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Race and Ethnicity in Hospitality Management: A Review of Five Major Journals

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Abstract

Given the large representation of racial and ethnic minorities in the hospitality industry, it is important to understand how race and ethnicity are studied in major hospitality journals, especially due to their influence in informing research fundamental to scientific progress in the hospitality field. Informed by critical theory, this study systematically reviews the evolution of research on race and ethnicity in the top hospitality journals to highlight the possibility of hospitality management research taking a more critical turn to expose potent racial and ethnic counternarratives to the traditional broad scope of diversity management. Three themes emerged from the analysis covering issues on race and discrimination, managing diversity and perceiving authenticity. The review indicates that there is a greater need for theory development and studies focusing on deep-rooted systematic issues in hospitality academia and industry. Accordingly, theoretical and managerial implications along with suggestions for future research are discussed.

Keywords: race, ethnicity, systemic approach, critical theory, systematic review, hospitality industry

Introduction

The hospitality industry serves a customer base of global travelers and manages a global workforce across varied geographical locations. In fact, comparatively speaking, the hospitality industry employs more marginalized populations than the overall workforce (Manoharan & Singal, 2017). For example, in 2019, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that 25.5% of hospitality and leisure employees (including accommodation and food services) were Hispanic or Latinx, 13.5% Black or African American, 7.3% Asian, and 52% women (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Women and underrepresented owned businesses comprise 63.5% of accommodation and food service enterprises (Loh, Goger, & Liu, 2020). Furthermore, the hospitality industry is at the lowest end of executive roles being held by Black people at 1.5% in

comparison to all other industries which hover at 5% (The Castell Project, 2020). For context, only one to 108 CEOs / Presidents and one to 145 chiefs are Black executives, and most of these are men (86%) (The Castell Project, 2020).

While there is a growing trend of articles being published on diversity management (Kalargyrou & Costen, 2017) as well as a grouping of articles that systematically review diversity management research (Kalargyrou & Costen, 2017; Manoharan & Singal, 2017; Mooney, 2020; Sakdiyakorn & Wattanacharoensil, 2018; Sourouklis & Tsagdis, 2013), much of the existing research on diversity management in hospitality focuses broadly across marginalized minority groups, as opposed to delving more deeply into one particular group. Studies that do examine one group more closely, have largely focused on gender (Mooney, 2020) while other minority groups, such as race, ethnicity and ability have not been as deeply examined. For example, a recent systematic review of research on diversity in hospitality revealed that only 7% of academic articles focused on race and/or ethnicity, while 31% focused on gender (Manoharan & Singal, 2017). In fact, to date, there have been no systematic studies specifically reviewing race and ethnicity research in hospitality. Although exploring diversity as a holistic issue is important, much can be lost by grouping minorities together as each group faces considerably different issues. For instance, recent events of racial violence and injustice against Black people shed light on some of the glaring inequities still existent in the hospitality industry (The Castell Project, 2020). Furthermore, the economic fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic underscored significant disparities for Hispanic and Latinx, Black, and female workers who are overrepresented in hospitality occupations, thus deepening inequality for these marginalized groups. Given the large representation of racial and ethnic minorities in the hospitality industry, it is important to understand how race and ethnicity are studied. Thus, exploring specific marginalized groups within the realm of diversity fills a gap in the hospitality management literature. However, in order to move forward, there must first be a benchmark for the current state of literature.

From a sustainability perspective, reviewing the research on race and ethnicity contributes to the pillar of social equity (World Tourism Organization, 2020). As a discipline contributing to sustainability through social equity by revealing, and henceforth addressing issues specific to one's race and/or ethnicity supports the continuous transformation and innovation of the hospitality industry (Bernard et al., 2022). Therefore, in this study, we interrogate the current status of hospitality research specific to race and ethnicity across five major hospitality journals since their inception to discern thematic patterns and research methods utilized. The main underlying goal of this research was to identify articles that revealed how race and ethnicity has been studied in these hospitality journals over time. Informed by critical theory, this work attempts to highlight the possibility of hospitality management research taking a more critical turn to expose potent racial and ethnic counternarratives to the traditional broad scope of diversity management.

Race refers to a social construct and can be defined as the categorization of humans based on their skin tone, physical appearance (i.e., nose shape or hair texture) and/or language (Carter & Pieterse, 2005). Particularly customary in North America, this practice includes the grouping of all people: White, BIPOC - Black Indigenous and People of Color (Black, Native-Indigenous Asian, Pacific Islanders, Latinx), refugees, immigrants, and multiracial people (Kirkinis, Pieterse, Martin, Agiliga, & Brownell, 2018). Although the terms race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably, they do not refer to the same thing. Ethnicity refers to a person's perceived group membership based on nationality or ancestry (Murry, Smith, & Hill, 2001). In the U.S., the constructs of race

and ethnicity have been the basis for historical forms of institutionalized oppression and racism for centuries (Carter 2007) first faced by Native American populations during the early 1600s. Furthermore, as Feagin (2014) describes, BIPOC in the U.S. have been targeted by a wide range of racism including social and economic oppression (e.g., slavery, Jim Crow laws, Chinese Exclusion Act, Japanese internment camps, police brutality, mass incarceration), the negative depictions of BIPOC in the media controlled by dominant society (Cortese 2016) and everyday micro-aggressive acts and forms of dismissal. More recent ethnic groups to experience similar forms of oppression include people from Middle Eastern backgrounds (Jamal & Naber, 2008).

Fraught with the trickledown effect of these systematic issues, the hospitality industry continues to face institutionalized racism. For context, racial discrimination, defined as “*unfair, differential treatment on the basis of race (or ethnicity)*” (Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, 2009, p. 1259) has proven to be particularly precarious in the hospitality industry where prevalent racial discrimination negatively impacts career satisfaction (Shum, Gatling, & Garlington, 2020). In fact, to further complicate the issue, in 2019 the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission reported an 18% increase in racial discrimination charges over a two-year time span. Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, Asian and people of Asian descent have been targets of derogatory language in media reports and statements by politicians as well as on social media platforms. Increases in racist rhetoric have coincided with an increase in racist attacks and Asian people around the world have been subjected to attacks, racist abuse, and discrimination (Human Rights Watch, 2020). Some governments have imposed strict lockdowns that indiscriminately affect only foreign worlds without providing adequate health care, financial assistance, or other services workers need to survive (Human Rights Watch, 2020). Despite this growing trend of discriminatory issues, and a heightened focus on diversity management overall, there is still a severe lack of studies specifically examining the issue in the hospitality industry (Floyd, Bocarro & Thompson, 2008; Shum et. al., 2020). Those studies that do exist call for more critical work in this area (Brewster & Wang, 2020). Therefore, studies included in this paper will be in reference to historically disenfranchised racial-ethnic groups and include only those studies published in top tier hospitality journals.

