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Introducing Critical Debates on Gender-Based Violence in Tourism

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Let's think of all the things that women can't do, in all the places we can't go, do you think that is equality? Gender-based violence, sexual harassment, femicide and rape build imaginary barriers, delimit those places where women 'can't go'.

(Ruiz-Navarro, 2016)

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In her weekly column in the online newspaper *El Espectador*, Colombian-Caribbean feminist activist and journalist Catalina Ruiz-Navarro writes about contemporary feminist movements and women's rights in Latin America. We chose to start this introduction with a quote from the column 'Por que tan Solitas?' [Why so Alone?], published on 2 March 2016 in response to news of the murder of two young Argentinian tourists who were spending their holidays in the surfing town of Montañita, Ecuador. The news of this double femicide was widely reported by Latin American sources and commented on by readers from across the region. The overtones of victim-blaming, including the statement of an Argentinian psychiatrist who labelled the choice of backpacking as a 'high risk activity' that contributed to the heinous crime (BigBang, 2016), led to a heated online discussion on women's freedom of movement and the right to travel without fear of sexual or gender-based violence (GBV) (see the Twitter hashtag #viajosola, which means 'I travel alone'). At the time, we not only empathized with young women's desire to travel freely and overcome gender inequalities in Latin America and other regions of the world, but as gender and tourism scholars, we reflected on the need to examine the multiple dimensions and manifestations under which GBV or violence directed against a person on the basis of gender (UN General

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Assembly, 1993) is enacted in tourism contexts, and to explicitly engage with GBV as a theoretical framework.

To fulfil this purpose, we organized a session at the Royal Geographical Society and the Institute of British Geographers' Annual International Conference in August 2018. The session was co-sponsored by the Geographies of Leisure and Tourism Research Group (GLTRG) and the Gender and Feminist Geographies Research Group (GFGRG). Through an exploration of the dynamic transnational landscapes of violence, which 'respect[s] no geographic or cultural boundaries' (Pritchard, 2014), the session presenters discussed some of the most salient issues around GBV in tourism, including sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality industries, violence against female travellers and sex trafficking in global tourism. Our call for chapters for this book allowed us to expand the scope of relevant topics and receive meaningful contributions from emerging and established scholars interested in this crucial yet under-researched phenomenon in the tourism academy. Even though all the submissions discursively work within binary categorizations of gender, they provide a critical examination of asymmetric power relations and gender inequalities that either facilitate or legitimize GBV in different tourism contexts.

While it is assumed that enhancing gender equality supports the struggle against gendered forms of violence, the evidence is inconclusive (Merry, 2011). When bringing tourism into the equation, the multiple power geometries characterizing tourism production and consumption intersect to further complicate the interrelationship between violence and gendered societies and cultures. To capture the inherent complexity of GBV, this introduction first engages with the conception of violence and explores its intersections with gender from different disciplinary angles. Second, it exposes the silences surrounding landscapes of GBV in tourism and the power imbalances that constitute the reification of GBV in its potentially most pronounced example in tourism, namely sex tourism. Third, it examines sexual harassment, which is a key constituent of GBV and has a long tradition in the hospitality and tourism industry. This is followed by an outline of the book's structure.

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1.1 Disciplinary Perspectives on Gendered Violence

In the social sciences, the dominant approach is to account for violence through its equation with physical force taken against human life (Matthews *et al.*, 2013). While this allows for the quantification of physical violence using, for example, rape or homicide rates, it does not account for the diverse character of violence, which encompasses physical, sexual, emotional, material, structural and symbolic forms. Conceptions of moral superiority often prevail, when considering the patriarchal roots of violence. Patriarchy refers in its original sense to the 'rule of fathers over their families' (Bowden and Mummery, 2009). By extension, this is understood as the different constellations of societal and familial frameworks in which men have predominant power (Merry, 2011). Individuals who endorse patriarchal norms, are

more prone to engage in sexually harassing behaviour compared with those who do not (Berdahl, 2007). However, patriarchy alone does not suffice to explain the persistence of GBV. While it often plays an enabling function, legitimizing GBV in different contexts, it does not elucidate the underlying inequality-producing mechanisms. A patriarchal lens further supports a heteronormative perspective, which often misses other differences, such as violence in lesbian and gay relations, or considerations of classism, racism and ableism (Merry, 2011). Transcending these binaries is key to advance our understanding of the complex intersectional politics of gender and violence.

