

## **TOURISM WORK, MEDIA & COVID-19: A CHANGED NARRATIVE?**

### **ABSTRACT**

Major crises, such as COVID-19, have had a dramatic impact on tourism work. This paper investigates changes in news media reporting of tourism work from pre-pandemic norms, employing McQuail's classification for media and mass communications. We interrogate 664 news articles across two comparative periods. Findings indicate that news media themes in 2019 were often found in the 'soft news' sections, whereas the 2020 news elevated into 'hard news' sections, highlighting job losses, precarious work and community spirit. The analysis points to a more sympathetic narrative in the media about tourism employment. Theoretically, the paper is original in applying McQuail's media classification to tourism employment in a crisis context, contributing to our understanding of potential impacts of news media reporting.

### **KEYWORDS:**

Tourism work; tourism employment; industry image; COVID-19; news media

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

COVID-19's disruption had a catastrophic impact on tourism (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2021), and its workforce. Estimates suggest that at least 100 million tourism jobs worldwide were directly affected (World Travel & Tourism Council, 'WTTC', 2020). The actual figures may be far greater than this when tourism's informal sector, and sharing economy as well as indirect and induced employment effects, are factored in. Yet for years, leading tourism commentators have lamented the poor and negative public perceptions of employment in the tourism sector – and by extension – implicating low skills, poor working conditions, lack of security and career

progression, uncompetitive wages, and unsociable working hours (see Baum, 2007; Ladkin, 2011). The notoriously precarious tourism workforce (Robinson, Martins, Solnet & Baum, 2019), a consequence of seasonality, sector informality, required mobility, technology substitution or business failure, generally attracts negative media attention (Mejia et al., 2021).

Media reporting has powerful influences on industry image. Television contributes to commonly held world views, values, and broader outlooks (Signorielli, 2009). Equally, print media shapes public perceptions and is particularly useful to examine because its reporting is more elaborate, thus shaping opinions on complex topics (e.g., climate change, Pasquaré & Oppizzi, 2012). Yet media can normalise (tourism) discourses in often distorted (Cohen, Hanna & Gössling, 2018) and harmful (Small, 2017) ways. Despite overwhelmingly poor perceptions of tourism employment, little research has explored the role of media potentially shaping such views. Compounding this appraisal of tourism work, and the role of media in shaping them, are the impacts of crises (Ritchie & Jiang, 2019). There is a body of literature in tourism that laments the heavy-handed nature of media in (arguably over) reporting crisis, which can negatively impact visitor demand (see McKercher & Chon, 2004 re SARS; Maximilian 2010, re Swine Flu).

Given that media can be a key vector for industry imaging, convoluted in the (COVID-19) crisis context, it is reasonable to expect that tourism employment narratives might be even more negatively portrayed. Framed by McQuail's media communication tenets (McQuail & Deuze, 2020) and drawing on the reciprocal and discursive influence of media on tourism-related public perceptions (Cohen et al., 2018), this study explores whether crises, as conveyed in news media, impact on the image of tourism industry work and its workforce. We also offer original analysis by exploring the explanatory utility of media communications framings in tourism and, specifically of employment in the sector.

Thus, this paper aims to analyse news media reporting of tourism employment during COVID-19 – and asks whether and how news media reporting may potentially alter or reframe long-standing pre-pandemic narratives on tourism, and hospitality work. To undertake our review of news media reporting, ten world cities were selected as proxies for how tourism employment was represented during two corresponding windows, the first pre-COVID in 2019 and the second window corresponding approximately with the first wave of the pandemic in most jurisdictions in 2020. Conclusions are extrapolated that inform a gap in understanding of a) media narratives of

tourism employment, b) the effects of crises on the tourism workforce (Ritchie & Jiang, 2019), and c) whether media narratives during a crisis may potentially alter perceptions of tourism employment.

## 2. TOURISM EMPLOYMENT CHALLENGES

Tourism employment remains overlooked by researchers relative to its importance to the industry (Baum, Kralj, Robinson & Solnet, 2016). The employment and economic benefits of tourism are well understood; however, there are well-known downsides to tourism employment as it is often considered a sector characterised by precarity (Lee, Hampton & Jeyacheya, 2015; Robinson et al., 2019). Moreover, tourism employment is often the nexus of social and economic disadvantage for; women, youth, ethnic minorities, migrants, those with disability and workers in the unregulated informal (McDowell, Batnitzky & Dyer, 2009) and gig economies (Riordan, Robinson & Hoffstaedter, 2022). Consequently, staff shortages are a perennial industry challenge (Baum et al., 2016).

Precarious work has increasingly become a framing concept capturing broader industrial conditions such as the insecurity, uncertainty and instability of work, and of diminishing worker entitlements, representation and protections (e.g., Vosko, 2010; Wacquant, 2014). This framing is pertinent as there are profound social, economic, and political implications of precarious work, for example, on welfare systems, labour market dynamics and disenfranchised populism, respectively (Kalleberg & Vallas, 2018) besides the disabling individual-level impacts (see Alberti, Bessa, Hardy, Trappmann, & Umney, 2018). A significant proportion of work, and occupations, in tourism are low skill, low pay, vulnerable to cyclical economic downturns and seasonality (Rasheed et al., 2020).

The relationship between tourism employment and crises, however, is a lacuna (Ritchie & Jiang, 2019), despite mega-threat natural disasters such as tsunamis, hurricanes, and earthquakes as well as those induced by human actions such as terrorist attacks and economic recessions that regularly blight tourism flows. Prophetically, given the profound impacts of the COVID-19 crisis, Ritchie (2009) cautioned that future biological threats (to animals and humans alike) were a very real threat that had been ignored – and to date, no significant research advances have been evident to aid human, or workforce-related, recovery from crises (Ritchie & Jiang, 2019).

Tourism, while having well-documented positive social benefits for communities, faces risks from such major crises, including the imperilment of employment opportunities. For instance, the 9/11 attacks in 2001 resulted in 500,000 US jobs losses (Blake & Sinclair, 2003), and SARS induced up to 43% tourism job losses in South-East Asian economies (WTTC, 2019). While tourism bounced back quickly from these crises, none have been as global, nor as sustained, as COVID-19 (Brouder, 2020). Our contention, then, is that crisis will amplify the precarity of tourism work - and that the ways in which news media portrays tourism employment during a crisis are crucial to better understand the framing of precarious work. There are consequently theoretical implications to explore precarious work and tourism employment both discreetly and at the intersections of news media.

### 3. NEWS MEDIA

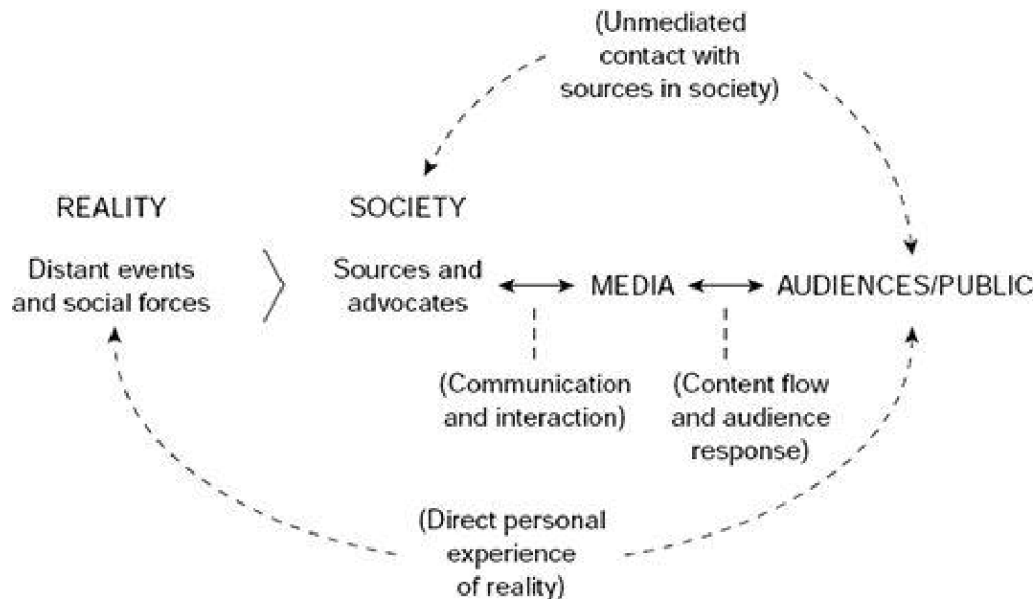
This study is based on the analysis of content in what have been, historically, print manifestations (but today also online) of “mainstream or legacy news media” (Holt, Figenschou & Frischlich, 2019, p.861). These sources consciously exclude the same authors’ consideration of the other end of the news media spectrum, that of ‘alternative news media’. They define mainstream news media “as a societal system that is formed by specific legacy news media organisations which themselves are characterised by certain, often hierarchical, organisational structures and traditional publishing routines” (p.2). Unlike many alternative and social media outlets, which are increasingly global in their coverage and influence, mainstream news media traditionally has proximal links to the location (city or country) (Lacy, Watson & Riffe, 2011) and, therefore, facilitates our objective in providing news media perspectives of how work and employment in tourism were framed during the COVID-19 pandemic across geographically heterogenous locations. Likewise, mainstream news media represent established political and cultural orthodoxy, frequently associated with a place but presenting a recognised and recognisable voice. By contrast, alternative and social media tends towards the anarchic and is less accountable to place (Schäfer & Gardner, 2021). We also build on wider considerations of news media engagement with crises (An & Gower, 2009), where the framing of news coverage (attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality, and economic) and level of responsibility (individual and organisational) resonate well with our own analytical aspirations in

this paper. Likewise, our discussion also contributes to a wider analysis of the representation of the pandemic as a crisis in the news media.

This study draws on theoretical frameworks for the study of media communications attributable to the work of McQuail and colleagues (see, for example, McQuail & Deuze, 2020). The extant (but non-tourism) literature is relevant here in its application of McQuail's work. For example, Hawdon, Agnich and Ryan (2014), in addressing the representation of tragedy, note the importance of McQuail's emphasis on geographical and cultural proximity, in framing media representation. Likewise, drawing on McQuail's work, Essers (2009) makes a point that lies at the heart of our comparative analysis of tourism employment reporting, namely that "changes in real-world conditions lead to changes in reporting patterns and story narratives" (p.716). Again, Fahmy, Kelly and Kim (2007) highlight that "McQuail explained that media tend to personalise complicated events in an effort to make them both more understandable and attractive to readers" (p.549). McQuail, therefore, provides a perspective on news media that can be applied effectively to tourism contexts.

Our analysis resonates with McQuail's mediation or filtration metaphor, that media relays second- or third-hand versions of events and conditions which we cannot directly observe ourselves – or as a mediation between a person, the environment (crisis being a case in point) and a shared social reality. Second, that news media provides signposts, or interpretative value, allowing the public to make sense of what is otherwise 'distant' or puzzling. This is particularly pertinent at (confusing) times of crisis. And third, that society is dependent on media to help form the basis of a symbolic environment – ordering the interactions and relationships between phenomena and institutional actors (McQuail, 1985) (See Figure 1 as an illustration). Thus, we propose potential value in framing this review through a social constructivist lens, in terms of which Hjarvard (2008) similarly argues that without some degree of shared perceptions of reality (often through the news media), whatever its origin, there cannot really be an 'organised social

life'. In other words, media becomes a means of integrating other social institutions in a lived narrative.



**Figure 1.** Media and society (McQuail, 2010, p.86).

There is, to our knowledge, no consolidated or commonly accepted authority on how news media frames *tourism employment* and, how news media may impact employment-related perceptions and behaviour. In a general context, Hodgetts and Chamberlain (2014) argue that, in assessing the role of news media in society, we need to think beyond simple impact and understand that media devices and content are absorbed into social life and become part of the dynamics of daily practice. In doing so, outcomes are framed in ways that highlight certain messages to the exclusion of others (Oh & Zhou, 2012). These arguments align with McQuail above in emphasising the range of lenses that shape news media representation of phenomena. Several themes in the literature suggest that tourism is no different to other industries regarding broader media impacts. For example, Schweinsberg, Darcy and Cheng (2017) consider the role of news media in framing the debate about tourism in protected areas; Mayer, Bichler, Pikkemaat and Peters (2021) analysed the role of news media in framing public debates about destination image, sustainability and geopolitics, and Avraham (2000) addresses imagery induced by news media in framing the perceptions of cities held by the general public, decision makers and local residents.

## 4. METHODS

### *4.1. Overview of research method*

Drawing on previous approaches to news media analysis (e.g., An & Gower, 2009; Quandt, 2008; De Benedictis, Orgad, & Rottenberg, 2019) and particularly news media analysis in tourism (e.g., Chen, Huang, & Li, 2022; Salem, Elkhwesky, & Ramkissoon, 2022), we conducted a content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). In our analysis, we recognise three aspects of news media content analysis; content as information, content as hidden meaning (semiology) and quantitative content analysis of published material (McQuail, 2010). Our approach focuses on the quantitative and informational aspects of content analysis, but we are also drawn into a semiological discussion in our conclusions.

Through the analysis of media articles covered in a 60-day period over two corresponding time periods from ten cities across five continents, we present a comparative snapshot of tourism employment-related phenomena during two discrete periods in 2019 (prior to the global pandemic) and 2020 (during the pandemic). Content analysis has been used extensively to study news media (Schreier, 2012). For example, research has adopted this method to study the news media reporting of SARS (Zhang & Fleming, 2005) and news media reporting of the sharing economy in tourism and hospitality (Cheng & Edwards, 2017). In addition, this research method is particularly suitable to examine matters that evolve over months or years (Schneider et al., 2010), such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

Drawing on prior news media analysis approaches and established processes (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014), we undertook the following steps that included identifying the topic and scope; identifying key themes followed by coding and cross-checking; ordering themes and constructing a new analytic story and finally, presenting an overall interpretation of the findings in relation to existing knowledge and practice.