Literature Review

Critical Theory

The term critical theory (CT) was defined by Horkheimer (1937) as a social theory positioned for critiquing and advocating for societal change. According to Higgins-Desbiolles (2021), CT “*seeks to diagnose the problems of current society and identify the nature of the social change required to secure greater justice, equity and empowerment*” (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2021, p. 554) and is “*the belief in the efficacy of social action for social change to achieve emancipation and well-being*” (p. 560). In recent years, CT has become an umbrella term for an array of theories in the academic world including feminist theories and approaches to conducting social science. It is also found in critical race theory, cultural theory, gender, and queer theory, as well as in media theory and media studies. Within hospitality studies, Lashley Lynch, and Morrison (2007) posited that CT should at least be recognized as part of the intellectual terrain. For instance, they proposed the adoption of CT within hospitality studies as it “*... questions imposed academic divisions that separate hospitality from social theory encapsulated in other disciplines*” (Lashley et al., 2007, p. 5). Through this paradigm, power and who controls it, shapes the ways in which spaces, places,

and knowledge are maintained for hegemonic control. However, by laying bare the power relations, researchers are able to uncover marginalized voices through critical perspectives informed by CT (Sim & Van Loon, 2001).

Tenets of CT reflect a human interest in emancipation from accepted doctrine through criticism and liberation, reflecting on existing knowledge and shows how social constructions, including the hospitality and tourism industries, shape landscapes (Lashley et al., 2007). In short, CT provides a series of tools for exploring human behaviors and perceptions of the world in which these actions take place (Calhoun, 1995). Advocating for a critical perspective represents a move toward multiple social lenses and an unpacking of how marginalized voices are represented. Critical theory allows for this connection with the historic and contemporary world diving deeper into the social movements and behaviors that construct hospitality both in the academic and industry landscapes (Sim & van Loon, 2001).

A critical understanding of hospitality is emancipating where historically underrepresented groups are heard, seen, and represented authentically. It is in this spirit that this article examines the extent to which race and ethnicity is researched and contributes to the development of critical theoretical frameworks within hospitality studies. Thus, informed by critical theory, this process can also create further societal change by disrupting colonial and hegemonic norms providing an avenue for the social force of hospitality studies. Consequently, this study used the lens of CT to question and critique the ways in which top hospitality journals are representing (or not representing) marginalized racial and ethnic populations. We aim to dive deeper into the implicit and explicit ways that race, and ethnicity are potentially stereotyped, misrepresented, or overlooked within hospitality.

Methods

Systematic Literature Review

Floyd, Bocarro and Thompson (2008) called attention to the importance of ethnic change and race-related dynamics globally, however, we did not find another study following the progression of this research in hospitality journals. Therefore, we aim to fill this gap by addressing how race and ethnicity has been studied in five major hospitality journals over time. While we acknowledge that there are several non-hospitality journals that are dedicated to the study of race and ethnicity issues, evaluating research output in the leading journals gives a sense of how the leaders in the field have furthered research agendas involving race and ethnicity. These journals represent the primary outlets for hospitality management research over the last several decades and were selected based on an updated ranking of hospitality and tourism journals provided by the SCImago Journal and Country Rank (SCImago, 2021). Specifically, leading journals were identified based on an SJR indicator calculation from citation data drawn from over 34,100 titles from more than 5,000 international publishers (SCImago, 2021). The journals identified are International Journal of Hospitality Management (IJHM) - SJR Indicator 2.217, International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management (IJCHM) - SJR Indicator 2.203, Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research (JHTR) - SJR Indicator 1.618, Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management (JHMM) - SJR Indicator 1.517 and Cornell Hospitality Quarterly, (CHQ) - SJR Indicator 1.053.

We adapted the sequential seven-stage model of systematic review process from Petticrew and Roberts (2006) to examine how race and ethnicity has been studied in five major hospitality journals over time. Specifically, we followed formal and content-related criteria discussed in literature to examine:

- How many articles in each journal have been published on race and ethnicity since its inception?
- What trends are evident in race and ethnicity research?
- What themes have been explored in race and ethnicity research?
- What methodology or theoretical frameworks have been applied to race and ethnicity research?

Since the study aims to provide a comprehensive review of race and ethnicity articles, each journal was searched from its inception through December 2020 using the keywords *race* and *ethnicity* separately (Floyd et al., 2008) and compared against the inclusion/exclusion criteria. Articles were included if they were written in English. Within the search fields, *title*, *keywords*, and *abstracts*, we used the following search terms: *Race AND/OR Ethnicity*. Articles were excluded if they only had one survey question about race or ethnicity as part of the study's demographic section or focused predominantly on diversity, without a focus on race or ethnic issues. Figure. 1 provides an overview of the systematic review process as guided by Yang et al., (2017).