Violence can further be studied from different actor perspectives. Psychological studies have engaged with the psychology of the violator and the violated. There exists no typical harasser. Rather, understanding violence requires an engagement with the ways in which enacted values and roles have become institutionalized through history, shaping power relations that encode and evaluate gender. '[A]ll societies tend to confer a higher social value on men than women and a range of norms and powers derive from this' (Jewkes *et al.*, 2015, p. 1581). In the relatively few studies centred on violence against women in travel and tourism, there is a tendency to focus on individual risk perceptions (e.g. Yang *et al.*, 2018). However, the wider psychology of violence is rooted both in individual experiences and risk perceptions, as well as in the social structures of gender inequality. For example, individuals' exposure to violence influences their proneness to engage in violence themselves – providing insights into both the psychology of the violated and the violator (Jewkes *et al.*, 2015).

On the other hand, women's risk perceptions are significantly shaped by the wider cultural milieu that (re)produces specific gender norms establishing the boundaries of what is perceived to be gender-conforming behaviour (Eger *et al.*, 2018). This is illustrated in the study by Isis Arlene Díaz-Carrión (see Chapter 8), where women outline a range of coping strategies to 'protect' themselves from the perceived gendered risk factors of engaging in mountain bike tourism in Mexico. The author develops a schematic depiction, which shows how women adjust their use of public space based on their risk perceptions, especially with regard to sexual harassment and assault. Also in this volume, Siân Stephen discusses the expectation that when on holiday you *must* enjoy yourself and you *must* be respectful of the local culture even if that culture is not respectful of you. Siân minimizes the sexual harassment she experiences by utilizing a liberal mental schema whereby she in effect blames herself for not behaving properly for the local context, but also understands that she too is entitled to her human rights, which creates moments of almost cognitive dissonance (see Chapter 9).

The law and legal studies often provide form-giving definitions of 'slippery' concepts such as GBV. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) represents a form of international bill of rights for women. It provides a general definition of GBV as violence directed against a person on the basis of gender (UN General Assembly, 1993). Its prevailing form is violence against women and girls, which represents any act 'that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or

psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life' (UN General Assembly, 1993). The Istanbul Convention recognizes violence against women as a human rights violation and it is 'the first international treaty to contain a definition of gender as "a socially constructed category" that defines "women" and "men" according to socially assigned roles, behaviours, activities and attributes. It firmly establishes the link between achieving gender equality and the eradication of violence against women' (UN, 2018). However, different countries have different legal systems and follow different gender ideologies. Also, as Tenia Kyriazi points out, different regulatory schemes apply when comparing domestic violence with violence in the workplace (see Chapter 7). Many national legislations define GBV exclusively in terms of intimate partner violence (e.g. Organic Law 1/2004 in Spain, discussed by Alberto Rodríguez and Laura Aguilera in Chapter 10), which excludes many other forms of gendered violence such as trafficking of women and sexual violence. This highlights the complexity of naming a phenomenon that is characterized by different structural configurations and arguably structural disfigurements.

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1.2 The Politics of Naming Violence and Gender in Tourism

Violence in tourism contexts is described as a slippery concept (Salazar, 2017), which often passes unnoticed, due to the routinization and normalization of acts of violence and the use of euphemisms that 'sanitize' violence, such as sex tourism (Jeffreys, 1999). Violence is often conceptualized as happening 'elsewhere' in tourism (Lozanski, 2014). This obfuscates the ways in which violence has become embedded in local systems of power through the colonial legacy (Merry, 2011), which continues to develop in neo-colonial fashion (Salazar, 2017). Violence in other places becomes more visible due to media coverage and the attribution of violence as intrinsic to particular cultural norms and practices (see e.g. Lozanski, 2007). On the other hand, tourism imaginaries often draw on the disassociation from the indeterminate Other, which characterizes the concealment of violence in tourism advertising campaigns, products and practices (Devine and Ojeda, 2017). In one of the first edited collections on tourism and violence, Andrews (2014) notes that the 'violent underpinnings of tourism [are] infrequently expressed with words'. In the *Encyclopaedia of Tourism*, violence is not indexed but dark tourism and warfare tourism are, which Salazar (2017) terms violence-as-tourism.

