

Sexual Harassment: Overlooked and under-researched

Abstract

Purpose – The paper focuses on the gap between the very high prevalence of sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry (the phenomenon) and the limited academic discussion about it (academic knowledge), and suggests ways to bridge this gap.

Design/methodology/approach - The gap between phenomenon and knowledge is identified by comparing official data regarding sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry with a content analysis of the academic literature. Tribe's (2006) Knowledge Force-Field model is used to analyze this gap.

Findings – The five truth barriers identified by Tribe (2006), namely, person, rules, position, ends, and ideology are confirmed by the data. Five counter forces - triangulation, interdisciplinary, collaboration, humanism and critical praxis are developed to counter these truth barriers.

Practical implications – The five counter forces offer practical solutions for research, higher education programs and the tourism industry. They demonstrate ways to reduce the high prevalence of sexual harassment in the industry and improve the working conditions of employees.

Originality/value – Underpinned by Tribe's conceptual model, the paper identifies and analyzes a relative silence about sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality academy in contrast to its prevalence in the industry. Additionally, it advances Tribe's model by identifying five truth facilitating forces. Further, it offers a research agenda for revealing hidden topics and/or biased knowledge by understanding the relationship between tourism and hospitality phenomena and academic knowledge.

Key words: Sexual harassment, Triangulation, Interdisciplinary, Collaboration, Humanism, Critical praxis, Tourism knowledge

1. Introduction

Tribe's (2006) work on truth barriers in tourism knowledge indicated that some issues are systematically overlooked or misinterpreted by tourism and hospitality researchers. Although he provided a detailed conceptual analysis of why this happens, he did not provide much empirical evidence for these truth barriers or suggested how to overcome them. This paper aims to address this gap by offering empirical evidence and ways to counter truth barriers in academic research. It does so by focusing on the case of sexual harassment as an example of an overlooked and misinterpreted topic. As the industry is multi-faceted (Davidson et al., 2011), the terms tourism and hospitality include the various sectors of the industry (e.g., restaurant, events, accommodation).

Reports by the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work (EU-OSHA, Milczarek, 2010) and the International Labour Office (ILO, Hoel and Einarsen, 2003) recognized tourism and hospitality as having the highest level of sexual harassment incidents compared to any other sector. These reports and other studies (e.g., McMahon, 2000; Poulston, 2008a) also emphasize the widespread negative impacts of sexual harassment on individuals, organizations and society as a whole. Yet, the tourism and hospitality literature largely ignores this issue, leaving the industry and higher education institutions without appropriate tools for understanding and addressing this phenomenon (Hoel and Einarsen, 2003; Hunt et al., 2007).

Given this clear gap between the phenomenon and academic knowledge of sexual harassment in tourism, this paper aims to:

a) Present an empirical case that demonstrates the gap between the phenomenal world and knowledge using Tribe's (2006) model.

b) Suggest ways to make sexual harassment issue more visible in the academic literature.

c) Re-conceptualize Tribe's (2006) model by including new forces that can narrow the research gap between phenomena and knowledge.

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3 d) Suggest practical implications regarding knowledge transfer between
4 academia and industry.
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7 To address these, the article is organized as follows: first the issue of sexual
8 harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry and its limited representation in the
9 academic literature is introduced. Next, the gap between the phenomenon (high
10 prevalence of sexual harassment) and knowledge about it (limited discussion in the
11 academic literature) is analyzed using the conceptual model of Tribe (2006). The final
12 part of the paper extends Tribe's (2006) model to include new forces that offer an
13 agenda to overcome truth barriers with a focus on sexual harassment, but with
14 theoretical and practical implications for the tourism and hospitality in general.
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20 21 22 **2. The gap between phenomenon and knowledge – The case of sexual** 23 **harassment** 24 25

26 *2.1. Definition of sexual harassment* 27

28 Sexual harassment is defined by the Directive 2002/73/EC of the European
29 Commission as: "a situation where any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or
30 physical conduct of a sexual nature occurs, with the purpose or effect of violating the
31 dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading,
32 humiliating or offensive environment" (Equal Treatment Amendment Directive, 2002).
33 Similarly, the American Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC, 2002)
34 indicates that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that violates Title VII
35 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and defining it as: "An unwelcome sexual advance,
36 requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature
37 constitute sexual harassment when this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an
38 individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work
39 performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment".
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49 This definition stresses that sexual harassment is a multi-faceted phenomenon
50 and that the harasser and the victim can be either woman or a man, supervisor, co-
51 worker or non-employee. Additionally, the victim does not have to be the person
52 harassed, but anyone affected by the offensive conduct. The EEOC guidelines
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3 recommend that the victim directly informs the harasser, who must stop her/his
4 misbehavior, and may use any employer complaint mechanism available.
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8 9 *2.2. The Phenomenon: Sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry*