### *4.2 Data collection*

Following practices adopted in recent news media analysis research (e.g., Mayer et al., 2021), attention was given to a careful selection of media source coverage to ensure sample diversity

and geographical scope. Sampling was purposeful, considering the research team's language capabilities and ready access to local media through an established source. Ten global cities were selected: London, Madrid, New York, Los Angeles, Sydney, Cape Town, Hong Kong, Beijing, Singapore, and Santiago (Chile). The aim was to provide a snapshot of news sources located in areas heavily affected by COVID-19, and to achieve geographic diversity, with representation from each of the major continents.

We used *Factiva*, an online international news database commonly used for media analysis studies (e.g., De Jong & Varley, 2017; Peel & Steen, 2007), that provided access to a wide range of information from newspapers, newswires, industry publications and web-based news. The search terms for *Factiva* were selected in line with the research purpose and informed by a recent systematic review of the tourism workforce (Baum et al., 2016). The broad search terms (see Appendix A) included 1) job role-related (e.g., tour guide, flight attendant, chef, and steward), 2) job status-related (e.g., changes, lay-off, redundancy, furlough), and 3) general employment (e.g., workforce, vocation, employment). For searches in non-English news sources, the search terms were translated from English into Spanish or Chinese by bilingual authors. To ensure face validity, independent bilingual scholars confirmed the translated terms. News items identified included both syndicated national and international reports and bespoke, locally harvested news.

To ensure that the news articles captured the initial impact of COVID-19 and to reduce the sample to a manageable size, we selected media articles published between 11 March 2020, the date when WHO announced COVID-19 as a global pandemic, and 10 May 2020, 60 days following this announcement. This period captures the early outbreak of COVID-19 in most of the selected cities (WHO, 2020). The same period for 2019 was chosen for comparative analysis. An industry filter, provided in *Factiva*, was used to limit the search to tourism, including lodgings, restaurants, amusement parks, tourist or historical sites, passenger airlines and the cruise sector. Search terms were assessed in article titles, main subheadings and the lead paragraph and excluded reproduced/syndicated articles, articles of market data and sports-related content.

After applying these filters, 895 news articles (226 in 2019 and 669 in 2020) were identified across the ten locations. These articles were further checked by the research team, to ensure each article related explicitly to tourism workers, rendering a total of 664 news articles (141 in 2019



and 523 in 2020) for analysis. For example, a news story with the keyword ‘worker’ was selected by *Factiva* in our search for Beijing, but upon closer screening showed that this news is about a stadium called ‘Beijing Worker’s Stadium’. In such cases, the articles were removed. Table 1 presents the number of articles as well as the percentage identified in each location using the search criteria and the subsequent number of articles that met the research objective and were subsequently retrieved.

**Table 1**

Articles retrieved from *Factiva*

	Total news articles retrieved				
	2019		2020		% Diff.
Beijing	9	13%	59	87%	74%
Hong Kong	55	25%	166	75%	50%
Madrid	8	9%	83	91%	82%
Santiago	1	100%	0	0%	-100%
Los Angeles	2	9%	21	91%	83%
Cape Town	0	0%	2	100%	100%
New York	9	18%	42	82%	65%
Singapore	23	29%	57	71%	43%
London	24	35%	45	65%	30%
Sydney	10	17%	48	83%	66%
<b>Total</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>523</b>	<b>79%</b>	<b>58%</b>

#### 4.3 Data analysis

Procedures were informed by Hodgetts and Chamberlain (2014)’s news media analysis. Data analysis in this research included two stages. Stage one addressed basic descriptive information, including article title, publication date, and the section location of the article where applicable (e.g., News, Leisure, and Tourism). Then we coded news articles based on their subject across several key areas of interest. Specifically, informed by our research purpose and the literature on tourism employment, a predefined list of subjects of interest was developed. The subject classifications assessed whether the topic was labelled as appropriate to its focus on one or more of either industry segments, a specific organisation, workers in general, individual workers (see Table 2). In cases where articles had more than one subject classification, these were coded as “others”. In addition to the subject, the researchers also coded the tones of articles (i.e., positive, neutral, or negative). For example, articles focusing on the frustration of furloughs and un/under-

employment were coded as negative, while articles focused on industry coordination, solidarity, and community support were coded as positive. While coding for the subject classifications and the tone of the articles, we follow the practice in the prior media analysis research (e.g., Mejia et al., 2021), where each member of the research team first agreed on the criteria for the coding; then, several randomly chosen news articles were allocated to all researchers in the team for pilot testing the agreed coding criteria. A series of video (Zoom) meetings were conducted to cross-check coding, discuss discrepancies, and clarify coding criteria. Several iterations were conducted until consensus was achieved. Following the agreed criteria for coding the subject and tone, the authors undertook the coding independently with the randomly assigned cities and finalised the coding. We note rather significant disparity across the different cities in terms of the number of media articles. A potential explanation for this phenomenon is that the general health and economic impacts of COVID-19 were, in some cities more of a priority than workers in an industry sector that up to that point was often considered in marginal areas of the economy. There is also the possibility that there will be a lag in terms of the impacts on different groups in society, or simply that various media view this matter with varying levels of importance.

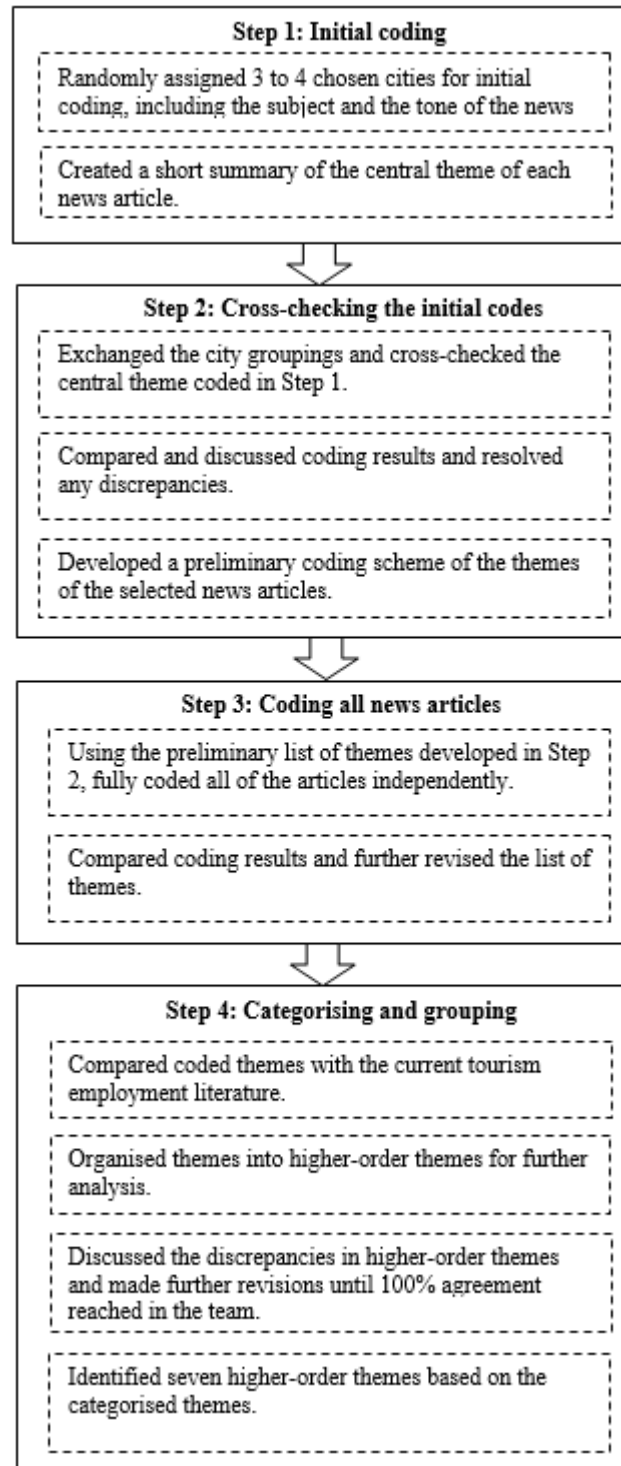
**Table 2**  
Subject classification with example

Subject of the news articles	2019: Example news articles title	2020: Example news articles
Organisation	<i>(Los Angeles): Panda Express looking to fill 1,300 jobs in Los Angeles, Orange counties.</i>	<i>(Madrid): Pepa Muñoz: chef, leader and with ideas for when the pandemic passes</i>
Industry	<i>(Hong Kong): [Hong Kong Tourism] The turnover rate of hotel staff is nearly 35%. The industry advocates the introduction of technology to improve operations</i>	<i>(Cape town): COVID-19 quick insights from 28 April</i>
Government	<i>(Bei Jing): Beijing Municipal Bureau of Culture and Tourism focus on cracking down illegal one-day trips</i>	<i>(Santiago): Supreme Court agrees with Lan Express workers' union in conflict over early strike</i>
Worker in general	<i>(Singapore): Random alcohol testing (of pilots): What about substance abuse?</i>	<i>(Sydney) Will merchant and military vessels be the next corona maritime challenge?</i>
Individual workers	<i>(Hong Kong) The chef emphasizes a methodical response to agility and hard work</i>	<i>(New York) Danny Meyer Misses Bumping into People</i>

The second analysis stage employed an inductive thematic coding approach (Flick, 2002), involving four steps (see Figure 2). First, each researcher was randomly assigned to either three

or four of the chosen cities for initial coding and tasked to identify and create a short summary of the news article's central theme. Each article had a primary theme, with some news articles also having a secondary theme. For example, a news article about job losses for food service staff may also have a focus on the generosity of some organisations or cross-sector collaboration. In step two, the team exchanged the city groupings and cross-checked assigned coded themes. The researchers continually checked back with each other via video conferences to compare codes, corroborate emerging themes, and discuss discrepancies. In the final cross-check, 12 news articles (of 141) in 2019 and 21 (of 523) in 2020 were deemed as not fitting any primary or secondary theme, hence were removed. Through this step, a preliminary coding scheme of the theme of the selected news articles was developed (see 'sub-themes' in Appendix B for a complete list). In step three, using the preliminary list of themes, the researchers fully coded all the news articles independently. Additionally, the news articles relating to a particular item were placed together to examine if the theme was coherent in its own right and distinct from other themes. In the final step, the themes were first compared to the results in current tourism employment literature; then, they were organised into higher-order themes for further analysis by increasing the level of abstraction. Through this step, seven higher-order themes were identified.

Consistent with content analysis praxis (Elo et al., 2014), independent coding and triangulation procedures employed during data analysis, along with collecting suitable data in the preparation phase, ensured analytic validity. Furthermore, in the findings section, transparency was further assured by including rich descriptions of examples, providing readers with direct insights into the data (Creswell & Miller, 2000).



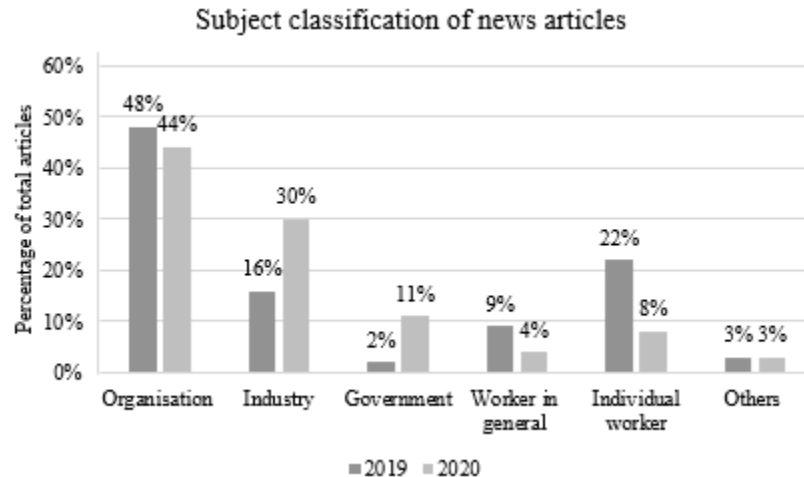
**Figure 2.** Thematic coding process

## 5. FINDINGS

### *5.1 A summary of tourism employment issues in news media reports*

Figure 3 illustrates the descriptive context (subject classifications) and thematic groupings for each of the articles across each city and both time periods. The most common subject classification across both years was the organisation, with 48% (2019) and 44% (2020) of all articles referring to organisations, consistent across cities. More specifically, in 2019, the most cited organisations were celebrity restaurants and specific airlines; while in 2020, most frequently cited were high-end restaurants, restaurant chains, specific airlines, and theme parks. The second most frequently cited subject classification differed across the two years and to some extent exhibited variations by city. In 2019, news articles on individual workers (22%), such as feature news articles about chefs or staff were second only to the organisational classification. This was followed by industry-related narratives (16%), with topic examples including airline industry labour disputes and increased diversity in the US foodservice industry. In 2019, there were only a very limited number of articles on workers in general (9%) and government (2%). In 2020, the second most cited subject classification was industry (30%), but, in contrast to 2019, when business was experiencing growth in employment, articles focused predominantly on hardship in the industry (e.g., layoffs). In addition, 2020 saw more focus on government actions and intervention (including tax and licensing reductions) as the subject of interest (11%).

There were notable nuances by cities in the 2020 sample. For example, in Beijing, a significant amount of news was related to ‘Government’ (47%), likely due to more frequent state influences on the news media; while in Los Angeles, New York and London, about half of the news focused on specific organisations, such as Disney and Starbucks. Similar patterns were observed in Singapore and Sydney, where over half of all news articles related to specific organisations, and, more specifically, airlines (i.e., Singapore Airlines and the Virgin Group).



**Figure 3.** The percentage of articles with subject classification breakdown.

Another observation was the positive or negative tone of the articles. Aligned with previous research evidence (Mayer et al., 2021), not surprisingly, but notably, there were extreme negative overtones found in the 2020 sample. For example, a significant amount of negative news was identified in Sydney with numerous articles on job losses and bankruptcy challenges faced by major airlines. Similarly, negativity was seen in Hong Kong and Singapore regarding declining revenues in restaurants/hotels and severe airline downsizing. Contrarily, glimmers of positivity were identified, even in 2020, for example, multiple news articles that highlighted solidarity, collaboration, community support and business reopening.