Globally, one out of three women has experienced GBV (World Health Organization, 2013), revealing a wider culture of sexism and patriarchal power that is often obfuscated for the sake of a well-functioning tourism system (Chambers and Rakić, 2018). GBV has a long history of being silenced within the traditionally male-dominated social sciences (Walby et al., 2014). While the politics of naming violence in tourism is highly complex (Andrews, 2014; Büscher and Fletcher, 2017; Salazar, 2017), naming violence emerges as a crucial political and ethical task that cannot be reduced to an analysis of

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the positive and negative repercussions of violence in tourism. According to gender role theory, violence and harassment punishes gender-role deviances (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Berdahl, 2007). In line with Jocelyn Finniear, Nigel Morgan, Donna Chambers and Ana María Munar's argument (see Chapter 3), the accompanying silence will not protect women from violence, echoing the words of Lorde (2017). There is no empowering form of silence when considering gendered violence, and, while most victims of GBV are women, men, boys and sexual minorities (LGBT) also suffer from GBV, due to the pervasiveness of heteronormative and Western-centric constructions of violence (Meyer, 2015).

In 2017, women around the world marched against gender inequality and GBV under the banners of various movements such as #NiUnaMenos and #MeToo. These movements have not only highlighted the pervasive nature of violence against women, but have also contributed to generating new forms of resisting GBV, through naming violence, sharing personal stories and voicing collective concerns. Elaine Chiao Ling Yang, Yaxin Chen and Ching-Hua Ho provide an original analysis of the #MeToo movement describing hashtag activism as part of a new emerging form of fourth-wave feminism (see Chapter 11). Similarly, the organizations profiled in this volume have adopted innovative strategies to address gender inequality and name all forms of gender violence (e.g. Guerrilla Girls, Las Kellys).

1.3 Sex Tourism and the Nexus Between Tourism and Human Trafficking

A diverse body of research has explored the commodification of children, women and men in the global sex trade (e.g. Kempadoo, 1999; Davidson, 2005; Jeffreys, 2008; Kibicho, 2016; Sanders-McDonagh, 2016). Tourism plays a key role in the globalization of sexual exploitation (Jeffreys, 1999; Enloe, 2000), with tourism bodies failing to adopt adequate measures against sexual exploitation and human trafficking (Pritchard, 2014). Tourism has 'given the sex industry new means of exploiting, marketing and supplying women and children as commodities to buyers' (Equations, 2007, p. 70 cited in Pritchard, 2014), emphasizing the twin dynamics of violence and commodification (cf. Büscher and Fletcher, 2017). The undignified 'trading' of human beings reflects the wider inhumane power geometries of commercial sex based on the treatment of women as objects, with women representing 85% of the victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation (womenlobby.org). Prostitution has been described as sexual violence in and of itself, with the most common forms being unwanted sexual intercourse and sexual harassment (Jeffreys, 1999). These forms of sexual violence are often accompanied by deep traumatic experiences of abuse and denigration, with prostitutes frequently suffering from post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) and having a significantly higher rate of suicide compared with the average population in the USA. Prostitution tourism (Jeffreys, 1999) has contributed to the growth and

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internationalization of these inhumane practices that severely undermine the equal dignity of each human being.

1.4 The ‘Long Tradition’ of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment represents a constituent element of GBV and has a long tradition in the hospitality and tourism industry (Poulston, 2008). It represents an act of violence that reinforces gender inequality in the labour market and in society more widely. MacKinnon’s (1987) work has been influential in coining sexual harassment as an issue of sex discrimination, emphasizing how legal advances are key to create a lexicon in the struggle against different forms of harassment and violence. Despite these legal advances, Hande Turkoglu argues that sexual harassment in the workplace continues to be a silenced phenomenon (see Chapter 4), sustained through hegemonic discourses and ‘the complicity of various third-party actors’ (Fernando and Prasad, 2018, p. 21).