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11 Hoel and Einarsen (2003) indicated in the ILO report on violence at work in hotels,
12 catering and tourism that some of the key characteristics of the industry can be seen
13 as stress factors, and may contribute to high prevalence of violence in this sector,
14 including sexual harassment. These characteristics are long shifts, irregular hours
15 and times (weekends, holidays), unstable income that is often heavily reliant on tips,
16 weak industrial relations' institutions and a sense of employee vulnerability, the
17 nature of the interface between workers and customers, operation in the "night
18 economy" conditions that center on alcohol consumption and erotic atmospheres and
19 an ambiguity between private and public norms. Furthermore, the ILO report noted
20 that tourism and hospitality sector attracts vulnerable groups of workers, specifically,
21 women, part-time employees, young people, migrants, and members of ethnic
22 minorities (Hoel and Einarsen, 2003). The combination of these characteristics
23 facilitates, directly and indirectly, problems such as bullying, violence, stress and
24 sexual harassment (Baum, 2013; Hoel and Einarsen, 2003; Poulston, 2008a; Ram,
25 2015).
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37 According to the EU-OSHA (Milczarek, 2010), four percent of employees (men
38 and women) in the hotel and restaurant sector, are sexually harassed each year.
39 This prevalence is higher than reported in any other sector, such as health care,
40 police forces, education or communication (Milczarek, 2010). While there is a lack of
41 official data from non-European countries, national reports in the UK, Luxemburg,
42 Denmark and Norway echo these findings (Hoel and Einarsen, 2003). Hoel and
43 Einarsen (2003) and others (e.g., Hunt et al., 2007; O'Learey-Kelly et al., 2009)
44 emphasize that sexual harassment is largely underreported and likely to be a more
45 widespread issue.
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52 An expression for the wide prevalence could be found in the tourism academic
53 literature, which report high rates (between 24% and 96% of their samples) of
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3 sexually harassed employees. The lowest percentage, 24%, was found in a sample
4 of employees in hospitality workplaces in Auckland, New Zealand (Poulston, 2008b).
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6 The proportion increased slightly to 28% in a sample of American women who
7 worked in the hospitality industry and reported unwanted sexual touching. The
8 proportion rose to 40% when the women in the sample were asked about insulting
9 sexual comments (Eller, 1990). More recently, Theocharous and Philaretou (2009)
10 found that 56% of their sample of employees from the hospitality industry in the
11 island of Cyprus, both men and women, reported unwanted contact or touch. A
12 higher prevalence was found in the Coats et al. (2004) study on the restaurant
13 industry in Hong Kong, where 66% of women reported having been harassed. In a
14 corresponding study, Agrusa et al. (2002) found that 74% of their sample (both men
15 and women) of employees in restaurants in New-Orleans felt that they have been
16 harassed. A Ninety-six percent prevalence of sexual harassment was reported by
17 room attendants in Queensland, Australia (Kensbock et al., 2015). The most
18 alarming findings were found in Cho's (2002) study of 77 female employees from
19 Korea which reported 527 different incidents of visual, verbal or physical sexual
20 harassment, reflecting almost seven incidents, on average, for each respondent.
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Studies that focused on experiences of hospitality students while being in supervised work or practicum periods yield similar results, ranging from 57% percent of British students that reported sexual harassment incidents (Worsfold and McCann, 2000), up to 78% of Zimbabwean students (both men and women) that said they had been victims of sexual harassment and to 91% of Taiwanese students who reported certain forms of sexual harassment (Lin, 2006).

2.3. *The knowledge: Quantitative analysis of sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality academic literature*

Evidence of knowledge of sexual harassment in the academic literature was found using a quantitative content analysis of the "Hospitality and Tourism Complete" collection on the EBSCOhost Discovery Service. According to EBSCO (2014) this collection "covers scholarly research and industry news relating to all areas of

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3 hospitality and tourism". It contains "more than 828,000 records with coverage dating
4 as far back as 1965. There is a full text for more than 490 publications, including
5 periodicals, company & country reports, and books". Using a quantitative content
6 analysis is an established method to examine the development of knowledge in
7 different fields such as nursing (Mantzoukas, 2009), communication (Riff et al.,
8 2014), education (Rourke and Anderson, 2004) and tourism (Scott et al., 2015).
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14 A search using the key words of "sexual harassment" for research papers that
15 were published in academic journals and subjected to peer-review produced 34
16 results. The rationale for focusing on peer-reviewed papers was to provide a clear
17 frame boundary for sampling and to standardize the method of qualitative content
18 analysis as much as possible. Furthermore, the peer review system can be viewed
19 as a screening mechanism that filters academic knowledge and thus plays an
20 important epistemological role. To learn if this represents a "standard" number of
21 papers in the field, comparative searches were conducted for other work-related
22 issues (i.e., burnout, turnover and gender & work) non-normative behaviors (i.e., drug
23 use, theft) as well as sex-related issue (sex, sex & work). As indicated by Table 1,
24 there is low awareness of sexual harassment in comparison to other work-related
25 issues and misbehaviors in a tourism and hospitality context.
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34 **[Table 1 here]**

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36 From the 34 papers about sexual harassment, 28 had full-text but only 20 were
37 relevant for our analysis, meaning that sexual harassment was the main theme of the
38 paper, rather than marginally mentioned. These 20 papers were subject to further
39 analysis, presented in Table 2. The EBSCO search only reveals papers published
40 since 2000, and so overlooks older works such as Woods and Kavanaugh (1994)
41 Kohl and Greenlaw (1981), Aaron and Dry (1992), Gilbert et al. (1998) and Eller
42 (1990).
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48 **[Table 2 here]**