Generally, in terms of article location within a publication (note that not all news articles are classified in a section), the dominant sections for 2019 news articles were in Travel, Food, or Leisure sections. Conversely, in 2020, most articles featured into more prominent positions, in either News or dedicated Coronavirus sections. To illustrate the variances between years among the retrieved articles in 2019 from London, only 21% of news articles appeared in the News section, whereas in 2020, 62% of articles were included in the News or COVID-19 sections.

Finally, an in-depth analysis of the 2019 and 2020 news articles was considered thematically to highlight both similarities and divergences in media treatment of tourism and hospitality employment. To distil a systematic understanding of news media reporting of tourism employment, seven higher-order themes were identified based on the categorised themes, of which three were entirely new in 2020. The four themes that transcend two periods are *businesses*

*in flux, employee wellbeing, celebrity profiles and roles in tourism work, and changing operational environments in tourism.* Three emergent themes in 2020 are *tourism work in policy formation and implementation, tourism workers and the community, and at the frontline – is tourism work safe?* These themes represent the key issues in tourism employment (reflecting on a time without COVID-19 and a time with COVID-19). These themes and sub-themes with exemplar news titles are summarised in Appendix B.

### *5.2 Integrative analysis of 2019 and 2020 media reports*

#### *5.2.1 Theme 1: Businesses in flux*

Coverage of the business context in 2019 highlighted a sector that, substantially, was prospering across all the sampled cities, although some evidence of slow-down was identified. New business openings, re-openings or firm expansions characterise this theme in 2019. In each case, employment creation was at the core of media reporting. For example, Panda Express in Los Angeles created 1,300 jobs (Smith, 2019). Improved tourism flows in some sectors also triggered reports of positive employment outcomes; there are several articles on how Holy Week tourism led to record employment (e.g., “Las reservas crecen hasta un 12%”, 2019). Concomitant to employment generation operationally, new executive appointments also reflected the vitality of tourism; Virgin Australia appointed a new CEO (Wray, 2019). Echoed throughout tourism sectors, such vitality narratives prevail in tourism and tourism employment and an underpinning assumption here is what others have termed neoliberal discourses of progress, anchored by the contemporary ‘growth economy’ mantra (cf. Bianchi, 2009). While this discourse has been challenged (Gössling, Ring, Dwyer, Andersson & Hall, 2016), naturally, it flows into assumptions regarding the value that growth in tourism generates for employment (Usman, Elsalih & Koshadh, 2020).

Contrarily, some media reported increasing costs of a) labour and b) other resources required for tourism firms’ competitiveness. For example, London newspapers reported pub-chain Wetherspoons attributing its declining financial performance to their payroll (Bourke, 2019). In Asia, Beijing and Hong Kong restaurateurs complained that increases in the minimum wage and of basic commodities were hurting their bottom line (e.g., “Zuidi gongzi”, 2019). These articles mirror a general slowing of the service sectors in many economies absent in academic analysis

due to its recency. Nonetheless, tourism's fortunes are intrinsically linked with the broader economy's health (Bodie, Kane & Marcus, 2008). Professional commentators highlighted this general downturn in the hospitality sector particularly but slowed growth extrapolated to tourism (UNWTO, 2019). Interestingly, media reports suggest the industry attributes its declining performance to employment-related expenses, rather than a lack of demand or structural or managerial issues. This is a noteworthy interpretation, perhaps suggesting that the flexible and malleable nature of tourism employment can be more readily addressed at the organisational level than demand drivers that necessitate broader policy interventions (Solnet, Nickson, Robinson, Kralj & Baum, 2014).

Throughout 2020 challenges to business health dominates media reporting with postings in Hong Kong, London, Los Angeles, Madrid, New York, Singapore, and Sydney about both tourism businesses closing and employees laid off or furloughed (e.g., Sytsma, 2020; Diane, 2020). At a macro-level, there are reports of 600,000 job losses in Spain (Madrid, "La hostelería podría empezar", 2020) and tourism job losses impacting rapidly rising local unemployment levels (e.g., Hong Kong, Wang, 2020). These reports bridge announcements of major job losses in large corporations, notably airlines and restaurant chains, and closure and redundancies concerning small and more localised businesses, including high-end restaurants (e.g., New York, Moskin, 2020). Reports of airline restructuring, notably route closures with local impact (Cape Town, "Covid-19: final flight", 2020; Sydney, "Qantas extends flight suspensions", 2020) and fears over the long-term future of some carriers focus on the large scale of job losses that will result. The plight of tourism workers on casual or commission-based contracts is highlighted in the case of tour guides in Beijing, reportedly without an income of any sort over a four-month period ("Yiqing zhixia", 2020). Reports of cuts by other major tourism organisations such as Disney in Los Angeles (Diane, 2020), airlines in Singapore (Kaur, 2020) and restaurant chains in New York (Moskin, 2020) also imply major job losses.

### *5.2.2 Theme 2: Employee wellbeing*

In 2019, numerous news articles exposed employee safety in general. For instance, Beijing tourism workers raised safety awareness (Zhao, 2019), New York articles that reported on measles among flight attendants causing a comatose state (e.g., Schwartz, 2019) and wage theft, somewhat ahead of a wave of press coverage on this matter, which was covered in articles related



to Australian restaurants in the Sydney print media (Schneiders & Millar, 2019). Asian outlets also aired stories of staff exposure to health and safety breaches (e.g., food safety issue, “Chacanting die tou”, 2019), and Hong Kong’s national carrier, Cathay Pacific, unwittingly complicit in the spread of a contagious disease (“Mazhen kuosan”, 2019) – something of a portent for future events. Apparently, the media, according to our 2019 analysis, was attentive to stories pertaining to tourism worker safety, security, and wellbeing in a broader sense.

The 2019 media articles also spoke to a perennial topic in tourism – that of, on the one hand, the maltreatment of staff and on the other employee indiscretions – theoretically captured under the label of ‘deviance’ (Lugosi, 2019). These predominantly emanate from Asian publications, reflecting an incisive censuring of non-communal behaviours. News articles included a physical brawl between a waiter and a customer (“Diner, waiter arrested”, 2019), and airline check-in workers incarcerated for corruption involving bribing customers (Alkhatib, 2019). A similar abuse of power relating to customers was evident in claims of tour package clients who were abandoned by their host after they refused to shop at ‘contracted outlets’ (“Neidike jugouwu”, 2020). This harks to some academic literature that addresses unethical business practices amongst outbound tourism operators (King, Dwyer & Prideaux, 2006), but suggests that employees caught up in arrangements orchestrated at ‘higher levels’ enact agency with punity on non-complicit customers.

Workforce casualties were a dominant media theme in 2020. Referred to are a significant worsening of employment conditions for employees in organisations, notably wage cuts or a requirement to take unpaid leave (“100,000 yuangong”, 2020). Concomitantly, there are reports of furloughed hospitality workers being recruited into entirely different roles, for instance, as mortgage advisors in New York (Crudele, 2020). In Beijing, there were reports of airline employees being forced to seek work in restaurants to make up salary shortfalls (Cai, 2020). At a micro-level, articles focus on the experiences of individual workers, wherein a consistent theme relates to the hard times faced by retrenched tourism employees.

In contrast to the first theme, the media reporting here is well-researched in the domain of tourism employment. This reporting highlights the precarity of tourism work (Robinson et al., 2019) and associated wellbeing vulnerabilities to economic and wider crisis situations. The more personalised micro-narratives about the precarity of tourism work make us reflect on the work of

Ladkin (2011) and others in building storylines about the experiences of individual tourism workers. At a macro-level, reports of the large-scale employment impacts of the pandemic echo earlier work that has addressed increasing tourism unemployment in extreme economic downturns (Perles-Ribes et al., 2016).

### *5.2.3 Theme 3: Celebrity profiles and roles in tourism work*

In 2019, a significant coverage in the press was dedicated to the comings and goings of celebrities (Rojek, 2015), in particular high-profile chefs. Much coverage, primarily aired in the Western press, revolved around venue openings; in London, a Michelin-starred chef opened a restaurant inside the last bank in Moseley (Young, 2019) and in Sydney, a new pub showcases its new chef (“Nod to the past”, 2019). Feature stories showcased new menu items and food trends, but using personal stories to bring them to life, for example, ‘steak in a restaurant in New York’ (Keil, 2019). Similar articles were aired in Singapore (e.g., Tan, 2019) and Hong Kong (Li, 2019), the latter example also promoting gender issues. That chefs are doyens of the public is a phenomenon dating back the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the time of French chefs Careme and Escoffier (Escoffier, 1987) and continues (Clarke, Murphy & Adler, 2016).

Reference to celebrity was more muted in 2020. The context of celebrity was substantially altruistic, with reports of high-profile chefs using their facilities and status to provide food and other services to workers on the frontline in health and allied services (e.g., New York, “Celeb chefs unite to feed the hungry”).

### *5.2.4 Theme 4: Changing operational environments (through technology) in tourism*

Already subject to intense media and academic scrutiny prior to the pandemic was the impact of technological advances in enhancing tourism organisational processes and operations (Wirtz et al., 2018). Notably, three narratives emerged in the analysis. The first centred on how technological impacts were transforming customer behaviours (e.g., the digital platform-directed gig economy made it easier for people to eat at home or order tableside on tablets). The second and third principal narratives relate to the impact on how businesses operate and how people work arising from these technological disruptions. As Hong Kong and Singapore papers reported, these changes were prompting ‘top to bottom’ digital transformation in businesses (“Yihe

yinshi”, 2019) and job redesign (Ng, 2019). While these changes were reportedly prompted by the cost of high staff turnover (Guilding, Lamminmaki & McManus, 2014) and the notoriously high costs of training (Cho, Woods, Jang & Erdem, 2006), the general impact was on replacing jobs with some level of automation as has been commonplace in retail and airline sectors for some time. Tourism is a service-intensive industry, for which much of the end-user value-added is traditionally delivered by human contact (Solnet et al., 2019). The notion that technology might both augment service quality and aid in effectively assisting the management of labour costs has been mooted for some time, yet the sector is a notorious laggard and ineffective adopter of technologies (O’Connor & Murphy, 2004). Regardless, the media articles suggest that investment in labour-saving technologies is trending.

In 2020, extensive coverage across all the cities reported changing operational conditions imposed on tourism businesses by COVID-19 restrictions, notably formal lockdowns (e.g., London, New York, Los Angeles) and moves to return to ‘new normal’ working conditions (e.g., Beijing, see Yu, 2020). Most frequent were reports of restaurants of all levels (including a Michelin star establishment in New York, 2020) pivoting to home delivery – often aided by algorithmically-controlled platforms and gig-workers. This involved redeployment of staff to delivery roles or the recruitment of new teams. Indeed, the boom in home delivery reflects the one sector in tourism which is reported to be thriving under lockdown rules with reference to business growth and the recruitment of additional drivers and cyclists to cater for demand (e.g., Los Angeles, “Restaurant Chain Every Table Hiring”, 2020; Madrid, “Telepizza mantiene”, 2020). In Singapore, takeaway was described as the ‘new fine dining’ (Ee, 2020), and in New York, the demand for private home cooking and dining expertise attracted chefs to change career focus to work in this sector (Quinn, 2020).

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on tourism operations and the role of employees in implementing new protocols is unprecedented in recent crisis responses in the industry. No previous crisis so rapidly or intensively impacted the ability for tourism businesses to deliver their services. This impacted significantly on employee safety, roles, skills and emotional engagement with customers (or hospitableness) (Zeng, Chen & Lew, 2020). A prime manifestation of such changes has been technology substitution across all sectors, accelerating a

process already clearly evident (Wirtz et al., 2018). Next, are detailed the three *emerging* themes from our analysis.

### 5.2.5 *Theme 5: Tourism work in policy formation and implementation*

The first emerging theme in 2020 reflects “a return of the State”. The neoliberal economic landscape that has dominated countries such as Australia, the UK, and the USA for the past several decades has sought to reduce state involvement in employment matters. The global pandemic substantially reversed this trend, and media reports point to extensive public support for businesses, including airlines reported in New York (e.g., Miller, 2020), hotels reported in Hong Kong (e.g., “Kangyi jijin zhiyuan”, 2020), restaurants reported in London (e.g., Murphy, 2020) and tourism businesses more generally receiving wage subsidies of up to 75% in Singapore (Tay, 2020). In both China and Singapore, where state intervention is rather more commonplace, national systems were quickly in place to support businesses and workers. In China, reports point to over 61 million people benefiting from income subsidies, including many working in the services sector (“Minzhengbu: quanguo”, 2020). Co-ordinated government responses to the pandemic in economic support terms are reported for Singapore, using the fast-food context and employee livelihoods as an example (e.g., Tan, 2020). A counter-narrative against support is also present with a restaurateur criticized in London for using taxpayers’ money to support furloughed staff when such support may not be required (O’Grady, 2020), and criticisms about the government’s late response (e.g., Hong Kong, “Baojiuye jihua”, 2020). State involvement in support of the skills development dimension of tourism employment through the interventionist role of industrial training boards dates to the 1950s and 60s in some European countries (Mulcahy, 1999), on occasion supported by a training levy system, for instance, in Kenya (Sindiga, 1994). Today similar models remain in place in countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. However, financial support from governments for tourism, specifically designed to support employment in times of crisis, reached unprecedented levels in 2020.

### 5.2.6 *Theme 6: Tourism workers and the community*

In 2020, coverage of this new community-outreach theme was wide-ranging. Reports proliferated about major hotels, Airbnb operators and restaurants in a number of cities (e.g., Madrid, Hong Kong, London, New York) offering free stays or providing free meals to frontline

health workers (e.g., Domingo, 2020; “And the good news is a five-star hotel”, 2020; Smith, 2020; Seymour, 2020). At the micro-level, altruistic action is portrayed by reference to the actions of individuals and a flavour of the personal motivation to serve the community by airline personnel in Singapore, restaurant owners in New York, and chefs in Madrid and New York (e.g., “Almeida visita el Four Seasons”, 2020; “Celeb chefs unite”, 2020).