Sexual harassment can be broadly defined as ‘unwanted behaviour of a sexual nature’ (Poulston, 2008, p. 236). This behaviour is often subdivided into unwanted sexual attention, sexual coercion, sexual hostility and sexist hostility (Fitzgerald *et al.*, 1997). Gender hostility, i.e. sexual and sexist hostility, and unwanted sexual attention pertain to the legal category of hostile work-environment harassment, while sexual coercion forms part of *quid pro quo* classification of sexual harassment (Leskinen *et al.*, 2011). These can have wide-ranging impacts on mental and physical health as well as work productivity (Gilbert *et al.*, 1998; Pritchard, 2014; Cheung *et al.*, 2018). Ayla Deniz and İsmail Kervankiran showcase the tensions and conflicts experienced by female workers in the Turkish tourism industry, where patriarchal gender stereotypes abound (see Chapter 5); while Zaid Alrawadieh and Derya Demirdelen explore the experience of sexual harassment as perceived by female tour guides and its impacts on wellbeing and quality of work life (see Chapter 6). Leskinen *et al.* (2011), however, argue that the prevalent use of the term ‘*sexual*’ harassment serves to highlight its core focus being on unwanted sexual attention. To provide a wider conceptualization of an already quite complex phenomenon, they propose to use the term ‘*gender*’ harassment instead, to also capture forms of harassment motivated by hostility (Berdahl, 2007). In line with this argumentation, Jocelyn Finniear, Nigel Morgan, Donna Chambers and Ana María Munar examine gender-based harassment more widely (see Chapter 3).

Various studies have explored sexual and gender-based harassment in the tourism and hospitality sectors (e.g. Guerrier and Adib, 2000; Pritchard and Morgan, 2006; Poulston, 2008; Cheung *et al.*, 2018; Ram, 2018); however, the true extent and potential risks of sexual and gender-based harassment in the industry are not known (Cheung *et al.*, 2018). This indicates the invisibility and routinization of GBV, which is often compounded by a static perspective that does not take structural factors into consideration. It becomes even more difficult to establish some form of measurement when considering

the extent of sexual harassment and assault experienced by female travellers. 'Harassment of tourists in general is a neglected area of study but is pervasive and global and in the case of sexual harassment overwhelmingly experienced by women' (Pritchard, 2014). Effective measures and interventions against sexual and gender-based harassment hence require actions from employers, such as establishing sexual harassment and equal opportunity policies (Jordan, 1997; Cheung *et al.*, 2018). Fostering organizational voice, however, also requires opening up spaces of trust and support where problems that are often considered taboo are thematized (Munar *et al.*, 2017). Individuals must feel supported by others to speak out against their harasser (Bowen and Blackmon, 2003).

1.5 Overview of the Book

The current focus on women's responsibilities for the safeguarding of their own security when working in tourism or travelling for leisure purposes does little to disrupt or transform gendered norms and stereotypes. Wider societal and institutional changes are required to address the underlying systemic and structural issues, including beliefs and norms of masculinity, to be transformative of gender relations (Jewkes *et al.*, 2015). Yet, while we portray a dismal picture, experiences of travel and work in tourism can also become a means of fighting GBV (Vettori, 2017), leveraging resistance and hope in the face of violence. Hashtag feminism might be one avenue to contribute to creating discursive spaces that challenge and problematize the 'long tradition' of sexual harassment and different forms of violence prevailing in the tourism industry. In exploring the links between gender inequalities and violence in tourism, this edited volume seeks to advance an integrated approach to study the multiple forms of violence that women encounter in tourism production and consumption. The chapters are presented as small collections linked by theme and divided by profiles of organizations and initiatives that are attempting to tackle GBV in the tourism industry and beyond. This book aims to provide a platform for these groups to emphasize the positive movements and initiatives in the field. The profiles are intended to foster wider discussions, for example in class, to harness awareness on gender issues in tourism. We present, in order, Guerilla Girls (a global group of intersectional activist artists), Las Kellys (an association of women hotel housekeepers based in Spain), Sasane sisterhood of trekking and travel (a travel social enterprise based in Nepal), Orange Together (a campaign to address transgressive behaviour at Denmark's Roskilde Festival) and Ni Una Menos (an international feminist campaign that emerged in Argentina).