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50 Table 2 reveals that more than a half of the papers focus on tourists, students and
51 employers but not on employees. The papers (n=8) that did focus on employees
52 were published mainly in hospitality journals (or tourism and hospitality journals). On
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3 the other hand, the papers published in tourism journals, tend to focus on tourists or
4 students, with only one (Theocharous and Philaretou, 2009) addressing employees.
5 Generally, these papers did not generate much impact in the academic community,
6 since only one (Yeung, 2004) was significantly cited. But this paper focused on
7 students rather than employees. The issue of sexual harassment has also been
8 overlooked outside academia. Although the United Nations World Tourism
9 Organization recognized that women are more vulnerable to sexual exploitation due
10 to links between tourism and the sex industry; the notion of sexual harassment is
11 entirely missing from its report on women in global tourism (UNWTO, 2011).
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18 The official sites of the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) and the United
19 Nation World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) revealed nothing about coping with the
20 extremely high prevalence of sexual harassment in the industry. Interestingly, in
21 other sectors national and international organizations take responsibility for improving
22 labor conditions of employees. For an example, the International Labor Organization
23 (ILO), the International Council of Nurses (ICN), the World Health Organization
24 (WHO) and the Public Services International (PSI) joined to protect health staff from
25 the violence of clients (Wiskow, 2003). Similarly, the American National Education
26 Association (NSA) takes responsibility for protecting teachers from the violence
27 (Simpson, 2011), and the British Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) leads
28 the campaign against violence towards teachers in the UK (ATL, 2012).
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39 **3. Truth barriers and sexual harassment in tourism and hospitality**

40 *3.1. Tourism knowledge and Tribe's (2006) "Knowledge force-field" model*

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42 Knowledge production issues have captured the attention of tourism scholars
43 (Belhassan and Caton, 2009; Botterill, 2001; Liburd, 2012; Platenkamp and Botterill,
44 2013) who have discussed the epistemological gap between tourism knowledge and
45 phenomenon. Other relevant concepts were developed, as well, such as hermeneutic
46 phenomenology (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010), ethical practice (Feighery, 2011) and
47 problemology (Lai et al., 2015). However Tribe's (2006) concept of the "'knowledge
48 force-field' is one of the most cited analyzes of tourism knowledge, with a strong
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3 emphasis on issues of power (Belhassan and Caton, 2009). Considering the strong
4 relationship of sexual harassment with the notion of power relations (Popovich and
5 Warren, 2010; Ram, 2015), Tribe's model was deemed the most suited for the
6 conceptual framework of the present work.
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10 Tribe (2006) argued that the academic community invariably represents the
11 current social system and order, and is thus constrained by existing societal power
12 relationships. Additionally, he concluded that academic knowledge covers only a
13 small fraction of the real world and overlooks a wide range of topics. Tribe suggested
14 the existence of truth barriers, namely – person, rules, positions, ends and ideology
15 that together can unwittingly promote a limited production of academic knowledge
16 (the zone within the letters ABC, in Figure 1) and cause a blind spot that overlooks
17 the truth regarding some of the reality of tourism (the zone within the letters ACZ in
18 Figure 1). In other words, the knowledge captured and communicated in the literature
19 is limited because spoken issues can be biased by the combined impact of five truth
20 barriers, and there are many unspoken issues.
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35 3.2. *The five truth barriers and the case of sexual harassment*