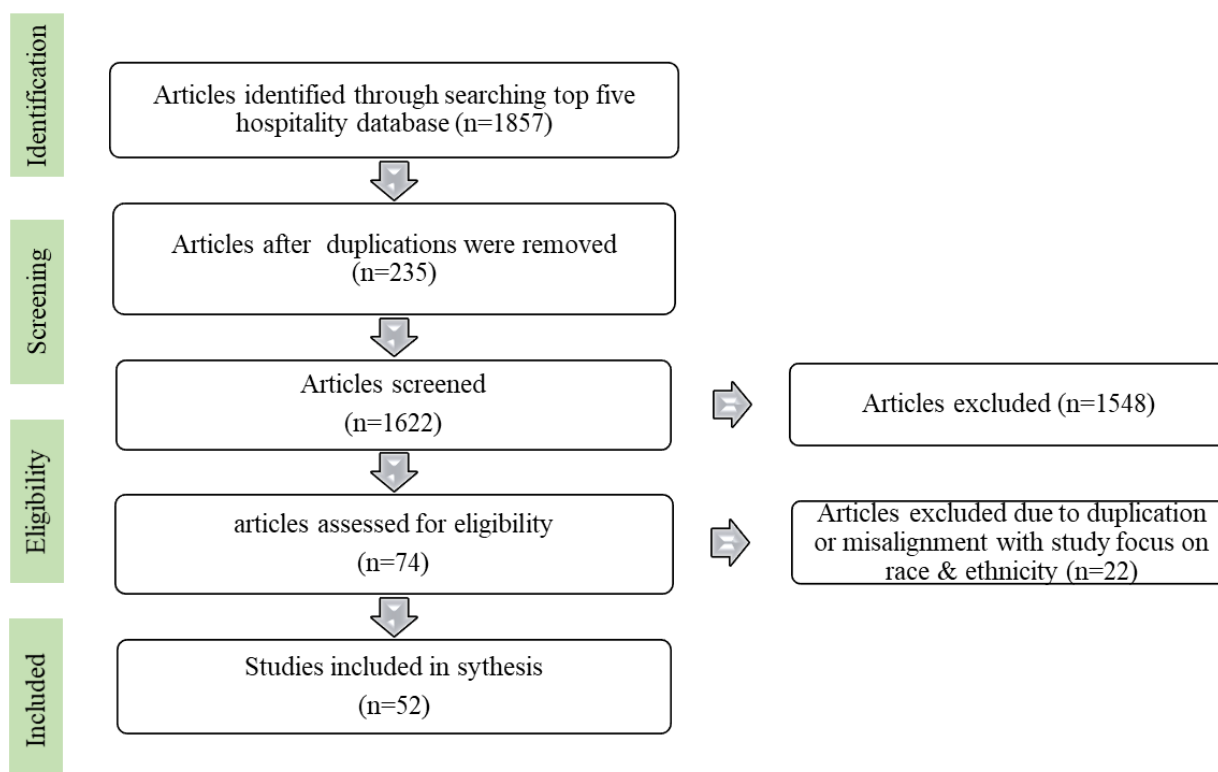


Figure 1. Overview of Systematic Research Process (Adapted from Yang et al., 2017)

Following the systematic process, 74 articles across the five journals were identified as eligible for analysis. To enhance validity and reliability, the co-authors independently reviewed the articles selected to verify their relevance to the research objectives (Seuring & Müller, 2008). To achieve a 100% inter-coder reliability rate, the co-authors met virtually to debate articles that were flagged for exclusion until all three researchers came to a consensus, thus increasing the validity and reliability of the study. Additionally, a systematic spot check was performed randomly on one article per journal by co-authors to promote consistency and trustworthiness. As a result of this process, 22 articles were discarded due to violations of the inclusion/exclusion criteria (i.e., article duplication or misalignment with the study focus on race and ethnicity). The final sample consists of 52 articles which were evaluated in detail to assess their content. These articles covered a period from 1969 to 2020. In the next step, we followed the coding scheme suggested by Xiao and Smith (2007) to collect categories of information that are aligned to the study objectives, and compile information pertaining to each article’s publication date, category, authorship, research topic, theory, method, geographic location, findings, and future research direction in an excel database. Next, we analyzed the trends using a multi-step procedure to extract meaning from the articles (Floyd et al., 2008). Finally, we explored emergent themes and classified the methods according to Creswell’s (2013) grouping of empirical studies as quantitative, qualitative, or mixed-method research, and non-empirical studies as conceptual, theoretical, or literature reviews. Subsequently, key findings were summarized in a tabular format and organized into higher level patterns to enable critical appraisal and synthesis of the content.

Findings

Race and Ethnicity Articles by Journal Publication

Analyzing articles by journal publication allows us to benchmark and understand the research trends across top hospitality journals. Most articles were published in CHQ (26), followed by the IJHM (10), JHTM (7), JHMM (5), and IJCHM (4). Articles are fairly evenly spread across race (25) and ethnicity (21) (Table 1). The results reflect a great need to advance both a practical and theoretical understanding of race and ethnicity issues in the hospitality industry.

Table 1. Race and Ethnicity Articles by Publication

Journal	Race	Ethnicity	Race & Ethnicity	Total	Percentage
International Journal of Hospitality Management (IJHM)	6	4	0	10	19.6%
International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management (IJCHM)	0	3	1	4	7.8%
Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research (JHTR)	2	5	1	7	11.8%
Cornell Hospitality Quarterly (CHQ)	17	5	4	26	51.0%
Journal of Hospitality Marketing Management (JHMM)	0	5	0	5	9.8%
Total	25	21	6	52	100.0%

The number of research articles on race and ethnicity in hospitality has fluctuated since its first publication on the subject in 1969. Research peaked in 2004, 2012 and 2018, but has not steadily

maintained over time (Figure 2). A closer examination of the studies during those peak time periods suggests there were interests specifically in Black-White tipping behavior (2004, 2012) and a wave of studies on the role of ethnic food preferences that are associated to perceptions of authenticity and appearance (2018).

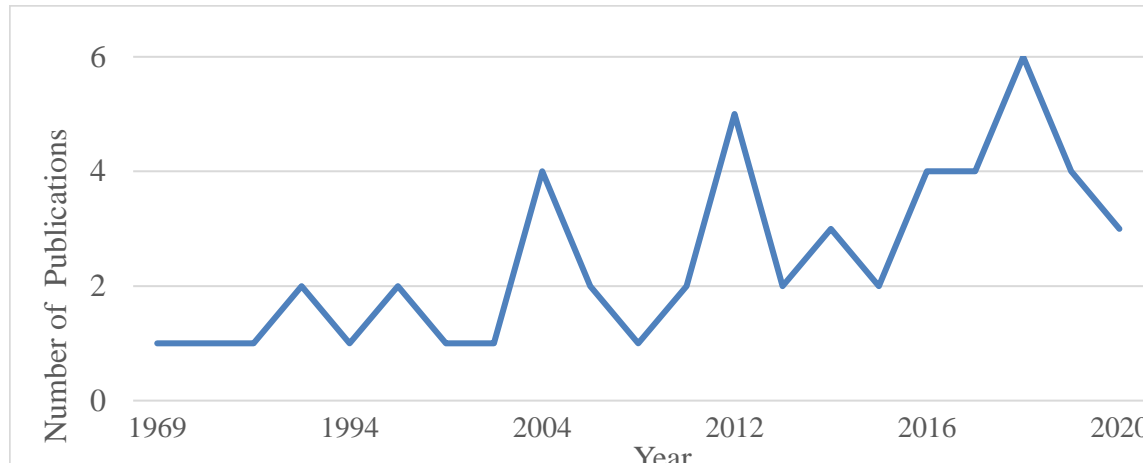


Figure 2 Year-wise Distribution of Publications (n=52)

Research Context

Industry sub-sector

An overwhelming majority of publications (51.9%) were conducted in the restaurant context, while only 17.3% were conducted on hotels, 11.5%, hospitality, 7.7%, a combination of hotels and restaurants, 3.8% on tourist events and 1.9% on Airbnb (Table 2).