At the macro-level, community-oriented public policy manifests in supporting the national (and state-owned) airlines’ redeployment of personnel to wider service roles. Hotels in Singapore were used to house migrant workers displaced from dormitories because of the pandemic. Similarly, airline workers were re-deployed by their employers to work in community services and health-sector related areas (Tan, 2020). Furloughed British Airway staff volunteered in hospitals (O’Connor, 2020), and redeployed cabin crew undertook community roles in Singapore (Koh, 2020). Government-led actions were reported relating to the utilisation of hotels for quarantine purposes for in-bound travellers (e.g., Los Angeles, Ellingson, 2020; Sydney, Han, 2020). The Ministry of Manpower in Singapore was also reported to have redeployed 200 retrenched hotel workers for ongoing projects. All these actions place the tourism workforce directly in the frontline of local action against COVID-19.

This theme is important as it highlights a new dimension in studies that explore tourism in times of crisis relating to the workforce. While a diverse focus on tourism and community is evident in the literature (e.g., Gurtner, 2016), the focus is primarily on either how the community can recover from the crisis or on how resilience within tourism enables the sector to recover post-crisis. There is limited discussion of what tourism can contribute to the wider community during such times (for an exception, see Rusesabagina, 2008). This theme of giving something back to the community through the utilisation of human capital and other resources comes through very clearly in the media reports sampled. The role of government and its agencies in appropriating resources (e.g., quarantine hotels) or encouraging reallocation of personnel (e.g., through the deployment of public agency staff into community service activities) is testament of how such initiatives have become public policy particularly in the East Asian response to COVID-19, and appears to be a new theme in crisis tourism.

### *5.2.7 Theme 7: At the frontline – is tourism work safe?*

This is another new theme in 2020 media reporting. The news media articles assessed in this study pointed to several important health and safety issues emanating because of the COVID-19 crisis. While such issues are by no means new in the tourism workplace, expressions of fear by employees about going to work (Madrid, e.g., “Los trabajadores de hostelería”, 2020; New York, e.g., McGeehan, 2020) are certainly unusual and the pandemic has thrown them into stark relief. In Sydney, media sources reported claims of an airline cleaner’s suspension over their virus fears (McNally, 2020). Protests at safety concerns for frontline tourism workers, either through walkouts (Los Angeles, e.g., Hernandez, 2020), formal protests (New York, e.g., “NYC Chipotle Employees Protest”, 2020) or through threats of strike action (Los Angeles, e.g., Austin, 2020) show the level of anxiety among workers at a time when the shortage of personal protective equipment for health and other frontline workers was being widely reported. There were concerns that employers were not transparent with employees about the risks they were facing. Sydney reports said Qantas did not inform the crew that passengers they were conveying were being repatriated from a cruise ship with high levels of infection (O’Doherty & Armstrong, 2020).

This theme resonates with established literature in this area, although the context of a major crisis does provide somewhat different nuance to the discussion. This has already been recognised in the context of the COVID-19 crisis (e.g., Hu et al., 2020) in relation to vulnerable groups and measures required to mitigate safety concerns. Health and safety in the workplace are at the heart of industries such as aviation, where the demands of operational safety for flights must be balanced with the inter-related needs of occupational health and safety for employees in all areas of work (e.g., Griffiths & Powell, 2012). This extends to concern for employees’ wider wellbeing and mental health (e.g., DeHoff & Cusick, 2018). Occupational health reflects a complex amalgam of physical and mental risks and places those already at the intersection of multiple vulnerabilities (such as migrant workers, minorities, and women) at particular risk in frontline service roles in tourism (e.g., Sönmez et al., 2017).

## 6. DISCUSSION

The themes above provide insights into how some normalised narratives promoted by news media coverage of tourism employment prior to and during the crisis play out, *inter alia* business volatility, engagement of the state, worker precarity, threats to individual wellbeing and labour substitution. We now place these themes in a wider contextual and literature narrative in order to

assess their meaning for research in tourism employment under five broad headings, recognising that the way that news media has represented tourism employment, both prior to and during the pandemic, signposts how we, as its readership, frame our perceptions of it.

### *6.1 Blame to shame to action*

Prevailing mantras in tourism policy and industry narratives include labour and skill shortages, low and/or devalued ‘soft’ skills, training avoidance and poor service cultures among youth, such that the failings of the industry are frequently attributed to labour market issues and the workforce itself (Baum, 2015). This was exemplified in 2019 news media reports that rising wage costs are attributable to poor productivity and rising labour costs. The shock of COVID-19 led to alternative discourses, whereby large organisations, and management, expressed significant guilt and even responsibility for being unable to ‘provide for’ their employees - and managers showing awareness of the impacts of layoffs (Tu, Li & Wang, 2021). The transferability (in time, place and willingness) of skills to meet other public needs offered a counterpoint to the previous rhetoric of workforce and industry dysfunctionality and intransigence.

Similarly, governments in some developed nations were forced to revisit elements of their hostility to the welfare state. Retrenched tourism and hospitality workers were among the most significant beneficiaries of new welfare policies (Karsavuran, 2021). The free-market economy has reigned supreme for decades and pre-COVID-19 debates regarding welfare conditionality bear this out (Watts, Fitzpatrick & Bramley, 2014). Yet news media narratives have largely left welfare recipient populations unstigmatized, in stark contrast to the pre-pandemic tendency to lampoon welfare-cheats and ‘dole-bludgers’ and the agency-less multi-generational welfare dependents in society, as exemplified by the television series *Shameless* (cf Creeber, 2009). Most developed economies have taken on high levels of debt in an unprecedented welfare backflip and there have been subsequent calls to revisit welfare regimes, even in developing nations (e.g., Mok, Ku & Yuda, 2021). News media reporting, therefore, enabled its readership to interpret or make sense of significant perceptual and policy changes.

### *6.2 Ambivalence to a positive affinity*

Despite the well-established vulnerability and precarity of tourism workforces (Robinson et al., 2019), mainstream media reporting has typically proven to be neither attentive nor empathetic. A raft of 2019 articles in our data, scapegoating waiters, airline stewards and tour guides for various misdemeanours, bears this out. During 2020 the tone changed. The plight of all manner of tourism workers, often featured in ‘people stories’, flipped the script. Workers from many industries deeply impacted by furloughs and extended periods of un/under-employment were having their stories told -- from airline and restaurant staff and evolving over time to the suddenly ‘essential’ food delivery riders (Riordan et al., 2022). News media reporting mediated the reality of hospitality work on behalf of readers by providing quite visceral ‘person next door’ portrayals of the hardships sectors of the workforce were facing. Although beyond the data period, there remains a level of empathy with workers directed by COVID-19 regulations. For example, the challenges of recurring stop-start work due to sudden lockdowns, and stories of customers abusing staff by refusing to comply with health orders causing risks to their and their families' health (Stergio & Farmaki, 2021).

Unexpected positivity also emerged in 2020 and was evident in the reported roles of tourism workers as redeployed into community-serving roles or businesses, such as hotels and restaurants, providing support and services for frontline health workers. In the West, the mobilising of tourism workers was a rather organic initiative of organisations, while in Asian cities this community outreach was, in the main, orchestrated by the State.

### *6.3 Hero to zero*

As exemplified by chefs but also reflected in the characterisations of celebrities like Sir Richard Branson and Paris Hilton, the mass media has a historical penchant for placing tourism and hospitality barons and personalities on pedestals (Silver & Hawkins, 2017). A sharp shift in reporting occurred during the period of the pandemic, as, symbolically, communal rather than individual agendas were highlighted. The actions of tourism and hospitality celebrities were scrutinised and castigated, frequently celebrated only if humbled for the public good. The media reporting was particularly vicious when celebrities were perceived to be taking advantage of the pandemic-induced situation while contrarily altruism was heralded. These shifts add weight to an already contested space regarding celebrity ‘do-gooders’, whose charitable actions are critiqued



for maintaining power distance and disavowing the seriousness (or their culpability) for crises' impacts (Littler, 2008).

#### *6.4 Back to the future*

Technology was front-and-centre of narratives about the tourism industry, pre-COVID-19, and often mooted as a solution to augment or substitute labour, or experientially value-add (Tuomi et al., 2020). News media discourse has mediated changes in a way that readers were increasingly likely to position technology as a necessity, a lubricant for continuing business and protecting both consumers and workers (Pillai, Haldorai, Seo & Kim, 2021). These narratives suggest an acceleration of these substitutability agendas as a result of the crisis. Technology is thus represented as a facilitator for ensuring the safety and confidence of customers and a necessary intervention to reduce interpersonal contacts (Gursoy & Chi, 2020). [Growing attention for the wellbeing of the community has seen a shift to the fundamentals of hospitality: safety, welfare and increased coverage related to the pressures experienced by frontline workers often manifest in mental health and wellbeing issues \(Karatepe, Saydam & Okumus, 2021\).](#)

Contrarily, Lashley (2000) bemoaned that hospitality may have become lost as a result of its industrial commodification and the emergent academic predilection for step-wise service sciences that reduce exchanges to inauthentic transactions. It remains to be seen whether the market will demand a return to personal interactions post-COVID-19.

#### *6.5 Relocation of tourism employment media coverage*

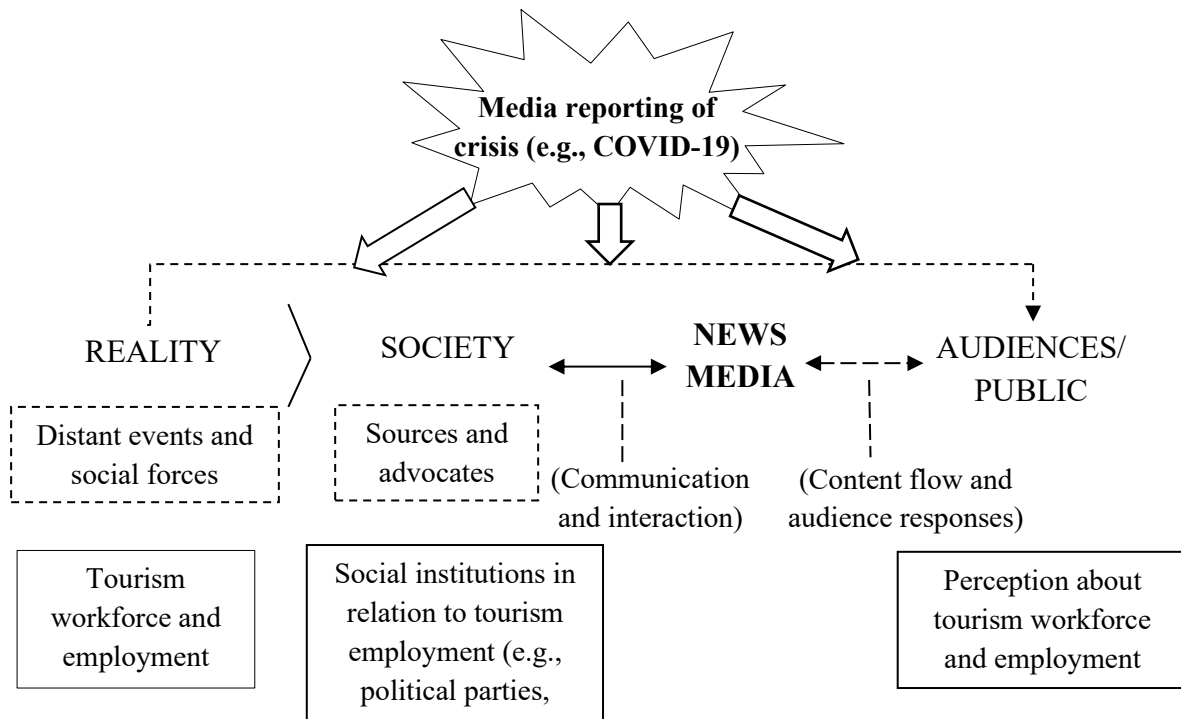
Coverage of employment and workforce themes in 2020, unsurprisingly and by contrast, included much more by way of 'hard news', frequently located in the news as opposed to lifestyle sections of print media. Job losses in the context of business shutdowns or contractions and the challenges faced by individuals and collectives of employees relating to personal safety and hardship were widely reported alongside business, product and job reorientation in response to the crisis. Some focus on the tribulations of individual tourism workers, in somewhat ironic counterpoise to the upbeat narratives of celebrities in 2019, was apparent. However, there is evidence that this powerful focus on personalised stories of the tourism workers' plight was adopted by other media outlets, sources not retrieved by *Factiva* (e.g., Gentleman, 2020).

Notably, despite a shift from ‘soft news’ to ‘hard news’, in some respects, the narrative in much of the 2020 media reporting affirms Baum, Mooney, Robinson, and Solnet’s (2020) argument that the COVID-19-related issues faced by the tourism workforce are an ‘amplification of the norm’ rather than something new. The narrative is also consistent with recent research from Mayer et al. (2021), showing that COVID-19 media narratives strengthen existing debates.

## 7. THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

In undertaking this study, we draw on key tenets of McQuail’s perspectives on media and society as a conceptual framing. The absence of previous work in tourism and, specifically, tourism employment constrained our building blocks for this study but also created the opportunity for original research contributions. We aimed to discern whether the under-researched impact of a crisis on employment in tourism (Ritchie & Jiang, 2019) might amplify existing (largely negative) narratives. In our study, we sought not to understand not just how news media report crises, as others have done (see An & Gower, 2009), but rather how crisis itself punctuates extant narratives mutually constructed and promulgated by public perception and news ‘mediation of reality’ (McQuail, 2010).