36 3.2.1. *Person*. The person barrier refers to the "self" of the researcher, which is
37 based on personal experiences, attitude, traits, emotions and gender. The
38 researcher's self-influences the selection of subjects (what to study) and the
39 selection of research methods/interpretation methods (how to study). The
40 researcher's gaze (Hollinshead, 1992) is an important aspect of knowledge
41 production. The tourism academic world has been described as a dominated by
42 males (Johnston, 2001; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000; Tribe, 2006). This has two
43 potential consequences. First, sexual harassment is not a burning issue for men, as
44 they are less likely to be its victims (Hoel and Einarsen, 2003). Second, researchers
45 (men and women) tend to adopt the male gaze and focus on the interests of
46 managers and firms in relation to sexual harassment, such as legal and financial
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3 implications (Agrusa et al., 2000; Eaton, 2004; Gilbert et al., 1998; Sherwyn, 2010;
4 Sherwyn, Kaufman and Klausner, 2000; Worsfold and McCann, 2000).
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6 Yet, the predominance of the male gaze has shortcomings in fully explaining
7 the overlooking of sexual harassment by tourism researchers, especially given the
8 flourishing of critical theory in tourism studies (Ateljevic et al., 2007; Bianchi, 2009)
9 and the feminist voice that characterizes it (Aitchison, 2005; Jordan, 1997). Hence,
10 another potential explanation to the "person" barrier relates to the common
11 characteristic of academic researchers regarding social class, e.g., being educated,
12 privileged and living in developed countries. As such, researchers, both men and
13 women, may overlook issues of economic inequality and labor conditions, and focus
14 on "high-order" theoretical concepts such as critical research of meanings and
15 cultures (Bianchi, 2009). Furthermore, while being critical about cultural issues,
16 academic actors are the "beneficiaries of the power structure of the academy" (Hall,
17 2010a, p.210), so often ignore problems of the powerless, such as sexual
18 harassment. In short, well-educated, middle-class scholars tend to overlook this
19 issue that mostly affects lower social classes.
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30 3.2.2. *Rules*. These are the science zones, the disciplines that divide and create
31 boundaries in academia. When a field is dominated by a specific discipline, questions
32 that are beyond its boundaries tend to be neglected (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991).
33 This might perpetuate the overlooking of sexual harassment since it is a topic that
34 does not exclusively belong to any of the disciplinary science zones in tourism. To
35 illustrate this point, the different science zones and perspectives in tourism studies
36 will be described using Jafari's (2005) analysis. Jafari (2005) identified a process of
37 an evolution of tourism studies from economic topics to the social-cultural and then to
38 alternative forms of tourism (sustainable tourism). The pattern of publication of
39 papers addressing sexual harassment corresponds to Jafari's analysis. Most of the
40 papers that refer to sexual harassment from an economic/managerial perspective
41 were published more than ten years ago, in hospitality journals. These papers tend to
42 explore managers' views (Fernsten et al., 1988; Gilbert et al., 1998; Woods and
43 Kavanaugh, 1994); offer managerial tools (Aalberts and Seidman, 2001; Eaton,
44 2004; Eller, 1990; Sherwyn et al., 2000; Weber et al., 2002) and portray sexual
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3 harassment in the context of the impacts of tourism development on the local
4 community (Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996). However, this line of managerial
5 research tended to overlook the main victims of sexual harassment – the employees,
6 mostly women.
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10 Following the managerial focus, studies of sexual harassment that were
11 influenced by socio-cultural tradition have mostly been published in the last ten
12 years, but focused on tourists rather than on work environment. These works
13 disconnected the term sexual harassment from its origins – the workplace - linking it
14 instead to the dangers that tourists (especially female tourists) may face in various
15 destinations (Brown, 1999; de Albuquerque and McElroy, 2001; Kozak, 2007;
16 Lozanski, 2007).
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22 The more recently published works relate to topics of sustainability and
23 responsibility. These works address issues such as the need for ethics education
24 (Yeung, 2004; Yeung and Pine, 2003; White and Hardemo, 2002); barriers for
25 women employees, and women managers (Cho, 2002; Crafts and Thompson, 2007);
26 barriers for sexual minorities in the tourism and hospitality industry (Ineson et al.,
27 2013) and criticize the tradition of sexual behaviours in this industry (Poulston,
28 2008b; Theocharous and Philaretou, 2009). Attention has also been given to the
29 sexual harassment of students during the professional placement, emphasizing the
30 responsibility of higher education institutes (Lin, 2006; Mkono, 2010; Worsfold and
31 McCann, 2000). However, these latter studies tend to ignore managerial issues,
32 especially concerning socially responsible management (Ram, 2015).
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41 While Jafari's (2005) work did not refer to the importance of geography in
42 tourism, Hall (2013) pointed to its central role with a focus on space, place and
43 environment. But, again, geography rarely directly engages with the issue of sexual
44 harassment. In sum, falling between the cracks of different science zones and
45 perspectives, the issue of sexual harassment, which is not purely managerial,
46 geographical nor social or ethical, but rather a combination of these four
47 perspectives, has not received full academic attention.
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53 3.2.3. *Position*. Position relates to the physical domain, meaning the researcher's
54 geographical and cultural background and his or her department within a university,
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3 and to the psychological domain including concepts such as occupational belonging,
4 cultural background and identification with a specific academic community or tradition
5 (academic tribalism) (Tribe, 2006). The physical (academic) domain can explain why
6 scholars, having lecturing positions, tend to focus on students as subjects. From
7 eight papers that focused on employees, four of them addressed students (Table 2)
8 (Lin, 2006; Mkono, 2010; Yeung, 2004; Yeung and Pine, 2003), even though
9 students are only a marginal fraction of more than 200 million employees supported
10 by tourism sector (World Travel and Tourism Council, WTTC, 2015).

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12 Perhaps the most influential aspect of sexual harassment is the psychological
13 domain or the "academic tribe". These are the "tribe norms" that researchers tend to
14 obey (Becher, 1989). The norms in business schools, where many tourism
15 departments reside, include publishing in recommended lists of journals (Bennis and
16 O'Toole, 2005), using "impact factor" as a proxy for journals' quality and the number
17 of citations as reflecting the scientific value of papers (Campbell, 2008 2006) and for
18 institutional decisions regarding promotion, tenure, universities and departments
19 ranking and funding (Hall and Page, 2015). Consequently, researchers make efforts
20 to publish in high impact journals and ensure that their papers are cited (Todd and
21 Ladle, 2008). Strategies include avoiding topics that do not have much of a "scientific
22 rating" and thus have little chance to be published in high impact journals or to be
23 cited. Another strategy would be to focus on "safe" issues that will not cause a
24 potential dispute with editors or reviewers. Considering the low citation rates of
25 papers dealing with sexual harassment, (Table 2), and the high potential of this issue
26 to provoked unsupportive reviews it is not surprising that researchers avoid this
27 issue.

