lynch et al (2011). They suggest two overarching themes have been addressed by authors: i) hospitality relating to hotel and tourism management with a work-related focus; ii) social hospitality concerned with social ties and their dynamics as well as host-guest interactions applied to issues such as immigration, discriminatory practices, and education. Table 1 lists the original indicative research themes from 2011, as summarised by Rejowski et al. (2021), alongside those research themes we have identified through our analysis for the period 2011-2021.

Rejowsi et al. (2021) also find evidence of new research themes occurring. We would largely endorse their findings and interpretations. An important finding and recommendations from their paper are:

...a review of the initial research agenda proposed by Lynch et al. (2011) indicates the evolution of the field towards new themes. This new agenda could be elaborated by representatives of the main currents of thought on hospitality, that is, from researchers of the Anglo-Saxon, French and Brazilian approaches. As scholars from a Latin American and from particularly

Table 1: Hospitality & Society: Original Indicative Research Themes (2011) and Research Themes Identified for Period 2011-2021		
Original Indicative Research Themes 2011	Our Analysis of Research Themes Identified	
	2011-2021	
Historical approaches to hospitality	Conceptualisations of hospitality	
Narrative hospitality	Migration and Labour	
Relationship between hospitality and	Lifestyle	
(im)mobilities	Social Hospitality	
Cartographies and spatialities of hospitality	Hospitality, Consumption, Global Citizenship	
Hospitality and virtuality	and Ethics	
'Hostipitality' (portmanteau of 'hospitality' and	Addressing Neglected Areas of Research	
'hostility')	Hostipitality, Violence and Exploitation	
Ethics and politics of hospitality	Hospitality Careers and Higher Education	
Embodied hospitality	Historical Studies	
Hospitality and materiality	Image and Identity	
Hospitality as work	Space, Design and Food	
Researching hospitality	Hospitality Management and Neoliberalism	
Inclusive hospitality	Hospitality and Technology	

Brazilian perspective on the study of hospitality, we hope that Hospitality & Society will consolidate its position as the leading journal dedicated to the study of hospitality and become a robust channel of scientific communication between researchers from the North and the South. (P.10)

Certainly, as part of the journal mission to be 'an international multidisciplinary social science journal' we aspire to bring together researchers of all disciplines, traditions, cultures and geographies and for *Hospitality & Society* to serve as 'a robust channel of scientific communication'. We must keep under continuous review how best we may meet these goals, for example, through reviewing the composition of the editorial and advisory boards.

Going forward, building upon an emergent area from the first decade of the journal, a major overarching theme of research should be a concern with how to create a hospitable society(ies), employing absolute hospitality as a guide (Germann Molz 2015). It is apparent that whilst there have been significant developments in the 20th and early 21st centuries of a technological nature, social, economic, and political developments have not kept pace, reflected in poverty, chronically unequal wealth disparities, migration patterns, unequal ability to participate in societies and environmental damage, to name just a few of the global issues being faced. As editors of the journal, one major area of interest is explorations of the transformative potential of hospitality (cf. Germann Molz 2015). It is evident that the study of hospitality has the potential to play a key role in the development of societies on a global basis through, as per the original journal aims and scope, 'focusing upon hospitality and exploring its connections with wider social and cultural processes and structures' (Inside cover, *Hospitality & Society*). In reviewing the various contributions, it became apparent that there is a particular need for research on hospitality to also focus on relationships between hospitality and

economic and political structures, ideologies, and power from a micro through to a macro level, including attention to the academic community itself and its role in the nature of knowledge created. Table 2 captures a research agenda emerging from our analysis.

Table 2. Areas for Exploration, Debate and Further Scholarly Development		
Research Theme	Examples	
Aspiration for a hospitable society and the transformative potential of hospitality United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	Hospitality and social justice; democracy without frontiers; aspiration of absolute hospitality; role of hospitality in how people co-exist and interact; cultural forms of hospitality and management of difference. Decent work and economic growth; Peace, justice and strong institutions; Quality education; No poverty; Reduced inequalities;	
and the role of hospitality concepts, principles and practices	Sustainable cities and communities; Climate action. Other SDG categories we would particularly like to see being met by papers include: Zero hunger; Good health and well-being; Gender equality; Responsible consumption and production; Partnerships for the goals.	
Hospitality as a movement	Territories and political practices of social movements claiming rights and empowerment, for example, workers, immigration, gender, LGTBi or disability groups.	
Economics and politics of hospitality	Critical hospitality analysis applied to neoliberal capitalism, social capitalism, state capitalism, alternative economic and non-western political systems.	
Hospitality and space	Planning and design of hospitable cities and spaces.	
Hospitality and organisations	Critical hospitality analysis applied to the operation and management of organisations; organisational studies critiqued through a hospitality lens; studies of organisations balancing economic, social, and ecological goals and health and well-being of employees; greater focus upon less conventional forms of hospitality, as well as on hospitable organisations; alternative management structures.	
Hospitality work	Activist research agendas addressing structural issues required to improve valuing of hospitality work; critically interrogate the rationale for existing work arrangements at both institutional and societal levels.	
Hospitality management and neoliberalism	Relationships and tensions between hospitality, work, and the marketplace; further critical work on management, hospitality organisations and neoliberalism.	
Hospitality, hospitable values and behaviours and the global hospitable citizen Hospitality and the	Formation of critical consciousness and social conscience; role of education and ideologies; relationships with capitalist forms of consumption and neoliberalism role of mobility; societal values, such as <i>hygge</i> . Development of humanistic proposals and policy documents to	
activist/advocate researcher	inform potential advances towards absolute hospitality.	
Researcher reflexivity	Hospitable researchers' reflections upon potential violence of their research contributions; rethinking and proposing alternatives to current systems; proposing more action-oriented research outcomes.	

Focusing upon largely neglected areas of research	For example: developed economy centricity of the various studies; hospitality and power; and ideology; surveillance capitalism.
Hospitality scholars	The journal would strongly encourage reviews of the contributions of major scholars and their work relevant to further strengthening the theoretical underpinnings of hospitality.
Hospitality scholarship and intersections of alternative critical perspectives	For example, critical race theory, feminism, Marxism, queer theory, critical disability theory.
Hospitality as metaphor	Further development of hospitality as: advocacy; disobedience; gift; politics; an experience; a way of relating; liquid hospitality; scalar hospitality.
Hospitality and technology	Hospitality and surveillance; new forms of human-non-human interactions; new forms, practices and dimensions of cyborg being.
Hospitality and pandemics	Hospitality analyses; hospitality and community; (in)hospitable behaviours.
Critical hospitality studies and education	Implementation of critical hospitality studies and the curriculum; hospitality as a critical tool.

In conclusion, we are conscious that the themes and topics we have recognised, foregrounded and discussed still represent a partial view of hospitality thinking, theoretical perspectives and what hospitality scholarship could be. We therefore encourage scholarship which challenges, further develops, and expands the possibilities for knowledge, understanding and the potentiality of hospitality. Accordingly, we look forward with excitement to the next decade!

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