Table 2. Research Context

Context	No. of articles	Percentage (%)
Restaurants	27	51.9%
Hotels	9	17.3%
Hospitality*	6	11.5%
Hotels/Motels & Restaurants	4	7.7%
Not mentioned	3	5.8%
Tourist events	2	3.8%
Airbnb	1	1.9%
Total	52	100%

*Studies did not mention a specific sector

The articles predominantly feature a combination of Black and White (26.9%) and Asian (25%) categories. Although 21.2% of the studies did not mention a particular race or ethnicity, approximately 10% mention three or more races or ethnicities, and even fewer on a single race or ethnicity (e.g., 5.8% Black or African-American, 1.9% White/Caucasian, 1.9% Middle Eastern) (Table 3).

Table 3. Race and Ethnicity Categories Covered in Articles

Category	No. of articles	Percentage (%)
Black/African American	3	5.8%
White/Caucasian	1	1.9%
Black & White	14	26.9%
Asian	13	25.0%
Asian & White	2	3.9%
Middle Eastern	1	1.9%
Multiple Races* ¹	5	9.6%
Minorities	2	3.9%
Not Mentioned* ²	11	21.2%
Total	52	100%

*¹ Studies mentioning three or more race or ethnicities

*² Studies with general commentaries on race and ethnicity without referencing a particular group

Regions for Race and Ethnicity

Most of the studies reviewed were conducted in the U.S. (61.8%), China, Australia and Taiwan (all representing 7.3%) or the United Arab Emirates, Austria and Malaysia (all representing 1.8%). Data for the other studies were either collected from online samples that did not mention a region (9.1%) or from two or more regions (1.8%) (Figure. 3).

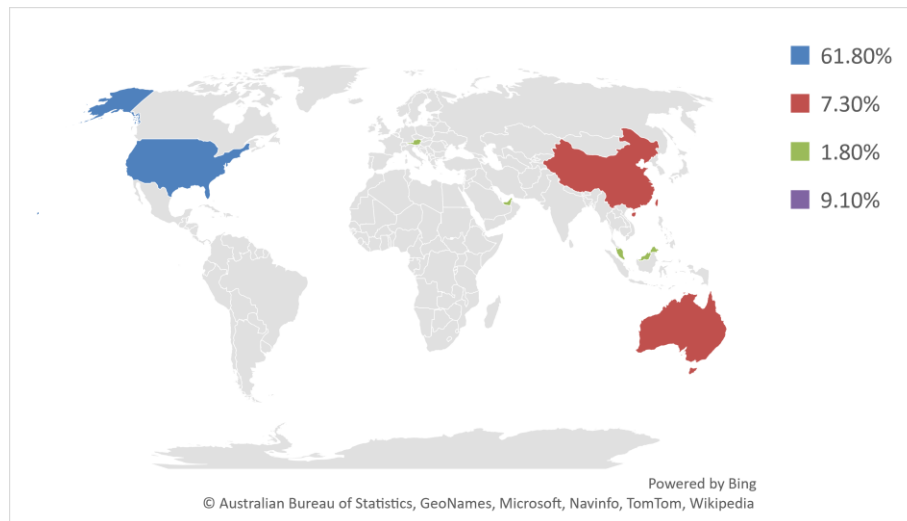


Figure 3. Regions for Race and Ethnicity

Thematic Analysis

The studies included in the review present a wide range of topics on race and ethnicity that varied over time, with no consistent focus on a particular theme. Three major themes emerged: racism & discrimination, managing diversity and perceiving authenticity (Figure. 4). Themes ranged in approaches on a spectrum of isolated to systemic. Studies categorized as taking a systemic approach addressed topics specifically focused on highlighting structural issues within the larger system of the hospitality industry. For example - those studies that explored systemic racism built

into the hierarchy of hospitality management structures (i.e., lack of funding for Black businesses or racist rituals within the organizational structure of food service) thus perpetuating the mistreatment of marginalized communities based on race and/or ethnicity were categorized as systemic. Alternatively, studies categorized within the isolated approach focused on more specific case studies highlighting external characteristics related to race and/or ethnicity such as perceptions of authentic menu labelling and ethnic food preferences within a hospitality service experience. Though both approaches do cover race and/or ethnicity - the isolated approach takes on much ‘softer’ topics not necessarily baked into the hierarchy of systems and privilege inherent to systemic issues.