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29 Another "academic tribe" principle noted by Tribe (2006) is domination by the
30 elders of a field that function as the "gate keepers" of knowledge, by holding key
31 positions in journals, universities and conferences. As the elders of the tourism and
32 hospitality (as other) academic tribes are predominantly male, issues that are male-
33 peripheral may be filtered out by these powerful gatekeepers. This is further
34 supported by Poulston (2008b) observation that "even amongst mature hospitality
35 academics, there is a strong ethos of 'get over it' [sexual harassment] and 'it's just
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3 part of the industry" (p.239). When the elders are not interested, and the younger
4 academics aspire to maintain their academic positions within 'the system', issues
5 such as sexual harassment can be sidelined.
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9 3.2.4. *Ends*. This factor refers to the purpose of research. According to Tribe (2006)
10 the purpose of research in the academic field of tourism and hospitality tends to be
11 practical and mostly focus on "consumer satisfaction and planning and management
12 of resources" (p. 373). The discussion about consumer satisfaction has a direct link
13 to sexual harassment because the tourism industry offers close contact between
14 guests and employees, with an emphasis on pleasing the customers and thus may
15 be susceptible to incidents of sexual harassment by guests (Ram, 2015). Previous
16 studies (Aslan and Kozak, 2012; Eaton, 2004) adopted this view, but while doing so,
17 narrowed their discussion to one form of harassment (the one that was generated by
18 guests) and ignored other frequent forms of sexual harassment, those initiated by
19 peers and managers (Cho, 2002; Poulston, 2008b; Worsfold and McCann, 2000).
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27 The other component of the ends factor, which was described by Tribe (2006)
28 as managing resources, also contributes to knowledge bias. More specifically, sexual
29 harassment can compromise valuable organizational resources, and thus its victim is
30 the organization rather than the individual. In this sense, the individual serves as
31 means and the organization is the end (Aalberts and Seidman, 2001; Agrusa et al.,
32 2000; Eaton, 2004; Eller, 1990; Sherwyn et al., 2000; Sherwyn et al., 2001; Weber et
33 al., 2002). This means-end perspective considers the organization as a victim of
34 sexual harassment rather an employee, since it may suffer financial losses due to the
35 reduction in employees' productivity. "The maximisation of profit remains a pivotal
36 objective for service business activity and as such organisations need to deal
37 proactively with the issue of sexual harassment" (Gilbert et al., 1998, p.53).
38 Moreover, under the means-end perspective the goal of the organization will be to
39 minimize the potential costs so that in a case where an employee reports sexual
40 harassment incident it would "... exercise reasonable care, but not too much.... [if] it
41 was too easy to report harassmentemployee[s] did, in fact, report" (Sherwyn,
42 2008, p. 55).
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3 3.2.5. *Ideology*. Ideology refers to the fundamental beliefs that guide people's
4 thoughts and actions. One of the main ideologies in the tourism and hospitality field is
5 the western ideology, which favors consumerism and capitalism (Tribe, 2006). In the
6 context of tourism, one important link is between tourism and sex. "Tourism is
7 sometimes regarded as a 'sexy' business - it is glamorized, can be exploitative, and
8 certainly has used sexual imagery to sell its products" (Ryan and Kinder, 1996, p.
9 516). However, the link between sex and tourism goes beyond just selling the image
10 of sex, it is impregnated in the DNA of the industry. The philosophy of service, known
11 as "the customer is always right" constructs the superiority of customers over service
12 providers, implying that customers can misbehave while the service providers have
13 to tolerate it (Poulston, 2008a; Ram, 2015; Yagil, 2008).
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17 In an industry that is subtly or explicitly sold by sex themes, this philosophy
18 encourages employees (and especially women employees) to "serve the emotional
19 and sexual needs of tourists" (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000, p.888). As long as this
20 ideology is sustained, both academic and practitioners will demonstrate an
21 indifference to sexual harassment and may misinterpret it as an acceptable part of
22 the job. Furthermore, even employees in the industry identify with this ideology, as
23 Poulston (2008b) noted: "Sexual harassment is widely accepted by hospitality
24 workers, and to some extent, welcomed and enjoyed. As long as hospitality workers
25 accept behaviors that other workers find unacceptable, customers (and other
26 workers) will behave as they want, rather than as they should" (p.239).
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40 **4. Beyond Tribe: The counter forces**

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42 Tribe (2006) ended his work with the words "...they [tourism academics] should seek
43 to speak truth to power and facilitate the speech of the powerless" (p. 377) but
44 without suggesting how to do so. In the case of sexual harassment, due to its high
45 prevalence and serious consequences, potential tools for "facilitating the speech of
46 the powerless" are extremely important. In other words, it is not enough to merely
47 uncover the dynamics of biases in tourism knowledge. There is a pressing need to
48 re-conceptualize Tribe's model and consider factors that could counter biases and
49 create policies and practical tools. Thus, the following section discusses how to
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3 redress knowledge biases by suggesting five counter-forces: triangulation,
4 interdisciplinary, collaboration, humanism and critical praxis.
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8 9 *4.1. Triangulation as a counter to person*