Our thematic analysis highlights the value of McQuail’s perspective of the media in recognising the diverse influences (geographical, cultural, societal and technological) that frame what is addressed in the news media, and how it is framed within the news narrative, its location as personal, institutional or societal issues (micro-meso-macro) and the persistence of its representation, just once or repeatedly over a period of time. Moreover, we propose Figure 4, which interjects crisis into McQuail’s framework as an externality inflection point – punctuating the information flow and imposing an interpretation between society and audience/public and, subsequently, the latter’s ? interpretation of reality.



**Figure 4.** Media crisis reporting impacts on tourism employment perceptions (adapted from McQuail’s view of mediation, McQuail, 2010, p.86).

*Note.*

1. Dotted-line boxes represent the tenets in a general context as sketched in McQuail’s work, while solid-line boxes represent the tenets in the context of the COVID-19 crisis and tourism employment.
2. Solid-line arrow path represents the analysis based on this research. Dotted-line arrow path represents the path that provides scope for future research.

When subject to further scrutiny and distillation, some notable shifts in news media reporting *vis-a-vis* the tourism workforce emerge, although juxtaposed with the heightened realism of prevailing pre-COVID-19 narratives. According to how news media is constructed theoretically, by inference, this reporting is shaping and/or being shaped by public attitudes (Delshad & Raymond, 2013), as aligned with McQuail’s social constructionist tenets. These observations capture the essence of the study’s findings, further illustrating discursive entanglements that potentially signal new tourism workforce representations. Furthermore, the real value of this analysis lies beyond describing the changing picture of media representation of tourism employment between 2019 and 2020. It provides an important opportunity to reflect on ways in which tourism work is being socially (re)constructed in the news media due to the punctuation of

crisis reporting and consequently, as prior news media analytical approaches suggest (e.g., Mejia et al., 2021), in public perception as well.

The contribution of a social constructionist stance in our analysis of news media before and during the pandemic has also provided original insights into how seismic shifts in perceived reality, in this case, the consequences of the pandemic for tourism employment, may be shaped and reconstructed by the power of news media in selecting and positioning the narrative about specific phenomena. This power may directly influence subsequent thinking, interpretation (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014) and, potentially, the behaviour of stakeholders including key influencers and potential tourism worker recruits.

Increasingly, research on tourism employment magnifies notions of tourism workforce precarity. The results of our analysis offer some paradoxical conclusions, in line with recent work (see Baum et al., 2019). On the one hand, the analysis reproduces common narratives regarding the precarity of tourism workers, threats to wellbeing, vulnerability, and disposability (Robinson et al., 2019), as evidenced in media reporting on tourism workers' concern for safety and labour substitution technologies. Conversely, the media appears to have become increasingly empathetic and represents a seemingly genuine concern for the wellbeing of frontline tourism workers. Regardless, these 2020 shifts, in a somewhat sympathetic reporting of the economic and wellbeing woes of the tourism workforce, are unprecedented narratives and provide a McQuailian 'filter' which may have impacted public perceptions of their toils. It remains to be seen if these seemingly shifted perceptions, from antipathy to empathy, can be harnessed to permanently reset the sector's decent work trajectory and challenge the way in which the precarity label is widely applied, uncritically, to tourism employment contexts.

Complementing this, evidence of a more positive tone in the context of tourism workers redeployed into community-serving roles or businesses, such as hotels and restaurants providing support and services for frontline health workers, created a 'symbolic environment' with some resonance to that more widely reported for those in the health sector. In the West, the mobilising of tourism workers was a rather organic initiative of organisations, while in Asian cities, this community outreach was orchestrated by the State. The State universally, nonetheless, played a prominent role in supporting moribund businesses and furloughed workers. This is a momentous, albeit time-bound, policy shift *vis-a-vis* tourism and hospitality workers – who ordinarily lack

collectivism and representation (Lucas, 2009) and endure periodic circuitous policy interventions of little impact (Solnet et al., 2014). In brief, evidently, COVID-19 media narratives concerning tourism employment precarity appear to have been convoluted, even shifted. However, it remains unclear to what extent media reporting of the global pandemic on work and employment in tourism in 2020 will impact sustained public perceptions.

### 8. PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The results of this research offer several implications to various tourism stakeholders – managers in tourism organisations, public authorities, educators and politicians. In considering the results of our analysis, the veracity of previously expounded resilience discourses for tourism resonated (Ritchie & Jiang, 2019). That tourism development ensures economic sustainability and resilience not afforded by other sectors is challenged. The analysis shows that direct and indirect associated employment derived from tourism development may not be as resilient as professed by advocates (Butler, 2020), hitherto sitting comfortably in tourism development folklore. For example, this study finds that labour substitution technologies as motivated by safety concerns are likely to have a post-pandemic spillover effect.

We also have identified the acceleration of media reporting regarding labour substitution technologies – contactless reception/check-ins – some motivated by safety concerns, are also likely to have longer-term consequences. These messages were fleetingly observed in our data. Contrarily, the notion of hospitality is sure to be impacted, short- and medium-term, due to social distancing, protective screens/masks, check-ins and an altered awareness of space (Radygina & Oshkordina, 2020) – and this is likely to have downstream social and economic costs regarding technological labour substitution. Thus, given the potential impact of the media on tourism employment, policy makers and managers should raise awareness to the adversity as conveyed in the news media. For example, in terms of employees' growing safety concerns, managers in tourism organisations should have clear practices and procedures to protect their employees and address their safety concerns. Likewise, in terms of the news coverage on labour substitution technologies, tourism managers and authorities might wish to engage employees in open dialogue or to upskill their employees to resolve their concerns.

Furthermore, this research suggests a shift from a relatively negative narrative to a rather more positive portrayal of tourism employment. As previously noted, tourism work is usually ‘stigmatised’ as lacking security and career progression (Robinson et al., 2019). Although the extent to which this shift will impact sustained public perceptions of tourism work and employment is unknown, the results can inform tourism managers and authorities to leverage this shift and promote a more positive image of the industry to the public.

### 9. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

We acknowledge some limitations, particularly given the nature of our ambition to capture and publish news media narratives that can then be used for ongoing comparison over time. The selection of sources accessed through *Factiva* was methodical but limited the range of media outlets included. Nonetheless, *Factiva* is an established source of data for studies of this kind (e.g., Peel & Steen, 2007) and the methodological benefits outweigh the limitations. Selecting other world cities and outcomes may have generated outcomes that could have differed in emphasis and style. Engaging with the impact of COVID-19 during a global crisis with no evident endpoint in sight (and geographically variable starting points) required judgements regarding a sensible and manageable data collection timeframe. Given the importance of media analysis, there is great value in expanding this research with more focus on social media and more local outlets, rather than commonly found on syndicated media and TV networks. A disclosure is that despite sampling Cape Town and Santiago, both in the Global South and ravaged by COVID-19, there was virtually no coverage in their media sources interrogated.

As an after-reference, the themes and issues covered in our 2020 window have continued to feature in media reporting over subsequent months, perhaps abating in some cities during the northern summer of 2020 but reappearing during the pandemic’s second (and third) wave in the progression to 2020/2021 northern hemisphere winter (e.g., Sainato, 2020). Whether the media again tires of the precarious working lives of tourism workers once some form of ‘normality’ is restored remains to be seen, but the prospects do not look auspicious, based on pre-COVID disinterest and the wane in coverage to parallel that of the tentative opening-up of tourism businesses again.

This paper undertook an assessment of news media across ten global cities across two time periods before and during an extreme crisis event (COVID-19 pandemic) to assess the way media portrayed tourism employment during a crisis. In so doing, we surfaced a number of important observations that open the door to future research on the links between media, tourism employment and crisis. Future research is needed to assess any real, sustained change in the way tourism work is portrayed and perceived in the media. Researchers should also seek to examine differences based on geopolitics, regions and nations. In addition, research is called for to take a further step in assessing community perceptions about tourism employment following a significant crisis event. With the benefit of greater hindsight, we also wonder if the continued and exacerbated labour and skills shortages globally could be linked to earlier media discourses, suggesting that there is value in future researchers assessing the links between media and labour challenges more closely. Our paper aims to highlight these possible effects and provides a framework for future scholarship and policy.

Finally, just like there is no ‘tourism theory’ we shy away from speaking to or appropriating ‘media theory’. Rather, our paper has been informed by McQuail’s frameworks and tenets of news media and communications (McQuail & Deuze, 2020), as applied to our study context, which provided us with solid conceptual underpinnings and the basis to theorise on the role of news media crisis reporting and its impacts on perceptions, and paradoxes, of tourism employment. Nonetheless, this does present a limitation, and provides scope for further work in the broader application and advancement of explanatory frameworks that address the media as applied to tourism contexts.

REFERENCES

- Alberti, G., Bessa, I., Hardy, K., Trappmann, V., & Umney, C. (2018). In, against and beyond precarity: Work in insecure times. *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), 447–457.
- An, S-K. & Gower, K. (2009) How do the news media frame crises? A content analysis of crisis news coverage, *Public Relations Review*, 35, 107-112.
- Avraham, E. (2000) Cities and their news media images, *Cities*, 17(5), 363-370.
- Baum, T. (2007). Human resources in tourism: Still waiting for change. *Tourism Management*, 28(6), 1383-1399.
- Baum, T. (2015). Human resources in tourism: Still waiting for change? –A 2015 reprise. *Tourism Management*, 50, 204-212.
- Baum, T., Kralj, A., Robinson, R.N., & Solnet, D.J. (2016). Tourism workforce research: A review, taxonomy and agenda. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 60, 1-22.
- Baum, T., Mooney, S. K., Robinson, R. N., & Solnet, D. (2020). COVID-19’s impact on the hospitality workforce—new crisis or amplification of the norm?. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 32(9), 2813-2829.
- Bianchi, R. (2009). The ‘critical turn’ in tourism studies: A radical critique. *Tourism Geographies*, 11(4), 484–504.
- Blake, A., & Sinclair, M.T. (2003). Tourism crisis management: US response to September 11. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(4), 813-832.
- Bodie, Z., Kane, A., & Marcus, A.J. (2008). *Essentials of investments* (7th ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.
- Brouder, P. (2020). Reset redux: Possible evolutionary pathways towards the transformation of tourism in a COVID-19 world. *Tourism Geographies*, 22(3), 484-490.
- Butler, R. (2020). Tourism—resilient but vulnerable as “the times they are a changing” in the “new normality”. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 12(6), 663-670.
- Chen, H., Huang, X., & Li, Z. (2022). A content analysis of Chinese news coverage on COVID-19 and tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 25(2), 198-205.
- Cheng, M., & Edwards, D. (2019). A comparative automated content analysis approach on the review of the sharing economy discourse in tourism and hospitality. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 22(1), 35-49.



- Cho, S., Woods, R.H., Jang, S.S., & Erdem, M. (2006). Measuring the impact of human resource management practices on hospitality firms' performances. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 25(2), 262-277.
- Clarke, T.B., Murphy, J., & Adler, J. (2016). Celebrity chef adoption and implementation of social media, particularly pinterest: A diffusion of innovations approach. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 57, 84-92.
- Cohen, S.A., Hanna, P., & Gössling, S. (2018). The dark side of business travel: A media comments analysis. *Transportation Research Part D: Transport and Environment*, 61, 406-419.
- Creeber, G. (2009). 'The truth is out there! Not!': Shameless and the moral structures of contemporary social realism. *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, 7(4), 421-439.
- Creswell, J.W., & Miller, D.L., (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory Practice*. 39(3), 124–130.
- De Benedictis, S., Orgad, S., & Rottenberg, C. (2019). # MeToo, popular feminism and the news: A content analysis of UK newspaper coverage. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 22(5-6), 718-738.
- DeHoff, M.C., & Cusick, S.K. (2018). Mental health in commercial aviation-depression & anxiety of pilots. *International Journal of Aviation, Aeronautics, and Aerospace*, 5(5), 5.
- Delshad, A. & Raymond, L. (2013) Media Framing and Public Attitudes Toward Biofuels, *Review of Policy Research*, 30(2), 190-210.
- De Jong, A., & Varley, P. (2017). Food tourism policy: Deconstructing boundaries of taste and class. *Tourism Management*, 60, 212-222.
- Elo, S., Kääriäinen, M., Kanste, O., Pölkki, T., Utriainen, K., & Kyngäs, H. (2014). Qualitative content analysis: A focus on trustworthiness. *SAGE open*, 4(1), 2158244014522633.
- Essers, C. (2009). Reflections on the narrative approach: Dilemmas of power, emotions and social location while constructing life-stories. *Organization*, 16(2), 163-181.
- Escoffier, M.R. (1987). The chef in society: Origins and development. *Hospitality Review*, 5(1), 6.
- Fahmy, S., Kelly, J. D., & Kim, Y. S. (2007). What Katrina revealed: A visual analysis of the hurricane coverage by news wires and US newspapers. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 84(3), 546-561.

- Flick, U. (2002). Qualitative research-state of the art. *Social Science Information*, 41(1), 5-24.
- Gentleman, A. (2020, April 27). London is so strange and sad: the sacked hospitality workers sleeping rough. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/apr/27/london-coronavirus-sacked-hospitality-workers-sleeping-rough>.
- Gössling, S., Ring, A., Dwyer, L., Andersson, A.C., & Hall, C.M. (2016). Optimizing or maximizing growth? A challenge for sustainable tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 24(4), 527-548.
- Gössling, S., Scott, D., & Hall, C.M. (2021). Pandemics, tourism and global change: a rapid assessment of COVID-19. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1-20.
- Griffiths, R.F., & Powell, D. (2012). The occupational health and safety of flight attendants. *Aviation, Space, and Environmental Medicine*, 83(5), 514-521.
- Guilding, C., Lamminmaki, D., & McManus, L. (2014). Staff turnover costs: In search of accountability. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 36, 231-243.
- Gursoy, D., & Chi, C.G. (2020). Effects of COVID-19 pandemic on hospitality industry: Review of the current situations and a research agenda. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*. 29, 527-529.
- Gurtner, Y. (2016). Returning to paradise: Investigating issues of tourism crisis and disaster recovery on the island of Bali. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 28, 11-19.
- Hawdon, J., Agnich, L. E., & Ryan, J. (2014). Media framing of a tragedy: A content analysis of print media coverage of the Virginia Tech tragedy. *Traumatology*, 20(3), 199.
- Hjarvard, S. (2008). The mediatization of society: A theory of the Media as Agents of Social and Cultural Change. *Nordicom Review*, 29(2).
- Hodgetts, D., & Chamberlain, K. (2014). Analysing News Media. In *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, edited by Uwe Flick, 380–393. London: Sage Publications.
- Holt, K., Ustad Figenschou, T., & Frischlich, L. (2019). Key dimensions of alternative news media. *Digital Journalism*, 7(7), 860-869.
- Hu, X., Yan, H., Casey, T., & Wu, C.H. (2021). Creating a safe haven during the crisis: How organizations can achieve deep compliance with COVID-19 safety measures in the hospitality industry. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 92.