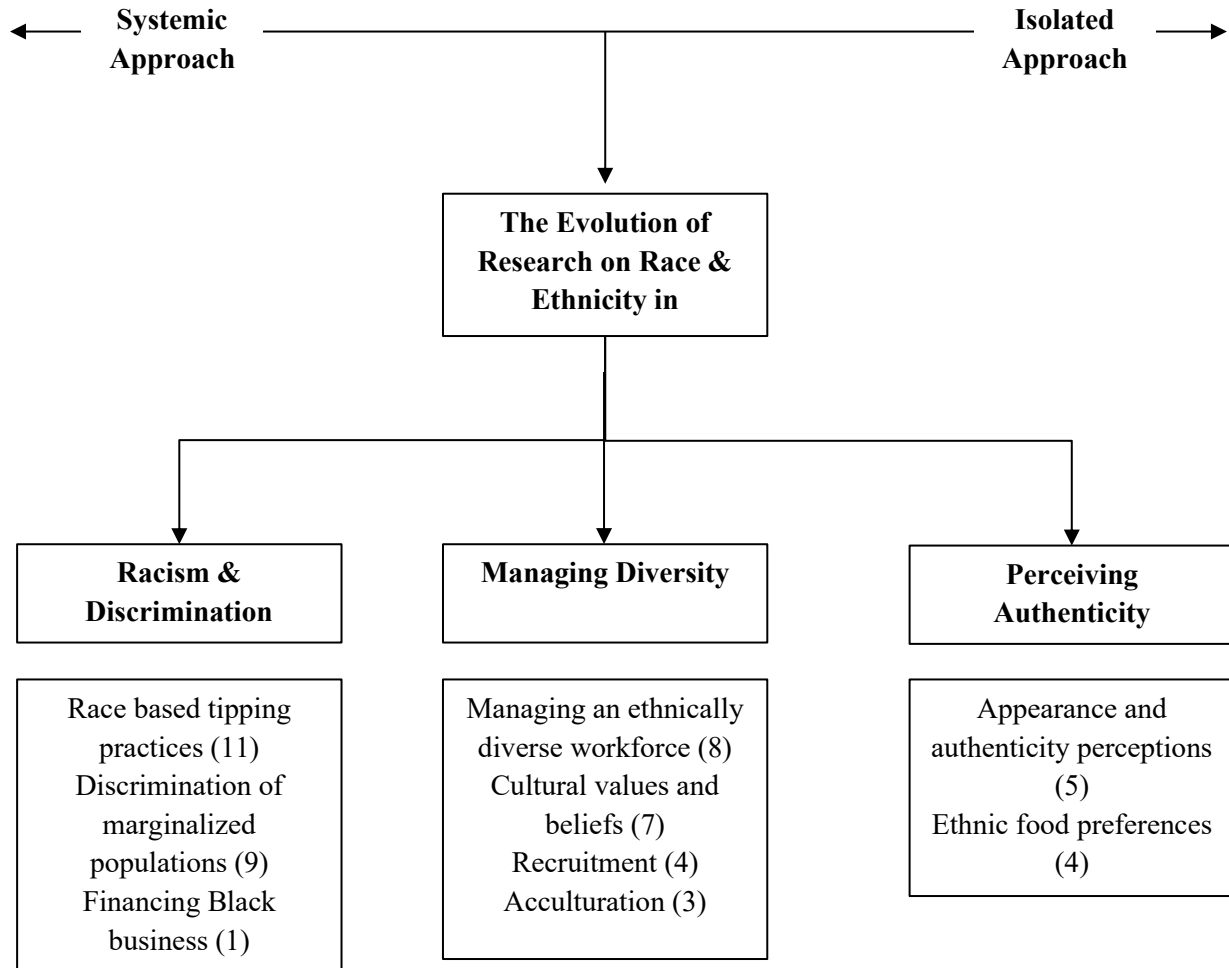


Figure 4 Thematic Areas in Race and Ethnicity Research

Racism and Discrimination

Findings reveal that racism and discrimination emerged as a major theme across 21 articles including the sub-themes of race-based tipping practices (11), discrimination of marginalized populations (9) and financing Black business (1). Studies divulged issues of systematic racism and discrimination within the hospitality industry both in the workplace as well as with customers.

Race Based Tipping Practices

This sub-theme features studies around tipping practices, capturing peoples' discretion to offer or receive gratuity for table service in restaurants based on their race. Following up on earlier calls to understand Black-White tipping behavior (Fernandez, 2004), Lynn, Pugh and Williams (2012) find that while higher socio-economic status (SES) reduces Black-White differences in tipping, Black people tipped less than White people. In fact, restaurant servers and their managers expect below average tips from Black customers regardless of their social class (Brewster, 2013; Lynn, 2004; Lynn & Williams, 2012; Noll & Arnold, 2004). A counter argument is that servers' perceptions of Black-White tipping differences are significantly shaped by racial antipathy and observed mistreatment of Black clientele (Brewster & Nowak, 2019). Agreeably, Dirks and Rice (2004) discovers that racist rituals are reflected both in the restaurant's organizational structure and interpersonal relations, which are shaped by a pervasive stereotyping of customers of color by White restaurant workers. In cases where automatic gratuities are extracted, Hall (2018) finds no significant differences in how servers say they would treat their dining parties. However, Lynn (2011) finds that differences in tipping are due in part to race difference awareness of appropriate tipping norms and can be reduced by educating people about tipping norms (Lynn, Pugh & Williams, 2012; Lynn, 2014).

Discrimination of Marginalized Populations

Discrimination refers to studies involving prejudicial treatment of different categories of people. More than half of the studies under this theme are commentaries or review studies documenting systemic cases of employment discrimination and harassment experienced by people of color, based on skin color or ethnic origin (Brewster, 2012; Chen & Foley, 2018; Kohl & Greenlaw, 1981; Slonaker, Wendt, & Baker, 2007; Withiam, 1997). Although recent studies find no meaningful evidence among customers or employees observing racist language or discriminatory behavior in the workplace (Brewster & Brauer, 2017; Brewster & Wang, 2020); an earlier study by Slonaker et al., (2007) finds that restaurant claimants experience a much higher rate of job loss than do claimants in other industries, often identifying frontline supervisors as the source of alleged discrimination. Considering these issues, hospitality managers are advised to comply with laws and equal opportunity for employment guidelines to make establishments more accessible (Kohl & Greenlaw, 1981). Although discrimination is a very complex issue to address, a top-down approach is needed to improve customer and employee experiences. Failure to move swiftly in this regard may result in negative effects of racial discrimination in hospitality career satisfaction that is currently being experienced among students of color (Shum et al., 2020).

Financing Black business.

This sub-theme discusses the challenges of small Black owned minority restaurants or motels to access funding. The only study featured under this theme was a commentary on a survey from Black entrepreneurs on funding challenges for small restaurant or motel businesses (Kwansa, 1994). The author concludes that raising capital was a serious problem and the reason for this hurdle is because financing companies consider Black-owned small businesses as high-risk investments.

Managing Diversity

Studies related to the major theme managing diversity represent 22 articles that include the sub-themes of managing an ethnically diverse workforce (8), cultural values and beliefs (7), recruitment (4) and acculturation (3). Research under this theme revealed issues related to the management of a diverse range of people who come from different racial and ethnic backgrounds as well as different values, beliefs, and cultural norms.