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11 The truth bias of person is caused by the personal tendency of the researcher to
12 identify and select topics that correspond to his or her interests and beliefs. In the
13 context of sexual harassment, person bias leads researchers to ignore the issue or to
14 misinterpret its definition and consequences. A suggested counter force is
15 triangulation, meaning - looking at a phenomenon or a research question from more
16 than one perspective (Decrop, 1999). According to the triangulation principle,
17 different sets of data are investigated by different investigators, different theories and
18 different research methods (Denzin, 1978). Thus, methodological shortcomings,
19 derived from data or researchers biases, are controlled and prevented (Decrop,
20 1999; Denzin, 1978; Oppermann, 2000). Triangulation of investigators, male and
21 female, from different age groups and backgrounds with triangulation of data, from
22 industry sources, official reports, testimonies and surveys, could potentially counter
23 the truth barrier of person in the case of sexual harassment, but also in other
24 unspoken issues.
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34 35 *4.2. Interdisciplinary as a counter to rules*

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37 Rules describes the limits imposed by the traditions (or disciplines) that govern the
38 academic world. A suggested counter force to this truth barrier is interdisciplinary
39 which represents a synthesis of two or more disciplines, creating together an
40 integration of knowledge (Klein, 1990). Recently, Darbellay and Stock (2012) defined
41 interdisciplinary in tourism as "an organization of an interface between different
42 disciplines and bodies of knowledge in order to analyze the manifestations and the
43 existing complexities of society's touristic dimensions" (p.455). This sets a possible
44 antidote to the truth barrier of rules. The melding of the sociological and philosophical
45 with the economic and managerial can be an important facilitator here and would
46 help to address the multifaceted problem of sexual harassment as well as other
47 hidden issues in the tourism and hospitality industry. The advantage of
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3 interdisciplinary may even spread beyond the limits of the academic world. Tourism
4 organizations can join other international authorities, from different disciplines such
5 as education, health and labor authorities, which have already launched and
6 promoted programs against violence in workplace.
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10 11 12 *4.3. Collaboration as a counter to position* 13

14 The truth barrier of position contains both physical and psychological domains that
15 influence the point of view of the researcher, according to his/her physical location
16 and professional academic identity. A possible solution for this barrier will be the
17 encouragement of collaborative research. This topic has recently captured the
18 attention of the academic tourism literature, using both qualitative (ANT – Actor
19 Network Theory: Ren et al., 2010; Tribe, 2010) and quantitative (SNA – Social
20 Network Analysis: Ye et al., 2011) research methods. The analysis of Ye et al. (2011)
21 pointed out that the tourism field is still characterized by a relatively low level of
22 collaboration compared to other scientific fields. Furthermore, their study indicated
23 that tourism is a field with a very tight core of researchers, regularly co-authoring with
24 each other, while other researchers are more isolated from each other on the
25 academic periphery.
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34 Here, technology-driven collaborative networks can be a powerful tool for
35 enhancing collaboration. On-line platforms enable researchers from different
36 universities, organizations and agencies to exchange knowledge, to share opinions
37 and to be aware of voices that were silenced by the gate keepers of academia.
38 Liburd (2012) coined the term 'Tourism 2.0' to describe the process of creating
39 bottom – up tourism knowledge, which is based on pluralism, web 2.0 technology
40 and collaborative values. The platform of INNOTOUR (<http://www.innotour.com/>) is
41 an example of a web 2.0 collaboration network that focuses on tourism innovation.
42 Furthermore, collaboration might refer to networks of academics and practitioners
43 from specific regions, or worldwide that will work together to promote knowledge in
44 tourism.
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4.4. *Humanism as a counter to ends*

Consideration of ends highlights the tendency of researchers to see workers in the industry as resources (or means) for achieving other ends, such as guests' satisfaction or business success. This perspective is preserved through the mechanism of tourism and hospitality higher education that stresses vocational merits and neo-liberal frames of thought (Ayikoru et al., 2009).

A possible change would be achieved where higher education programs promote a humanist agenda, which addresses the broader question of liberal vs. skills-based vocational education (Dredge et al., 2012; Jamal, 2004; Tribe, 2002). It favors neither one nor the other but rather centers on values and agency of human beings – both individuals and collectively. It follows the call to include critical thinking and theories in the curricula: "graduates must exit the classroom with more than just the technical skills needed to abet their own ascent up the corporate ladder. They must leave with the recognition that they are moral architects in their occupational domain" (Belhassen and Caton, 2011, p. 1394). In this particular case, Yeung & Pine (2003) and Yeung's (2004) recommendation to include issues of sexual harassment in the curriculum is highly relevant. Additionally, the study of Biran et al. (2013) that characterized students as agents of social change follows a humanist principle of human agency.

4.5. *Critical praxis as a counter to ideology*

If ideology directs and controls our research in powerful but often undisclosed ways, then efforts to counter it should be directed towards unmasking ideology. Here the role of critical theory is to expose how ideology and power operate (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003; Tribe, 2008). Yet, critical praxis would take this an important step further by holding the promise to engage critical theory with action, practice and problem-solving (Kilduff et al., 2011). In this kind of problem-centered approach, the solutions (the "what works?" issue) are as important as the theory or method taken (Creswell, 2012). Problem solving is responsive to public needs (and not to ideology) and requires the flexibility, innovation and creativity of researchers (Leavy, 2011).