In Chapter 2, Ellen W. Koppa and Lauren N. Duffy conduct a systematic literature review of the causes of GBV against women, and investigate the relationship between tourism and GBV. The themes that emerge from the review refer to the macro structures that regulate the organization of social life, including: patriarchal and gender ideologies; collectivism and familism; honour codes; religious practices; history of conflict and colonization; and

gender-racial stereotypes. Inadequate legal and policy frameworks against gender discrimination and violence are also factors that contribute to the prevalence or normalization of GBV. Similarly, the intersection of tourism and GBV points to the patriarchal nature of hospitality (i.e. sexual hospitality), a culture dominated by men in top managerial positions, and the exploitation and sexualization of women in tourism marketing. This theoretical chapter thus contributes to rationalize GBV as a significant tourism problem that needs to be addressed through gendered and culturally sensitive approaches and ethical industry practices.

In Chapter 3, Jocelyn Finniear, Nigel Morgan, Donna Chambers and Ana María Munar explore the pervasiveness of gender-based harassment and violence in tourism academia. They contribute to building a much-needed vocabulary for resistance and recovery of those affected by GBV. The organizational collusion of gender-based harassment contributes to the further marginalization and isolation of victims. In order to challenge these power structures, the underlying processes maintaining the chilly climate in higher education need to be made visible, especially in the tourism academy, which remains highly male-dominated. The intersections between professional and social hierarchies function to elevate certain identifications, such as race, class and sexuality, aggravating individuals and marginalized groups susceptibility to harassment. This discursive chapter represents an important call for more research on GBV as an organizational issue that is inherently intersectional, to start unravelling some of the pervasive silences and symbolic violence that we encounter in our everyday workplace cultures.

In Chapter 4, Hande Turkoglu defines the concept of sexual harassment in the hospitality and tourism sectors within the framework of GBV. While the hospitality and tourism sectors have historically employed a large number of female workers, women are overrepresented in stereotypical occupations that are traditionally gendered as 'female domestic tasks', such as the housekeeping and food-service departments. The gendered environment of hospitality and tourism workplaces, combined with tough working conditions and high levels of interaction between employees and customers, creates an unequal distribution of exposure to risk of violence. A key contribution of this chapter is the adoption of an intersectionality lens to discuss the impact of sexual harassment on specifically vulnerable identities, such as migrant workers, young employees and members of the LGBT community. Industry could do more to address sexual harassment in the workplace through staff training, the improvement of diversity management, and the enhancement of reporting policies and procedures.

In Chapter 5, Ayla Deniz and İsmail Kervankıran explore the gendered structure of employment in the Turkish hotel sector in Antalya. The traditional roles assigned to men and women play an important role in (re)producing gendered labour divisions in the hospitality industry. This elevates the spatial and moral dimensions of gender at work, which are particularly pronounced in Muslim-majority countries. The strong patriarchal underpinning of the gender regime in Turkey and its interconnection with violence is explored through 35 in-depth interviews with women employed across six

different hotels in Antalya. There exists limited official data and statistics on GBV in this context. This reifies the importance of this study, which sheds light on women's experiences of different forms of violence in their daily working lives. Ayla Deniz and İsmail Kervankıran conclude that an important mechanism to speak up against violence would be the increasing unionification among employees, especially female employees, to start challenging the sedimented inequality regimes.

In Chapter 6, Zaid Alrawadieh and Derya Demirdelen conduct a qualitative analysis of the experiences of sexual harassment as perceived by female tour guides in a collectivist and relatively patriarchal culture (Turkey). The study identifies key sources of harassment (i.e. tourists, tour leaders and local service providers) and examines the influence of sexual harassment on participants' wellbeing and quality of work life. This empirical chapter sheds light on the consequences of sexual harassment in tour guiding services. Female tour guides seem to tolerate unwanted sexual attention due to the normalization of gender violence and harassment in their cultural context and their work environment. Tour guides thus tend to adopt individual strategies to manage and overcome the gendered interactions with clients, colleagues and other service providers. They are also unlikely to report incidents of sexual harassment due to fear of retaliation on the part of perpetrators (e.g. customer complaints). The authors recommend that tour guiding enterprises adopt codes of practice to deal with customer sexual harassment and establish clear reporting procedures.