- Kalleberg, A. L., & Vallas, S. P. (2018). Probing precarious work: Theory, research, and politics. *Research in the Sociology of Work*, 31(1), 1-30.
- Karatepe, O.M., Saydam, M.B., & Okumus, F. (2021). COVID-19, mental health problems, and their detrimental effects on hotel employees' propensity to be late for work, absenteeism, and life satisfaction. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 24(7), 934-951.
- Karsavuran, Z. (2021). Surviving a major crisis: The case of dismissed tourism and hospitality employees. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 13(2), 243-265.
- King, B., Dwyer, L., & Prideaux, B. (2006). An evaluation of unethical business practices in Australia's China inbound tourism market. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 8(2), 127-142.
- Krippendorff, K. H. (2004). *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*. 2nd edition. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Lacy, S., Watson, B., & Riffe, D. (2011). Study examines relationship among mainstream, other media. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 32(4), 53-67.
- Ladkin, A. (2011). Exploring tourism labor. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(3), 1135-1155.
- Lashley, C. (2000). In search of hospitality: Towards a theoretical framework. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 19(1), 3-15.
- Lee, D., Hampton, M., & Jeyacheya, J. (2015). The political economy of precarious work in the tourism industry in small island developing states. *Review of International Political Economy*, 22(1), 194-223.
- Littler, J. (2008). "I feel your pain": Cosmopolitan charity and the public fashioning of the celebrity soul. *Social Semiotics*, 18(2), 237-251.
- Lucas, R. (2009). Is low unionisation in the British hospitality industry due to industry characteristics? *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 28(1), 42-52.
- Lugosi, P. (2019). Deviance, deviant behaviour and hospitality management: Sources, forms and drivers. *Tourism Management*, 74, 81-98.
- Mayer, M., Bichler, B. F., Pikkemaat, B., & Peters, M. (2021). Media discourses about a superspreader destination: How mismanagement of Covid-19 triggers debates about sustainability and geopolitics. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 91, 103278.
- McQuail, D. (1985). Sociology of mass communication. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 11(1), 93-111.

- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's mass communication theory* (6th ed). London: Sage.
- McQuail D., & Deuze, M . (2020). *McQuail's media & mass communication theory* (7th ed). London: Sage.
- Maximiliano, K. (2010). Role of mass-media in swine flu outbreak in Buenos Aires. *Anatolia*, 21(1), 169-173.
- McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A., & Dyer, S. (2009). Precarious work and economic migration: Emerging immigrant divisions of labour in Greater London's service sector. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(1), 3–25.
- McKercher, B., & Chon, K. (2004). The over-reaction to SARS and the collapse of Asian tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(3), 716.
- Mejia, C., Pittman, R., Beltramo, J. M., Horan, K., Grinley, A., & Shoss, M. K. (2021). Stigma & dirty work: In-group and out-group perceptions of essential service workers during COVID-19. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 93, 102772.
- Mok, K.H., Ku, Y.W., & Yuda, T.K. (2021). Managing the COVID-19 pandemic crisis and changing welfare regimes. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 14(1), 1-12.
- Mulcahy, J.D. (1999), "Vocational work experience in the hospitality industry: characteristics and strategies", *Education and Training*, 41(4), 164-174.
- O'Connor, P., & Murphy, J. (2004). Research on information technology in the hospitality industry. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 23(5), 473-484.
- Oh, D. C., & Zhou, W. (2012). Framing SARS: A case study in Toronto of a mainstream newspaper and a Chinese ethnic newspaper. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 20(5), 261-273.
- Pasquaré, F.A., & Oppizzi, P. (2012). How do the media affect public perception of climate change and geohazards? An Italian case study. *Global and Planetary Change*, 90, 152-157.
- Peel, V., & Steen, A. (2007). Victims, hooligans and cash-cows: media representations of the international backpacker in Australia. *Tourism Management*, 28(4), 1057-1067.
- Perles-Ribes, J.F., Ramón-Rodríguez, A.B., Sevilla-Jiménez, M., & Moreno-Izquierdo, L. (2016). Unemployment effects of economic crises on hotel and residential tourism destinations: The case of Spain. *Tourism Management*, 54, 356-368.

- Pillai, S.G., Haldorai, K., Seo, W.S., & Kim, W.G. (2021). COVID-19 and hospitality 5.0: Redefining hospitality operations. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 94.
- Quandt, T. (2008). News on the World Wide Web? A comparative content analysis of online news in Europe and the United States. *Journalism Studies*, 9(5), 717-738.
- Radygina, E.G., & Oshkordina, A. A. (2020). Organization of accommodation facilities during the pandemic: how to stay hospitable while complying with sanitary requirements. In *Research Technologies of Pandemic Coronavirus Impact (RTCov 2020)* (pp. 326-330). Atlantis Press.
- Riordan, T., Robinson R.N.S. & Hoffstaedter, G. (2022). “Experiences of migrant food delivery workers in the gig economy” in I. Ness [Ed.] *Routledge Handbook of the Gig Economy*, New York: Routledge.
- Ritchie, B.W. (2009). *Crisis and disaster management for tourism*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Ritchie, B.W., & Jiang, Y. (2019). A review of research on tourism risk, crisis and disaster management: Launching the annals of tourism research curated collection on tourism risk, crisis and disaster management. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 79, 102812.
- Robinson, R.N., Martins, A., Solnet, D., & Baum, T. (2019). Sustaining precarity: critically examining tourism and employment. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(7), 1008-1025.
- Rojek, C. (2015). Celebrity. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Consumption and Consumer Studies*, 1-3.
- Rasheed, M. I., Okumus, F., Weng, Q., Hameed, Z., & Nawaz, M. S. (2020). Career adaptability and employee turnover intentions: The role of perceived career opportunities and orientation to happiness in the hospitality industry. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 44, 98-107.
- Rusesabagina, P. (2008). Rusesabagina responds to Rwanda government book on ‘Hotel Rwanda’. Retrieved from <http://eux.tv/article.aspx?articleId=20114>.
- Sainato, M. (2020, November 12) ‘It’s going to be a hard winter’: restaurant workers struggle as US Covid cases rise. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/nov/12/us-restaurant-workers-coronavirus-covid> on 15th November 2020.

- Salem, I. E., Elkhwesky, Z., & Ramkissoon, H. (2022). A content analysis for government's and hotels' response to COVID-19 pandemic in Egypt. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 22(1), 42-59.
- Schäfer, A., & Gardner, B. G. (2021). Between Anarchy and Order: Digital campaigning heuristics in hybrid media environments. In Proceedings of the Weizenbaum Conference 2021 (pp. 1-3). Berlin: Weizenbaum Institute for the Networked Society - The German Internet Institute. <https://doi.org/10.34669/wi.cp/3.12>
- Schneider, Barbara, Chamberlain, Kerry and Hodgetts, Darrin (2010) 'Representations of homelessness in four Canadian newspapers: Regulation, control and social order', *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 37(4): 147–71.
- Schreier, M. (2012). Qualitative content analysis in practice. Sage Publications.
- Schweinsberg, S., Darcy, S., & Cheng, M. (2017). The agenda setting power of news media in framing the future role of tourism in protected areas. *Tourism Management*, 62, 241-252.
- Signorielli, N. (2009). Race and sex in prime time: A look at occupations and occupational prestige. *Mass Communication and Society*, 12(3), 332-352.
- Silver, J.J., & Hawkins, R. (2017). "I'm not trying to save fish, I'm trying to save dinner": Media, celebrity and sustainable seafood as a solution to environmental limits. *Geoforum*, 84, 218-227.
- Sindiga, I. (1994). Employment and training in tourism in Kenya. *Journal of Tourism Studies*, 5(2), 45.
- Small, J. (2017). Women's "beach body" in Australian women's magazines. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 63, 23-33.
- Solnet, D., Nickson, D., Robinson, R.N., Kralj, A., & Baum, T. (2014). Discourse about workforce development in tourism—An analysis of public policy, planning, and implementation in Australia and Scotland: Hot air or making a difference?. *Tourism Analysis*, 19(5), 609-623.
- Sönmez, S., Apostolopoulos, Y., Lemke, M.K., Hsieh, Y.C.J., & Karwowski, W. (2017). Complexity of occupational health in the hospitality industry: dynamic simulation modeling to advance immigrant worker health. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 67, 95-105.

- Stergiou, D. P., & Farmaki, A. (2021). Ability and willingness to work during COVID-19 pandemic: Perspectives of front-line hotel employees. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 93, 102770.
- Tu, Y., Li, D., & Wang, H.J. (2021). COVID-19-induced layoff, survivors' COVID-19-related stress and performance in hospitality industry: The moderating role of social support. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 95.
- Tuomi, A., Tussyadiah, I., Ling, E. C., Miller, G., & Lee, G. (2020). x=(tourism\_work) y=(sdg8) while y= true: automate (x). *Annals of Tourism Research*, 84.
- UN World Travel Organisation (UNWTO) (2019). *UNWTO Tourism Barometer - Nov 2019*. Retrieved from <https://www.unwto.org/world-tourism-barometer-2019-nov>.
- Usman, O., Elsalih, O., & Koshadh, O. (2020). Environmental performance and tourism development in EU-28 Countries: the role of institutional quality. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 23(17), 2103-2108.
- Vosko, L. (2010). *Managing the margins: Gender, citizenship, and the international regulation of precarious employment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wacquant, L. (2014). Marginality, ethnicity and penalty in the neo-liberal city: An analytic cartography. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(10), 1687–1711.
- Watts, B., Fitzpatrick, S., Bramley, G., & Watkins, D. (2014). *Welfare Sanctions and Conditionality in the UK*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Wirtz, J., Patterson, P.G., Kunz, W.H., Gruber, T., Lu, V.N., Paluch, S., & Martins, A. (2018). Brave new world: service robots in the frontline. *Journal of Service Management*, 29(5), 907-931.
- World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) (2020). *Latest research from WTTC*. <https://www.wttc.org/about/media-centre/press-releases/press-releases/2020/latest-research-from-wttc-shows-an-increase-in-jobs-at-risk-in-travel-and-tourism/>.
- World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) (2019). *Crisis readiness*. Retrieved from <https://wttc.org/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/2019/Crisis%20Preparedness%20Management%20Recovery-Crisis%20Readiness-Nov%202019.pdf?ver=2021-02-25-182725-567>.
- Zeng, Z., Chen, P.J., & Lew, A.A. (2020). From high-touch to high-tech: COVID-19 drives robotics adoption. *Tourism Geographies*, 1-11.

Zhang, E., & Fleming, K. (2005). Examination of characteristics of news media under censorship: A content analysis of selected Chinese newspapers' SARS coverage. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 15(3), 319-339.



APPENDIX A

*Full list of search terms used in this study (in English)*

“employ OR employment OR employe\* OR server OR staff OR worker OR assistant OR attendant OR waiter\* OR waitperson OR bartender OR bar keeper OR barman OR steward OR supervisor OR chef OR cook OR receptionist OR "tour guide" OR housekeeper OR job OR vocation OR occupation OR career OR workforce OR workplace OR "lab?r force" OR payroll OR salary OR wage OR underpayment OR stipend OR overtime OR compensation OR "work shift" OR union OR hire OR recruit\* OR unemploy\* OR laid-off OR layoff OR redundan\* OR fired OR furlough\* OR downsi?e OR dismiss\* OR sacked OR strike”

*Full list of search terms used in this study (in Spanish)*

“empear OR "dar empleo" OR empleo OR empleado\* OR trabajador OR servidor OR personal OR trabajador OR asistente OR ayudante OR mesero OR barman OR tabernero OR Vigilante OR mayordomo OR Jefe OR Chef OR cocinero OR recepcionista OR "guía turístico" OR "equipo de limpieza" OR trabajo OR vocación OR pasion OR ocupación OR profesion OR carrera OR "equipo de trabajo" OR "lugar de trabajo" OR "equipo de laboratorio" OR nomina OR sueldo OR camarero”

*Full list of search terms used in this study (in Simplified Chinese)*

“雇用 OR 服务员 OR 工人 OR 雇员 OR 服务人员 OR 厨师 OR 导游 OR 空姐 OR 员工 OR 小时工OR 工作 OR 职业 OR 劳动力OR 工作场所 OR 薪资 OR 工资 OR 津贴 OR 加班费 OR 补偿金OR 工会 OR 雇用 OR 招聘 OR 失业 OR 裁员 OR 解雇 OR 停职 OR 罢工”

*Full list of search terms used in this study (in Traditional Chinese)*

“僱用 OR 服務員 OR 工人 OR 僱員 OR 服務人員 OR 廚師 OR 導遊 OR 空姐 OR 員工 OR 小時工 OR 工作 OR 職業 OR 勞動力 OR 工作場所 OR 薪資 OR 工資 OR 津貼 OR 加班費 OR 補償金 OR 工會 OR 僱用 OR 招聘 OR 失業 OR 裁員 OR 解僱 OR 停職 OR 罷工”

*Notes:*

\*words with multiple endings of any length. For example, employe\* will search for news articles including the terms of ‘employees’, ‘employee’, or ‘employer’.