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3 Referring to sexual harassment in tourism and hospitality, the principle of
4 problem-solving is well demonstrated by the recent initiative of Bournemouth
5 University's School of Tourism in collaboration with the school of health & social care,
6 which organized a joint workshop on the problem of sexual harassment in the tourism
7 and hospitality workplace with practitioners, NGO's, union trades and academics
8 (Bournemouth University, 2015). More generally, the principle of problem solving has
9 been manifested in the field of tourism with at least two current cases. The first is the
10 active initiative of Critical Tourism Studies (CTS) network of scholars (Ren et al.,
11 2010). The second case of problem-solving deals with the action of fifty-two tourism
12 scholars that protested against a publication of a climate change denial paper in a
13 tourism journal (Hall et al., 2015). However, these two examples reflect initiatives of
14 academics, when a broader view is also needed, to include participants from both
15 academia and industry.
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27 **5. Conclusion**

28 5.1. General conclusions – speaking the unspoken

29 This paper deals with a paradoxical case of speaking the unspoken. Drawing on
30 Tribe (2006), it empirically investigated the assertion that there are subjects, which
31 are hidden from knowledge, or presented in a biased way because of five truth
32 barriers, i.e., person, rules, position, ends and ideology. Thus, to facilitate a more
33 open discussion of hidden real world phenomena and lead to a more fully developed
34 truth space, five counter forces were offered: triangulation, interdisciplinary,
35 collaboration, humanism and critical praxis. Figure 2 of the "Beyond Tribe" model
36 shows how the tourism phenomenon is translated to tourism knowledge by two
37 different paths. The path signified by the dotted line is that which was described by
38 Tribe (2006). It can lead to a partial and biased knowledge (ABC zone) due to the
39 operation of truth barriers (represented in the K circle in Figure 2). The alternative
40 path, signified by the solid line, demonstrates the deployment of the counter forces
41 (represented in the K* circle in Figure 2) which can lead to knowledge that is less
42 biased and partial (ABCZ zone). The "beyond Tribe" model can explain the
43 knowledge gaps regarding sexual harassment and ways to counter these gaps.
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3 Furthermore, it can also be generalized to explain knowledge gaps in other contexts
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7 **[Figure 2 here]**
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11 *5.2. Practical implications – for researchers, educators and industry*

12 The transfer of knowledge between research and business in tourism had been
13 previously described as a weak one (Xiao and Smith, 2007). The current
14 investigation provides more evidence of this weak link. However, while previous
15 works indicate a broken flow from research to business (Cooper, 2006; Xiao and
16 Smith, 2007), an important focus here is on a gap in information flow between
17 business to research. In both cases the result is the same: partial knowledge
18 contributes to poor performance and leads to sub-optimal results. Additionally, it
19 obstructs educators from providing their students with necessary knowledge and
20 tools.
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28 Academic institutions and especially business-oriented schools should be
29 responsible for providing their students with ethical norms and encouraging them to
30 employ these norms when working in the corporative world (Sigurjonsson et al.,
31 2014). Given the weak links between tourism higher education and industry, which
32 were described earlier, a university-industry collaboration in order to address the
33 sexual harassment problem may seem impossible. However, the re-conceptualizing
34 of Tribe's (2006) model offers a way to improve knowledge channels between
35 business and academia (and vice versa).
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42 Each of the five counter forces offers practical implications for research, higher
43 education programs and the tourism industry, either as facilitators, contributors or
44 beneficiaries (see Table 3 - practical implications of the five counter forces for
45 research, higher education and industry). Researchers may use multiple resources
46 (triangulation), focus on real-world problems (critical praxis) in their interdisciplinary
47 research teams, transferring knowledge to the academic community and the tourism
48 industry by means of web 2.0 technology. Additionally, they would develop web tools
49 for the industry, to help employees with knowledge and support (collaboration).
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3 Higher education programs with problem solving and interdisciplinary focus
4 would enhance students' practical knowledge and awareness of issues such as
5 ethics, gender and humanism. By doing that, both industry and the research
6 community will help to develop better employees, managers and scholars.
7 Additionally, educators and students can support researchers with data and
8 interpretation of data (triangulation), and in developing and collaborating in web 2.0
9 technology and knowledge transfer.
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15 Last and not least, the tourism industry will benefit with a better practical
16 knowledge and collaboration with the academia. Focusing on problem-solving with
17 cooperation with other sectors and using designated web platforms would help the
18 industry to address the high prevalence of sexual harassment in the industry and
19 improve work conditions to all employees.
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26 *5.3. Theoretical implications - for overcoming truth barriers*