Managing an Ethnically Diverse Workforce

This category includes the experiences of managers and employees who work in ethnically diverse environments. Findings suggest that companies who value diversity will retain higher numbers of employees and managers (Christensen, 1993). Hotel managers suggest effective practices cater to minority employees (Iverson, 2000); promote a positive and inclusive climate in the workplace (Madera et al., 2016), and utilize informal identity-conscious practices for recruitment (Manoharan et al., 2014). Employees also experience higher job satisfaction when the workplace is ethnically diverse (Hsiao et al., 2017, 2020) and Withiam (1993) suggests that work/life balance can be achieved if managers win employee loyalty and promote a flexible schedule.

Cultural Values and Beliefs

Research under this sub-theme explores the effect of cultural values and beliefs on various service quality attributes predominantly in a restaurant context. Focusing on the importance of creating a multicultural environment, Welch, Tanke and Glover (1988) finds that a multiethnic, multiracial, and multicultural society will give a cross-cultural perspective on successful management. Studies highlight the need for hospitality organizations to develop shared cultural values in mission and philosophy since it is a proactive strategy (Lee & Sparks, 2007). Importantly, although the needs of each culture vary, gaining a deeper understanding of consumer's cultural values and experiences will enable businesses to customize service offerings that are profitable long term (Hoare, Butcher, & O'Brien, 2011; Kuo & Cranage, 2010). For example, considering the likelihood of customers to boycott products from cultures offending their own, Kim (2019) and Kim and Li (2020) found that animosity beliefs significantly affect switching intention both directly and indirectly through negative emotion of a certain ethnicity. Similarly, Khoo-Lattimore and Prayag (2018) found that the motives for going on girlfriend getaways were heterogeneous by nationality and ethnicity.

Recruitment

Studies within this sub-theme examine minority recruitment issues in hospitality. To begin, Buncom (1969) discussed opportunities offered to Negro youths in the hospitality industry. Twenty-eight years later, the next article published under this sub-theme interviewed a small sample of African American general managers in the hotel industry (n=16), inviting them to share their experiences and offer suggestions on how to increase opportunities for Black hospitality students and managers (Charles & McCleary, 1997). Six years later, Schmitt (2003) proposed a non-traditional recruitment procedure to show how paper-based vs simulation tests affect employee selection. Recognizing the diversity dilemma in hospitality, Madera and Abbott (2012) applied Ricci vs DeStefano US supremecourt case to recommend a more complete selection process. The findings reveal that minorities were under-represented in upper-level management

positions (Buncom, 1969; Charles & McCleary, 1997). Unfortunately, this still holds true today. Madera and Abbott (2012) propose six steps hospitality employers can use to avoid liability: (1) conduct a thorough job analysis, (2) use alternative test techniques, (3) combine types of assessments, (4) assume responsibility for the validation process, (5) set cutoff scores and (6) monitor for adverse impact. To add to these techniques, Schmitt (2003) encourages non-traditional processes (e.g. simulations), since this can reduce differences between Black and White applicants for service positions.

Acculturation

This sub-theme focuses on articles that discuss how people assimilate to different cultures. Findings reveal that respondents' acculturation status influences their reaction to the service failure; particularly, saving face was important for Chinese Americans who follow a separation strategy compared to those assimilated with the main culture (Weber, Hsu, & Sparks, 2014, 2016). Drawing on social inclusion theory to analyze arts attendance of six ethnic communities in Australia, Le, Polonsky and Arambewela (2015) found that strong desires to home cultures vs host or other cultures were prevalent among African, Vietnamese, Chinese and Indian participants, while Italian and Greek respondents embraced links with host and other cultures. The authors highlight the importance of understanding acculturation and cultural contexts when engaging people from various ethnic groups.

Perceiving Authenticity

Perceiving authenticity refers to experiences in the hospitality industry where customers and/or employees are put in a position to decide whether a person, product or service is deemed as authentic to its marketed racial or ethnic origins. This major theme is represented by 9 articles across two sub-themes – appearance and authenticity perceptions (5) and ethnic food preferences (4).

Appearance and Authenticity Perceptions

Research in this section examines the effects of race-based and service-related attributes that influence authenticity perceptions and customer behavior in a restaurant context. Based on Kim and Baker's (2017) findings, customers perceive food, employee, and culture of the ethnic restaurant more authentically when they are served by a provider whose appearance corresponds with the ethnic background of the restaurant. On one hand, language, ethnic appearance and smile positively affect perceptions of authenticity (Baker & Kim, 2018), while on the other hand, the effectiveness of authentic menu labeling varies based on consumers' need for cognitive closure (NFCC) (Choi, Liu, & Matilla, 2018). Going beyond perceptions of authenticity, Magnini, Baker and Karande (2013) finds that Caucasian men with facial hair were perceived as more attractive than African American men. Likewise, Kim, Bae, and Kim (2017) find that regardless of participants' race, customers in business attire are perceived as better tippers and treated better than customers in casual attire.

Ethnic Food Preferences

This sub-theme captures people's response to various ethnic food options. Findings suggest that although people across various middle eastern ethnicities (e.g., Emirates, Arab, Urdu speaking and

English speaking) are demanding ethnic food choices from their homes, the growth in demand will vary per ethnic group, household income, living arrangement (Haq et al., 2014) and socio-demographic profile (Kim et al., 2016). Particularly, ethnic food's novelty and diverse experience factors significantly influence customer satisfaction, revisit intentions and Korea's image (Hwang et al., 2018). Khoo-Lattimore et al., (2016) also finds that similarity in perceptions of food close to reference sample culture plays a vital role in food preference (e.g., Taiwanese and Malaysian Chinese) (Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2016).

Theory

Almost half of the studies reviewed had at least one reference to a theory (24 of the 52 studies). The first study utilizes private discourse theory to uncover racist rituals in restaurant's organizational structure that governs the Black American restaurant experience (Dirks & Rice, 2004). Following a two-year gap in studies on race and ethnicity issues, there was an uptick of studies in 2007 applying theories (for e.g., Lee & Sparks, 2007). The findings reveal that the theoretical background of research on race and ethnicity is interdisciplinary, with most theories grounded in social psychology, noticeable in studies published after 2011. The most prevalent of the theories was theory of acculturation, which was used in four studies to assess Black-White socio-economic difference and tipping behavior (Lynn, Pugh, & William, 2012), investigate the potential of successful globalization of ethnic Korean food (Hwang et al., 2018), and respond to service failures in different service settings among Chinese American travelers (Weber et al., 2014, 2016). Social identity theory was also used in three studies to further classify people from various ethnic groups to give insights on how certain attributes affect work related outcomes (e.g., turnover intention, innovation, financial effectiveness) (Hsiao et al., 2020; Manoharan et al., 2019) and customer responses to service failure (Weber et al., 2014). The theories were predominantly used in quantitative research designs to explain study findings and rarely as a means to unearth or improve understanding of race and ethnicity issues. Noticeably none of the studies applied a critical perspective to represent a move toward multiple social lenses and unpack how marginalized voices are represented (Table 4). An overview of future theoretical implications are provided in the discussion section.