In Chapter 7, Tenia Kyriazi links tourism with the trafficking of human beings and offers a legal lens in order to understand the phenomenon. The chapter considers international legal instruments and the legal obligations of states alongside corporate social responsibility practices. Specifically, the United Nations (UN) Anti-Trafficking Protocol is discussed alongside other regulations in order to highlight how human trafficking should be dealt with. Most importantly for practitioners the chapter includes an explanation of the *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations 'Protect Respect Remedy' Framework* as a foundation for several initiatives within the tourism industry to put an end to sex tourism, child exploitation and human trafficking. Examples of tools that can aid stakeholder interventions and private sector collaborations towards the eradication of human trafficking are introduced at the end of the chapter.

In Chapter 8, Isis Arlene Díaz-Carrión explores gendered risk perceptions as a form of violence in women's use of public space, focusing on women mountain bikers in Mexico. Her study highlights the ways in which tourism spaces and research have been and continue to be dominated by an inherently male norm, i.e. the male-as-norm. This has wide-ranging implications for women's engagement and experience of mountain-bike tourism. The author advances tourism knowledge on gendered violence through developing a model that delineates the interconnections between space, risk and violence, with the complex intersections thereof leaving a gendered imprimatur upon everyday tourism geographies. The women mountain bikers interviewed in this study highlight that the perception of risk can and

does materialize in women's embodied experiences of tourism. The author concludes that the promotion of safe public spaces requires more proactive policy measures that prevent violence against women to encourage solo or 'women-only' travel.



In Chapter 9, Siân Stephens utilizes auto-ethnography to explore how the double-bind shapes and constrains women's travel choices and behaviour. The lively discussion focuses on how many women believe they should be able to travel by themselves safely, but that often this is not possible due to gender norms in the destination. Siân explains that this is confounded when coupled with a desire to respect local cultures, which is linked to race and culture when considering the influence of post-colonial guilt. This is all explored eloquently through a reflexive auto-ethnographic method that allows us to travel to Morocco with her as she asks herself why she decided to revisit a country where she had faced sexism and abuse.



In Chapter 10, Alberto Rodríguez and Laura Aguilera engage with fragile Spanish masculinities as they explore a campaign that warns tourist men of local legal practices that in their eyes favour women. This masculine backlash is something that has occurred across the world and is well documented in the popular media (see the documentary *Red Pill*, for example), but this particular campaign is interesting to scholars as the group specifically targets tourists. Tourists have been utilized as a vehicle to garner international attention and support for other causes, but few have studied how they might be utilized to further men's rights. This chapter is the only contribution to specifically focus on men in this book and it does so by providing evidence of feelings of victimization and a fight for men's rights in a country that has an alarming number of femicides each year.

In Chapter 11, Elaine Chiao Ling Yang, Yaxin Chen and Ching-Hua Ho explore fourth-wave feminism and hashtag activism by analysing to what extent the #MeToo movement has been utilized by travellers. The study of Twitter tweets highlights how travellers may feel empowered by the movement and as such are encouraged to share stories. Many tweets illustrated that the journey is a space where sexual harassment is likely to occur, as are hotels, where women described being harassed by a colleague or manager. ^{AO8} The tweets that discussed hotels led the authors to conceptualize the hotel as a sexual space, and data highlighted domestic violence, harassment towards employees and victim-blaming all occurring within this space. Alarming 14.5% of tweets using the hashtag were to victim blame. While many tourism researchers utilize Tripadvisor as a source of data, the chapter shows that social network data can yield rich insights into gender relations within tourism.

Expanding recent efforts to explore the links between tourism and violence (e.g. Andrews, 2016; Devine and Ojeda, 2017), while incorporating a feminist lens and an explicit gender focus, this book presents a selection of current theoretical and empirical work conducted at the frontiers of tourism research on GBV. In the process of identifying and naming GBV, all the authors contributing to this book challenge and transform the ways in which we understand the intricate relationship between gender and violence in tourism. ^{AO9}

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