? words with either British spelling or American spelling are included.

APPENDIX B: THEMES WITH EXAMPLE NEWS TITLES

Sub-Themes	Themes	Example news articles titles/(top line)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● New business opening</li> <li>● Business reopening</li> <li>● Firm expansion</li> <li>● New appointment</li> <li>● Growing employment</li> <li>● Costs increase</li> <li>● Job losses by large employers</li> <li>● The plight of tourism workers on casual or commission-based contracts</li> <li>● Iconic local operators and brands closing down</li> <li>● Significant worsening of employment conditions</li> </ul>	<p><b>1. Businesses in flux</b></p>	<p><b>2019:</b></p> <p><u>Los Angeles:</u> <i>Panda Express looking to fill 1,300 jobs in Los Angeles.</i></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>La reapertura del antiguo hotel Lasa de Recoletos creará en Valladolid 35 empleos este año [The reopening of the old Lasa de Recoletos hotel will create 35 jobs in Valladolid this year] (New hotel opening, and some jobs creating)</i></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Las reservas crecen hasta un 12 % en una Semana Santa con récord de empleo; SEMANA SANTA TURISMO [The reserves grow up to 12% in a Holy Week with record employment; HOLY WEEK TOURISM ](Good tourism numbers flow to employment numbers)</i></p> <p><u>Sydney:</u> <i>CEO brings Virgin power base back to Brisbane (appointment of new airline executive)</i></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>Wetherspoon disappoints as slowdown and wage bill bite.</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Barbuto, a Casual Fixture in the West Village, Is Closing.</i></p> <p><u>Beijing:</u> <i>Xiapuxiapu: 2019 reng jiang chixu kaidian kuozhang fanzuolv xiahua yinfa yingli qianjing danyou [Xiabuxiabu: 2019 will continue to open stores and expand, and the decline in turn-over rate raises concerns about profit prospects]/ Chinese hotpot restaurant chain faces costs pressure)</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Zuidi gongzi houriqi zengzhi \$37.5 canyingye shijiajia [The minimum wage will increase to \$37.5 from now on]</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Hong Kong jiulou zhen xi ji nan ai [ Hong Kong restaurants are really difficult] / (HR costs rise, restaurant business gets harder)</i></p> <p><b>2020:</b></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Etihad suspende rutas a Madrid y Barcelona, mientras Norwegian aplica un ERTE al 90% de la plantilla [Etihad suspends routes to Madrid and Barcelona, while Norwegian applies an ERTE to 90% of the workforce]</i></p>

	<p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>La hostelería podría empezar su desescalamiento con 600.000 empleos menos [The hospitality industry could begin its de-escalation with 600,000 fewer jobs]</i></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Madrid prevé aumento de paro del 5,4 % por COVID-19, con 60.500 empleos menos; MAD-CORONAVIRUS EMPLEO (Ampliación) [Madrid foresees an increase in unemployment of 5.4% due to COVID-19, with 60,500 fewer jobs]</i> (Higher unemployment - hospitality hit the worst).</p> <p><u>Los Angeles:</u> <i>Disney Leads Pack of Industry Cutbacks: Production companies, talent agencies also turn to downsizing!</i> (Massive furloughs mainly of theme park staff; many execs reducing salary but not bonuses).</p> <p><u>Cape Town:</u> <i>Covid-19: final flight for United Airline /</i> (Final flight from SA, with job losses).</p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Worker woes at Factory!</i> (Chain cutting 41,000 hourly paid jobs because of pandemic).</p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Large restaurant companies announce layoffs!</i> (Layoff of 1000 workers by restaurant company).</p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>A Layoff Storm Is on the Way!</i> (Reports increased layoffs with focus on hospitality industry examples (plus other sectors)</p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Genting group plans unprecedented pay cut as coronavirus shuts casinos!</i> (salary cut for casino workers in casino resort as a consequence of COVID-19).</p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Singapore Airlines announces deeper pay cuts and compulsory no-pay leave!</i>(Salary cuts and compulsory leave for airline staff).</p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>BA jobs threat acute at Gatwick!</i> (massive scale of job losses in airline industry anticipated).</p> <p><u>Sydney:</u> <i>Virgin redundancies to top 1000: CEO!</i> (Virgin job losses).</p> <p><u>Sydney:</u> <i>Qantas extends flight suspensions!</i> (Qantas stands down 20K workers).</p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Danyue jizeng 2.8wanren canyin lvyouye zhognzai shiyelv shengzhi 4.2% chang jinjiuniangao [A sharp increase of 28,000 in a single month, the unemployment rate in the catering and tourism industry hit 4.2%, a record high in more than nine years].</i></p>
--	--

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Perceived worker injustices</li> <li>● Health and safety breaches</li> <li>● Measles among flight attendants</li> <li>● Furloughed workers being forced to seek work in different roles</li> <li>● Hard time faced by retrenched employees</li> </ul>	<p><b>2. Employee wellbeing</b></p>	<p><b>2019:</b></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Flight Attendant Is in Measles-Related Coma After New York-Tel Aviv Route. (New York) Fair firings for fast-food workers; Be our guest / (Report on precarious conditions for fast food workers).</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Chacanting dietou fanshi yibanjian banjie yantou zhongzhaowangmin: chixian ! chaoniguding ?[Half of the meal in the tea restaurant is half of the cigarette butts. Netizens are recruited: Fried nicotine?]/ (Food safety issue in restaurant)</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Mazhen kuosan guotaicheng zhuyiweinue haigangren [The spread of measles Cathay Pacific helps the epidemic and harms Hong Kong people].</i></p> <p><b>2020:</b></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Chuan meixin caiyuan yubairen she jiuliu bingdian deng bumen [It is rumoured that Maxim's layoffs more than 100 people involved in restaurants, cake shops and other departments]</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>10wan yuangong fang wuxinjia Dishini yueqian 39yi [100,000 employees take unpaid leave, Disney expects to save 3.9 billion a month].</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Feeding hope Relief for hospitality sector / (Furloughed hospitality workers hired in large numbers for mortgage support work).</i></p> <p><u>Beijing:</u> <i>Chaoshi shezhi daojia shequ fuwuzhan, yu canyinqiye 'gongxiangyuangong', baozhang chengshi gongying [Supermarkets set up home-based community service stations to "share employees" with catering companies to ensure the city's supply and build a safe and fast consumption scene in Beijing]</i></p>
--	-------------------------------------	--

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Celebrating named/high profile/celebrity chefs</li> <li>• New venues openings by celebrity chefs</li> <li>• Celebrity chef support health workers</li> </ul>	<p><b>3. Celebrity profiles and roles in tourism work</b></p>	<p><b>2019:</b></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>Michelin-starred chef to open restaurant inside the last bank in Moseley.</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Gucci Osteria Pop Up / (celebrity chef opening pop-up restaurant).</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Sowing The Seeds Of Growth / (New restaurant start up with young chef).</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>New luxe sushi bar by chef Koichiro Oshino of Shinji opens July at the Raffles Hotel (Opening of new restaurant by chef).</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Hua Ting gets Gold, four restaurants debut on the Silver list for Best Asian Restaurants Awards</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Hyatt nvchushi jishen quanqiudasai 6qiang; xingbie wuai pengren rechen muqian dailing tuandui 30 duoren [Hyatt female chefs are among the top 6 in the global competition; gender-free cooking enthusiasm currently leads a team of more than 30 people].</i></p> <p><u>Sydney:</u> <i>Nod to the past / (new pub, showcasing new chef).</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Here's steak with a 'Catch' / (New NY restaurant with reference to chef)</i></p> <p><b>2020:</b></p> <p><u>Los Angeles:</u> <i>Chef Nancy Silverton Contracts COVID-19 While Feeding Restaurant Workers In Need/ (Famous chef test positive after serving food to workers in need).</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Celeb chefs unite to feed hungry, help bleeding restaurants</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technological disruptions to service work</li> <li>• Digital transformation in businesses</li> <li>• Job redesign</li> <li>• Labour substitution</li> </ul>	<p><b>4. Changing operational environments (through technology) in tourism</b></p>	<p><b>2019:</b></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Yihe yinshijituan congxiaershang shuma zhuanxing [Jardine Catering Group's digital transformation from bottom to top].</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Jiudian yuangong yishilv jin 35%, yejie chang yinru keji gaishan yingyun [The turnover rate of hotel staff is nearly 35%. The industry advocates the introduction of technology to improve operations].</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Redesigning jobs helps IR stay on track for growth.</i></p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘New normal’ working conditions (e.g., social distancing)</li> <li>• Restaurants switching to home delivery services</li> </ul>	<p><u>Sydney:</u> <i>The new rules for dining out / (Technology changes consumers’ behaviour which has further impact on staff).</i></p> <p><b>2020:</b></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Shangmen chushi dao huifuwu yishi zhuanying gaodang waimai biandang [Door-to-door chefs attend the meeting to serve the epidemic city and switch to high-end takeaway lunches].</i></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Cvirus.- Telepizza mantiene activos más de 2.500 empleos en la región [Cvirus.- Telepizza maintains active more than 2,500 jobs in the region]/(Maintaining staff for delivery and take-out food for large pizza retailer)</i></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>La capital acelera para adelantar la apertura de la hostelería; El Ayuntamiento y los empresarios se reúnen hoy para marcar una hoja de ruta [The capital is accelerating to bring forward the opening of the hospitality industry; The City Council and the businessmen meet today to mark a roadmap] / (Preparing to re-open, new rules and requirements for employees - waiters, cooks etc).</i></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>El plan de los bares en Madrid para la reapertura: mamparas, terrazas y aforos [The plan of the bars in Madrid for the reopening: partitions, terraces and capacity]</i></p> <p><u>Los Angeles:</u> <i>Restaurant Chain Everytable Hiring Hundreds Including Cooks And Drivers Amid Coronavirus Crisis / (Delivery food company is booming, hiring many positions).</i></p> <p><u>Los Angeles</u> <i>Starbucks to reopen 90% of US stores by June in ‘carefully planned stages,’ according to report / (Reopening Starbucks carefully and with new rules).</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Now, Even a Chef With a Michelin Star Is Selling Takeout.</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Village Spot Upscales Takeout With \$600 ‘Doomsday Dinner’: Report / (Up-scale home dining option from restaurant).</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>New Jersey Restaurants Hope To Soon Reopen Their Doors To Customers With Safe Dining Plan In Place/ (Reopening measures for NJ restaurants).</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Takeaway is the new fine dining</i></p>
--	---

		<p><u>Beijing:</u> <i>Beijing tongheju, hongbinglou deng duoqia laozixing daxiaocanguan tuichu fencan zhidu [Beijing Tongheju, Hongbinlou and many old-fashioned restaurants, such as large and small restaurants, promote meal sharing service]s/(Restaurants introduced take-aways).</i></p> <p><u>Beijing:</u> <i>Beijing qidong chuangyi 'fangxincanting' fabu 6tiao pingxuan biaoqun [Beijing launches the creation of "rest assured restaurant" and publishes 6 selection criteria] / (Beijing Cuisine Association announced criteria for being recognised as 'Covid-safe' restaurants).</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Public support for businesses</li> <li>● Co-ordinated government response</li> <li>● Criticisms about government late-response</li> </ul>	<p><b>5. (Emerging theme) Tourism work in policy formation and implementation</b></p>	<p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Casado ofrece a los hosteleros que no puedan abrir ayuda por parte de los gobiernos del PP [Casado offers to the hoteliers who cannot open help from the PP governments] / (Govt offering support to businesses which cannot open due to COVID)</i></p> <p><u>Los Angeles:</u> <i>'I Feel Lost And Unheard': Laid-Off Workers Facing Issues Receiving Unemployment Money/(Difficulty workers having with accessing the unemployment benefits).</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>JetBlue to get \$935 million in federal CARES Act payroll support/(Payroll support for airline to keep business afloat).</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Covid-19: The first 100 days in S'pore; Coronavirus: Pulling out all the stops to save lives, and the economy/(Report on Government response to COVID-19, using fast food context and employee as case example).</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Tourism businesses affected by Covid-19 to receive wage subsidies of up to 75% for 9 months/(Government subsidies for tourism workers).</i></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>Mark Wahlberg 'is using taxpayers' cash to pay furloughed staff at his London restaurant' despite being worth over £240million/(HNWI using govt funds to pay furloughed staff in restaurant).</i></p> <p><u>Beijing:</u> <i>Renshebu: quanguo you 8 gesheng zhidingle shiye buzhuji shixize [Ministry of Civil Affairs: A total of 61.553 million people in need have been subsidized by 1.88 billion yuan across the country]</i></p> <p><u>Beijing:</u> <i>Beijing tuichu 13tiao lvyouye bangfu zhengce [Beijing launched 13 tourism industry assistance policies] /(Provide supports to tourism industry and tour guides).</i></p>

		<p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Lvshe jiudian kangyi jijin zhiyuan jihua jieshou shenqing [The hotel and hotel anti-epidemic fund support program accepts applications]</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Baojiuye jihua wuqingwuchu fuhao jiudian jianxin jiuwang [The job-guaranteed plan is not clear; Regal Hotel will cut salaries and save the nation]</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Repurposing hotels, restaurant to support health workers or for quarantine</li> <li>● Airline employees helping community and health workers</li> <li>● Tourism staff taking local service roles</li> </ul>	<p><b>6. (Emerging theme)</b> <b>Tourism workers and the community</b></p>	<p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Almeida visita el Four Seasons, que cocina menús diarios para los necesitados [Almeida visits the Four Seasons, which cooks daily menus for those in need / (A hotel kitchen cooking food for needy during COVID).</i></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Madrid habilita un hotel para alojar a 120 personas sin hogar con síntomas leves de coronavirus [Madrid enables a hotel to accommodate 120 homeless people with mild symptoms of coronavirus] / (Hotels offering accommodation to sick or needy).</i></p> <p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Fundación Ángel Nieto y Grupo Larrumba reparten menús entre sanitarios y familias sin recursos en Madrid [Coronavirus. - Ángel Nieto Foundation and Grupo Larrumba distribute menus among health workers and families without resources in Madrid] / (More community support from groups of professionals, chefs etc to feel and help people in need)</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>A health care haven Goldman's hotel a respite for pandemic heroes/(Reuse of luxury hotel to cater for health workers, passing reference to skeleton staff)</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Tis the Seasons to help out/(Four Seasons, NY accommodating medical staff with employees doing health checks on guests).</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>Gateway JFK sends hundreds of meals to frontline workers in southeast Queens/(Food sent to frontline workers, helping local restaurants and their staff)</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>NYC Michelin-Star Restaurant To Feed Healthcare Workers/(Restaurant converted to charity kitchen).</i></p>