Table 4. Theories/Frameworks used in Race and Ethnicity Publications

Theory/Framework	Number of publications	Percentage (%)
Theory of acculturation	4	13.8%
Social identity theory	3	5.8%
Cognitive appraisal theory	2	6.9%
Attribution model	1	3.4%
Bourgeois theory	1	3.4%
Value-Belief-Norm theory	1	3.4%
Cognitive schemas	1	3.4%
Cultural diversity in organization	1	3.4%
Dimensions of authenticity	1	3.4%
Discourse theory	1	3.4%
Herzberg's two factor theory	1	3.4%
Household production model	1	3.4%
Link verbal and non-verbal language	1	3.4%
Means-end chain (laddering theory)	1	3.4%
Need for cognitive closure	1	3.4%
Norm Awareness	1	3.4%
Organizational justice theory	1	3.4%
Private discourse	1	3.4%
Self-determination theory	1	3.4%
Social inclusion theory	1	3.4%
Social norm	1	3.4%
Distinctiveness theory	1	3.4%
World systems theory	1	3.4%
Total	29	100%
Total number of studies using theory*	24	46%
Total number of studies using no theory	26	54%

*The total exceeds the total number of articles using theory reviewed ($n = 24$) as some studies used multiple theories.

Research Methods

Table 5 presents Creswell's (2013) classification of the research methods used. Most of the studies are empirical (76%), while 24% are non-empirical. Of the empirical studies, most followed a quantitative research design (47%), followed by qualitative (16%), and mixed methods (6%). Among the non-empirical studies, 19.2% are conceptual papers, and 3.8% are review studies. Particularly, the two review studies featured were examined in a restaurant context focusing specifically on SES in tipping behavior and race-based discrimination against restaurant customers. Accordingly, our study expanded on these findings to show that tipping and discrimination are indeed a subset of a broader system that race and ethnicity research will need to address (see figure 4). For quantitative research designs, both online (37%) and offline (12%) survey-based studies were prevalent. However, few studies used experimental (4%) or econometric (2%) designs. For studies with qualitative designs, interviews were most prevalent

(12%). Few publications applied case studies (2%) and field studies (2%), indicating that these methods are under-represented in race and ethnicity research.

Table 5. Methodology in Race and Ethnicity Research

Research Design	Research Method	No. of articles	Percentage (%)
Qualitative	Interviews	6	11.5%
	Case study	1	1.9%
	Field study	1	1.9%
	Online survey	19	36.5%
Quantitative	Paper survey	4	7.7%
	Telephone survey	2	3.8%
	Experimental design	2	3.8%
	Multi-level modeling	1	1.9%
	Empirical modeling	1	1.9%
Mixed-Methods	Quasi-experimental	3	5.8%
Conceptual		10	19.2%
Review		2	3.8%
Total		52	100%

Suggestions for future research design on race and ethnicity is to utilize more phenomenological approaches that would capture the lived experiences of participants. There was also an absence of longitudinal research designs, except for one study that reviewed two prior studies to assess the role of socioeconomic status variable in black-white tipping differences (Lynn et al., 2012). Although cross sectional data are relatively more convenient, they can lead to biased conclusions (Maxwell & Cole, 2007), whereas longitudinal studies follow the complete development process and turning point of issues over a period of time. Another suggestion is to consider using multisource data to triangulate findings on race and ethnicity issues to increase the robustness of the study.

Theoretical Implications

Informed by critical theory, this study set out to understand how race and ethnicity were studied and represented within five major hospitality journals. Critical theory was used to highlight the possibility of hospitality management research taking a more critical turn to expose potent racial and ethnic counternarratives to the traditional broad scope of diversity management. Pushing the boundaries of systematic reviews, this study advocates for a critical examination of how race and ethnicity issues have progressed in scholarly research over the past half a century. Taking a critical theoretical approach is essential, in that it gives a voice to historically underrepresented groups in literature and serves to advance along with the current changes in society, by disrupting imperialistic governance which impose policies that inadvertently suppress the experiences of BIPOC in the hospitality industry.

From the systematic review, the evolution of research on race and ethnicity in hospitality literature has taken either an isolated or systemic approach. Studies along the extreme end of the systemic approach spectrum addressed issues pertaining to racism and discrimination that developed from

structural issues within the larger system of the hospitality industry. Nevertheless, these studies were limited in addressing a wide range of racial and discriminatory issues that are currently being experienced by BIPOC in the hospitality industry. Although recent studies are now seeking to separate systemic from isolated discriminatory experiences (e.g., Brewster & Brauer, 2017; Brewster & Wang, 2020), and calling attention to non-compliance implications for students pursuing a hospitality career (Shum et al., 2020), the racism and discrimination theme was saturated with studies exploring Black-White tipping differences, primarily from the perspective of the restaurant service providers (e.g., servers and food delivery drivers) (Dirks & Rice, 2004; Lynn & Brewster, 2015; Lynn, Pugh & Williams, 2012). Markedly, although some scholars alluded to the systemic issues that hinder progress in understanding Black-White tipping differences (Dirks & Rice, 2004; Lynn & Brewster, 2015; Lynn, Pugh & Williams, 2012), the systems themselves were not explored. Incorporating the tenets of critical theory, this is particularly important to note as a downfall of race-related research on tipping in the hospitality industry as we are currently living through a time in society when continued structural inequities, especially for BIPOC populations are being magnified.