		<p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Coronavirus: Hotels among lodgings being used to house foreign workers from dormitories/(Hotels used because of trained employees).</i></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>The 'accidental' nano bakery raising dough for local charities/(good news story about chefs using their skills, knowledge and connections to provide charity bread and provisions to the needy while the business is closed).</i></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>British Airways cabin crew to help out at Croydon hospital</i></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>AND THE GOOD NEWS IS Five-star hotel offers rooms free of charge to NHS Nightingale staff / (free rooms offered in hotels to NHS staff).</i></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>Bella Italia reopens kitchen for West London NHS Trust workers / (restaurant chain reopens to cook for NHS workers).</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Xinshijie manfei jiudian zhusu wei yihu daqi [Free hotel accommodation in New World to cheer up medical care]/(Hotel offered free stay of health workers).</i></p> <p><u>Hong Kong:</u> <i>Disney song 6,000 fen woxin liwu wei yihu daqi [Disney sent 6,000 heartwarming gifts to cheer up the medical care] /(Disney donate to hospital workers).</i></p> <p><u>Singapore:</u> <i>Some grounded SIA crew now staff customer service counters, monitor social media /(Airline worker redeployment, taking other jobs and skills training during pandemic).</i></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>British Airways cabin crew to help out at Croydon hospital / (furloughed airline staff volunteering in hospitals).</i></p> <p><u>Sydney:</u> <i>Crew flying high one moment, cleaning hospital toilets the next / (commentary about airline workers taken on new jobs/careers due to the collapse of their industry).</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expressions of fear and anxiety among tourism workers</li> </ul>	<p><b>7. (Emerging theme) At the frontline –</b></p>	<p><u>Madrid:</u> <i>Los trabajadores de hostelería de La Manga tienen miedo a ir al trabajo [Hospitality workers in La Manga are afraid to go to work]</i></p> <p><u>Los Angeles:</u> <i>Coronavirus: California fast food workers to strike over workplace safety concerns</i></p>

TOURISM WORK, MEDIA & COVID-19

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protests at safety concerns for frontline tourism workers</li> <li>• Workers' concerns over lack of transparency</li> </ul>	<p><b>is tourism work safe?</b></p>	<p><u>Los Angeles:</u> <i>Workers At Crenshaw McDonald's Walk Out After Worker Tests Positive for Coronavirus/(Employees scared and walk out after colleague tests positive to Covid).</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>NYC Chipotle Employees Protest Unsafe Working Conditions/(Worker protest by restaurant staff about safety during pandemic).</i></p> <p><u>New York:</u> <i>They're Still Working at the Airports, and They're Scared/(Airport workers, deaths from virus and issues individual workers have faced)</i></p> <p><u>London:</u> <i>Hospitals sound alarm over privately run virus test centre at Surrey theme park</i></p> <p><u>Sydney:</u> <i>Qantas staff not told 100 cruise passengers were on flight/(staff from Qantas comment that they were not informed of the risks).</i></p> <p><u>Sydney:</u> <i>Union: Qantas cleaner's suspension over virus fears 'discriminatory'/(dispute between Qantas, employee and union).</i></p> <p><u>Beijing:</u> <i>Minhangye de tingfei shike: kongcheng shouru dafu suoshui you feixing xueyuan dao canting shangban [The moment of suspension of the civil aviation industry: the income of flight attendants has shrunk sharply, and there are flight students to work in restaurants]</i></p> <p><u>Beijing:</u> <i>Yiqingzhixiade lvyou conggezhe: 4geyue lingshouru, yue jinsheng 826yuan 81% de daoyou chuyu tinggong zhuangtai [Tour guide under the epidemic: 4 months of zero income, only 826 yuan left]</i></p>
--	-------------------------------------	--

APPENDIX C: REFERENCES OF CITED NEWS ARTICLES

- Alkhatib, S. (2019, April 30). Check-in worker jailed for accepting bribes at airport. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Almeida visits the Four Seasons, which cooks daily menus for those in need. (2020, May 5). *EFE Agency*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- And the good news is five-star hotel offers rooms free of charge to NHS Nightingale staff. (2020, April 21). *Evening Standard*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Austin, P. (2020, April 9). Fast Food Workers Plan Strike To Protest Coronavirus Conditions. *Patch*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Beijing qidong chuangyi 'fangxin canting' fabu 6tiao pingxuan biao zhun [Beijing launches the creation of "rest assured restaurant" and publishes 6 selection criteria]. (2020, May 6). *PR Newswire*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Bourke, J. (2019, May 8). Wetherspoon disappoints as slowdown and wage bill bite. *Evening Standard*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Cai, J. (2020, May 8). The moment of suspension of the civil aviation industry: the income of flight attendants has shrunk sharply, and there are flight students to work in restaurants. *Sohu News*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Celeb chefs unite to feed hungry, help bleeding restaurants. (2020, April 1). *KELLIKENNED*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Chacanting dietou fanshi yibanjian banjie yantou zhongzhaowangmin: chixian! chaoniguding? [Cigarette butts in the meals of Yum Cha restaurant: fried cigarette butt]. (2019, May 1). *Hong Kong 01*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Covid-19: final flight for United Airlines. (2020, March 24). *Cape Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Crudele, J. (2020, April 9). Feeding hope Relief for hospitality sector. *New York Post*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

## TOURISM WORK, MEDIA & COVID-19

Diner, waiter arrested after restaurant fight. (2019, April 18). *The New Paper*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Disney Leads Pack of Industry Cutbacks: Production companies, talent agencies also turn to downsizing. (2020, April 27). *Los Angeles Business Journal*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Domingo, M. (2020, April 16). Madrid enables a hotel to accommodate 120 homeless people with mild symptoms of coronavirus. *ABC*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Ee, J. (2020, April 10). Takeaway is the new fine dining. *Business Times Singapore*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Ellingson, A. (2020, March 30). Los Angeles recruits hotel rooms during coronavirus crisis. *L.A. BiZ*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Free hotel accommodation to cheer up health workers. (2020, April 17). *AM730*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Han, H. (2020, March 26). Cruise passengers quarantined in luxury hotel. *The Australian*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Hayes, K. T. (2020, April 30). Starbucks to reopen 90% of US stores by June in ‘carefully planned stages,’ according to report. *My Fox Alos Angeles*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Hernandez, J. (2020, April 9). Coronavirus: California fast food workers to strike over workplace safety concerns. *KABC Los Angeles*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Kangyi jijin zhiyuan jihua jieshou shenqing [Hospitality and hotel anti-epidemic fund support program accepts applications]. (2020, April 19). *Hong Kong News*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Los trabajadores de hostelería de La Manga tienen miedo a ir al trabajo [Hospitality workers in La Manga are afraid to go to work]. (2020, March 13). *The Opinion of Murcia*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

- Chuan meixin caiyuan yubairen she jiuliu bingdian deng bumen [It is rumoured that Maxim's layoffs more than 100 people involved in restaurants, cake shops and other departments]. (2020, May 8). *Sing Tao Daily*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Kaur, K. (2020, March 24). Singapore Airlines announces deeper pay cuts and compulsory no-pay leave. *The New Paper*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Keil, G. J. (2019, March 11). Here's steak with a 'Catch'. *New York Post*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Koh, F. (2020, May 4). 800 SIA cabin crew serving in new roles in Covid-19 fight. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Li, J. (2019, April 26). Hyatt female chefs are among the top 6 in the global competition; gender-free cooking enthusiasm currently leads a team of more than 30 people. *Hong Kong Economic Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Neidike ju gouwu yizao gangdao yiliu lvba [Mainland tourists who refuse to shop are suspected of being left behind by Hong Kong tour guides]. (2019, April 24). *Oriental Daily*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- McGeehan, P. (2020, April). They're Still Working at the Airports, and They're Scared. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- McNally, G. (2020, April 1). Union: Qantas cleaner's suspension over virus fears 'discriminatory'. *Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Mazhen kuosan guotaicheng zhuyiweinue hai gangrene [Measles spreads in Cathay Pacific and causes harm to Hong Kong People]. (2019, March 31). *Oriental Daily*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Miller, B. (2020, April 15). JetBlue to get \$935 million in federal CARES Act payroll support. *New York Business Journal*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Moskin, J. (2020, March 19). Large restaurant companies announce layoffs. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.
- Murphy, M. (2020, April 2). British Airways 'to suspend tens of thousands of employees'. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

## TOURISM WORK, MEDIA & COVID-19

Ng, J. (2019, April, 13). Redesigning jobs helps IR stay on track for growth. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Nod to the past. (2019, April 23). *Inner West Courier*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

NYC Chipotle Employees Protest Unsafe Working Conditions. (2020, May 10). *Park Slope Patch*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

O'Connor (2020, April 6). British Airways cabin crew to help out at Croydon hospital. *Guardian*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

O'Doherty, J., & Armstrong, C. (2020, March 22). Qantas staff not told 100 cruise passengers were on flight. *Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

O'Grady, S. (2020, May 11). Mark Wahlberg 'is using taxpayers' cash to pay furloughed staff at his London restaurant' despite being worth over £240million. *MailOnline*, Retrieved from Factiva database.

Qantas extends flight suspensions. (2020, May 5). *Australian Associated Press*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Quinn, A. (2020, April 1). Village Spot Upscales Takeout With \$600 'Doomsday Dinner': Report. *West Village Patch*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Schneiders, B., & Millar, R. (2019, April 6). Sommelier sues top chef Martin Benn over redundancy and underpayment. *The Age*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Schwartz, K. (2019, April 19). Flight Attendant Is in Measles-Related Coma After New York-Tel Aviv Route. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Smith, E. (2020, April 9). Tis the Seasons to help out. *New York Post*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Seymour, A. (2020, April 14). Bella Italia reopens kitchen for West London NHS Trust workers. *Foodservice Equipment Journal*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Smith, K. (2019, May 1). Panda Express looking to fill 1,300 jobs in Los Angeles, Orange counties. *Daily Breeze*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

## TOURISM WORK, MEDIA & COVID-19

Smith, K. (2020, April 18). Airbnb offers free stays to medical workers during coronavirus outbreak. *Redlands Daily Facts*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Sytsma, A. (2020, April 16). How Many More Great Restaurants Will New York Lose?. *New York Magazine*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Tan, H. Y. (2019, April 5). New luxe sushi bar by chef Koichiro Oshino of Shinji opens July at the Raffles Hotel. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Tan, S. (2020, May 3). Covid-19: The first 100 days in S'pore; Coronavirus: Pulling out all the stops to save lives, and the economy. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.F

Tan, T. M. (2020, April 17). Coronavirus: Hotels among lodgings being used to house foreign workers from dormitories. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Tay, T. F. (2020, March 26). Tourism businesses affected by Covid-19 to receive wage subsidies of up to 75% for 9 months. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Telepizza mantiene activos más de 2.500 empleos en la region [Telepizza maintains active more than 2,500 jobs in the region]. (2020, April 28). *Europa Press*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

La hostelería podría empezar su desescalamiento con 600.000 empleos menos [The hospitality industry could begin its de-escalation with 600,000 fewer jobs]. (2020, April 22). *EFE Agency - National Service*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Zuidi gongzi houriqi zengzhi \$37.5 canyingye shijiajia [The minimum wage will increase to \$37.5 from now on]. (2019, April 29). *Sky Post*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

El plan de los bares en Madrid para la reapertura: mamparas, terrazas y aforos [The plan of the bars in Madrid for the reopening: partitions, terraces and capacity]. (2020, April). *The Provinces Online*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

La reapertura del antiguo hotel Lasa de Recoletos creará en Valladolid 35 empleos este año [The reopening of the old Lasa de Recoletos hotel will create 35 jobs in Valladolid this year]. (2019, March 12). *The North of Castilla Online*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Las reservas crecen hasta un 12 % en una Semana Santa con récord de empleo; SEMANA

SANTA TURISMO [The reserves grow up to 12% in a Holy Week with record employment]. (2019, April 13). *EFE Agency - National Service*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Yiqing zhi xia de lvyou congyezhe: 4geyue lingshouru, yue jinsheng 826yuan 81% de daoyou chuyu tinggong zhuangtai [Tour guide under the epidemic: 4 months of zero income, only 826 yuan left]. (2020, May 4). *Madidian-Hotel Industry Portal*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Wang, S. (2020, April 21). A sharp increase of 28,000 in a single month, the catering and tourism industry hit the unemployment rate to 4.2%, the highest in more than nine years. *Sing Tao Daily*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Wary, M. (2019, March 25). CEO brings Virgin power base back to Brisbane. *Courier Mail*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Baojiuye jihua wuqingwuchu fuhao jiudian jianxin jiuwang [The job-guaranteed plan is not clear, Regal Hotel will cut salaries and save the nation] (2020, May 1). *Oriental Daily*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Yaffe-Bellany, D. (2020, March 31). Now, Even a Chef With a Michelin Star Is Selling Takeout. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Young, G. (2019, April 28). Michelin-starred chef to open restaurant inside the last bank in Moseley. *Birminghammail*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Yu, X. (2020, April 29). The Beijing Regional Museum will resume opening in an orderly manner on May 1st. *Chinanews.com*. Retrieved from Factiva database.

Zhao, L. (2019, May 7). Beijing travel agency discusses improving the awareness of safe production management. *CIDOS*. Retrieved from Factiva database.