Furthermore, these studies exclude historical and systemic issues around socio-economic challenges or wages of restaurant workers that force them to be reliant on tips instead of a salary - the complete absence of a critical analysis or theoretical lens. Going beyond these issues, the recent outbreak of COVID-19 as a global pandemic certainly adds another level of systemic concerns for marginalized populations (e.g., health and location-based limitations) (Benjamin, Dillette & Alderman, 2020; Sinclair-Maragh & Bernard Simpson, 2021). Indeed, there is an opportunity to explicitly measure racial discrimination using empirical methodologies. For example, more than half of the studies reviewed were non-empirical (e.g., commentaries), over-emphasized Black-White tipping differences and alluded to systemic cases of employment discrimination and harassment experienced by people based on skin color, ethnic origin, or ability without precise measures. This creates an interesting challenge for future research to address in that the definitions may vary depending on the cultural context. There is also a need for more studies to reflect the experiences of other marginalized racial and ethnic groups (e.g., LatinX, Asians, Arabs) outside the U.S. to examine impacts from a global perspective (Paradies et al., 2015).

Studies along the extreme end of the isolated approach spectrum focused on more specific case studies not necessarily baked into the hierarchy of systems and privilege inherent to systemic issues. These studies highlight external characteristics related to race and/or ethnicity such as perceptions of authentic menu labelling and ethnic food preferences within a hospitality service experience (e.g., physical appearance of service providers, physical characteristics of menu, (Kim & Baker, 2017, 2018; Haq et al., 2014; Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2016), without considering historical or internal factors that inadvertently influence perceptions of authenticity (e.g., cultural background, beliefs, personality traits). There are opportunities for future studies to go beyond the surface to understand differences in authenticity perceptions for several hospitality services outside the restaurant context. Furthermore, since the majority of these studies were conducted in Eastern and Southern contexts (e.g., China, Malaysian, Australia), exploring these issues in Western societies that represent a melting pot of people from various race and ethnic backgrounds could add considerably to research in this area.

Studies taking on a neutral perspective to race and ethnicity issues focused on managing diversity for various ethnic and racial groups. These studies explored processes hospitality businesses can

implement to better manage ethnically diverse employees, appeal to ethnically diverse consumers with various value and belief orientations and avoid liability. In particular, scholars agree that implementing strategies to manage and attract people from various ethnic backgrounds will ultimately create more value for hospitality businesses and customers. However, the literature tends to focus on *softer* issues pertaining to *Managing an ethnically diverse workforce, cultural values and beliefs*, without exploring some of the more embedded systemic issues of inequality – for example code-switching (the ability of a person to switch between languages or dialects to meet communication needs. It also is the alteration of clothes, hairstyles and music from one environment to another to be accepted) in the workplace (Boulton, 2016) or the small percentages of BIPOC in hospitality C-suite positions (The Castell Project, 2020). Turning the lens on the representation and accountability of leadership teams, and the power that they have to create an equitable landscape will work toward emancipation and well-being. This is one of the main tenets of critical theory which elucidates how crucial power is when it comes to shaping an inclusive landscape. Thus, it is critical that these industries hold themselves accountable and hire marginalized populations in these powerful, leadership positions.

It was surprising to note that theories were mostly applied in a quantitative context although race and ethnicity in this review is regarded as a relatively embryonic area of study within hospitality literature. Discernibly, few qualitative studies applied theory, with neither of them using grounded theory, critical theory or critical race theory, that are relevant for advancing knowledge on this research topic.

Managerial Implications

The data provided in this study are of value to industry practitioners and hospitality scholars for two main reasons. First, the literature draws attention to the under-representation of studies delving deeply into societal issues currently being experienced in the hospitality industry. For example, there is a paradox regarding the insufficient number of BIPOC in higher positions, despite the fact that 25.5% of hospitality and leisure employees are Hispanic or Lateen, 13.5% Black or African American, and 7.3% Asian (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Therefore, industry practitioners are encouraged to recruit more BIPOC in higher positions and create programs for meaningful support that will increase retention and work to change the narrative of opportunities available for marginalized populations, as opposed to creating steps simply to avoid liability. The results of this paper can help managers develop training programs that are sensitive to the needs of specific racial and ethnic groups. For example, this work should include identity-conscious practices that can be implemented to boost recruitment of ethnically diverse employees (Manoharan et al., 2014)

Second, the industry can tackle recruitment and turnover issues beginning with hospitality education programs. As indicated through several studies, increasing awareness of all parties involved can initiate discussions and subsequent policies that can effect change (Lynn, 2012). Both industry and academia should work together to address race and ethnicity issues affecting students pursuing careers in hospitality management, and their role in contributing to the industry problems mentioned above. For example, a recent study finds that minority students enrolled in a hospitality program felt more dissatisfied with their educational experience compared to White students, despite diversity management initiatives (Shum et al., 2020). Although this is an isolated case, it would be fruitful to explore why or if these differences exist in other hospitality

programs and whether it is a systemic issue. Institutions can start by redesigning their curriculum to reflect the needs of all students, ensuring that there is representation at all levels (e.g., hiring more Black and LatinX faculty in teaching positions). Also, reflecting on where the institutions have been recruiting in the past, can provide insights into how they can move forward to update their current recruitment strategies. Also, industry can expand their support for several minority groups by funding new business ideas and diversifying leadership roles at the top management positions.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

While this study does provide pertinent critical insight into the current landscape of race and ethnicity research across the hospitality management field, notable limitations do exist. Although this literature review was systematic, its focus only includes five major hospitality journals. Though by intentional design, it does limit the generalizability of this work as it inherently excludes articles that may have been published in other hospitality journals that fell outside the scope of this study. This work does however provide a benchmark for future research to move beyond these journals and explore the topic across a wider range of journals, thus providing a platform for comparative analysis on this topic area. In addition to the future directions highlighted in the theoretical implications section of this review, it would be interesting to review those studies on race and ethnicity published outside these five major journals as opposed to those published within. Furthermore, the race and ethnicity issues across different cultures and countries are very different. Although this study does include publications across various countries, it does predominantly focus on the U.S. making the findings more regionally applicable rather than internationally. Future research should address these geographical and cultural differences more directly, perhaps focusing specifically on one country or region outside of the United States.

Further to addressing these issues, future studies must seek to respond to the following questions for hospitality research on race and ethnicity to take a critical turn: Why is there hesitancy to talk specifically about systemic racial and ethnic issues facing the hospitality industry? Who are the gatekeepers of knowledge, or the production of knowledge, that may hold the power to highlighting more critical work in this arena? And how do we move forward with this work and not create a divisive environment along the way?

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