27 This study of sexual harassment has provided key ideas for re-conceptualizing
28 Tribe's (2006) model and overcoming truth barriers in tourism and hospitality. The
29 suggested re-conceptualized model can be applied more generally, in identifying
30 hidden topics and guidance to avoid biases in knowledge. Additionally, it offers a way
31 to strengthen the ethical foundations of research in tourism studies. A pioneering
32 example for that is the "While Waiting for the Dawn" initiative (Munar et al., 2015),
33 aiming to raise awareness to the gender imbalance in the tourism academy. Its
34 humanistic point of view is supported by a triangulation of different databases,
35 analyzed by 12 researchers from different continents, backgrounds and fields,
36 providing an interdisciplinary perspective as well as collaborative approach. The
37 critical agenda is disseminated by using multiple active channels, among them –
38 seminars, workshops, video and written reports.
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48 In a second case, tourism knowledge is seen to be partial. Hall (2010b) noted
49 that tourism knowledge systematically overlooks the enormous group of people that
50 do not travel at all, focusing mainly on the rich minority that travels. All five counter
51 forces can be activated to improve the truth relating to this minority/majority bias.
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3 Triangulation of additional datasets to supplement data that is provided by tourism
4 related organizations such as the UNWTO is necessary. Additionally, both
5 interdisciplinary and collaboration are needed to address knowledge gaps, create
6 research groups and dialogue between scholars of different disciplines, regions and
7 backgrounds as well as practitioners. Finally, a humanist higher education and critical
8 praxis are key to changing the situation.
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15 *5.4. Limitations and future research*

16 The current study has empirically analyzed Tribe's (2006) truth barriers and
17 postulated five counter-forces beyond the original model. It is hoped that this analysis
18 will provide a blueprint to enable future research in tourism to be more deeply
19 engaged with "truth-telling" and give voice to more unspoken subjects.
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24 Like any study, this work has its limitations. First, the gap between academic
25 knowledge and the phenomenal world, in hospitality and tourism and in general,
26 could be studied using other academic publications (in addition to peer reviewed
27 papers) and to address other models and perspectives. Perspectives, such as
28 hermeneutic phenomenology (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010) ethical practice (Feighery,
29 2011) or problemology (Lai et al., 2015) are relevant and could identify additional
30 truth barriers or facilitating forces. Second, the five suggested counter-forces may
31 overlap. Collaboration overlaps with triangulation and interdisciplinary, humanism
32 shares issues with critical praxis, in a similar way to Tribe's truth barriers, which
33 overlap with each other and jointly produce a barrier for truth telling. The importance
34 of the five counter forces is derived from their collective function as truth facilitators
35 (Figure 2), rather than their independent impact.
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45 Future research may elaborate further on the counter forces, discuss possible
46 overlaps between them and advance their definitions. Additionally, more unspoken
47 issues are waiting to be discovered by using these counter forces and translating
48 them into policies and practical tools. Finally, the problem of sexual harassment in
49 the tourism and hospitality industry calls for more research on similar practical steps
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3 to influence governments and industry to highlight and address this illegal, unfair and
4 ugly phenomenon.
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Table 1. Number of papers in the Ebsco database of hospitality and tourism on SEXUAL HARASSMENT and other topics

Subject	Key words	Number of papers
Main search	Sexual harassment	34
Work related subjects	Burnout	65
	Turnover	427
	Gender & work	200
Misbehaviors/criminal behaviors	Drug use	63
	Theft	62
Sex related issue	Sex	489
	Sex & work	65

For Review Only

Table 2: Analysis of papers on SEXUAL HARASSMENT based on EBSCO search

Papers (sorted alphabetically)	Main field of publication (Hospitality/ Tourism/both)	The paper's main aim is about which population?					Citations >10
		Employees	Employers	Tourists	Students	Descriptive (not aiming to protect)	
Agrusa, Coats, Tanner & Leong (2002)	H & T					V	
Aslan & Kozak (2012)	H	V					
Cho (2002)	H & T	V					
Coats, Agrusa & Tanner (2004)	H & T		V				
Crafts & Thompson (2007)	H & T	V					
Eaton (2004)	H	V					
Ineson, Yap & Whiting (2013)	H	V					
Kozak (2007)	T			V			
Lin (2006)	T				V		
Lozanski (2007)	T			V			
Mkono (2010)	H				V		
Poulston (2008b)	H	V					
Sherwyn, (2008)	H		V				
Sherwyn, (2010)	H		V				
Sherwyn., Wagner & Gilman (2004)	H		V				
Theocharous & Philaretou (2009)	T	V					
Weber, Coats, Agrusa, Tanner & Meche (2002)	H & T					V	
White & Hardemo (2002)	H	V					
Yeung (2004)	H				V		V
Yeung & Pine (2003)	T				V		
Total		8	4	2	4	2	

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For Review Only

Table 3: Practical implications of the five counter forces for research, higher education and industry

	Research	Higher education	Tourism and hospitality industry
Triangulation	Using multiple resources, methods and data	Providing resources and receiving academic knowledge ←—————→	
Interdisciplinary	building interdisciplinary research teams; encourage tourism scholars to participate in research teams that focus on labor relations and social ethics issues	Cooperation between departments in developing tourism curriculum. For example – including classes in gender studies in the tourism curriculum	Learning from other fields (such as education and health) how to eliminate violence in the workplace
Collaboration	Using specific or general web 2.0 technology to promote knowledge transfer between academia and industry worldwide		Developing a dedicated web 2.0 platform (an online "hotline") for providing support to employees in the tourism industry
	Supporting with tools and knowledge —————→		
Humanism	Students as agents of change ←—————	Integrating a humanist agenda in the tourism curriculum	Students as agents of change —————→
Critical praxis	Focusing on problem-solving approach for problems that the tourism industry has to cope with, such as labor relations and environmental issues.		

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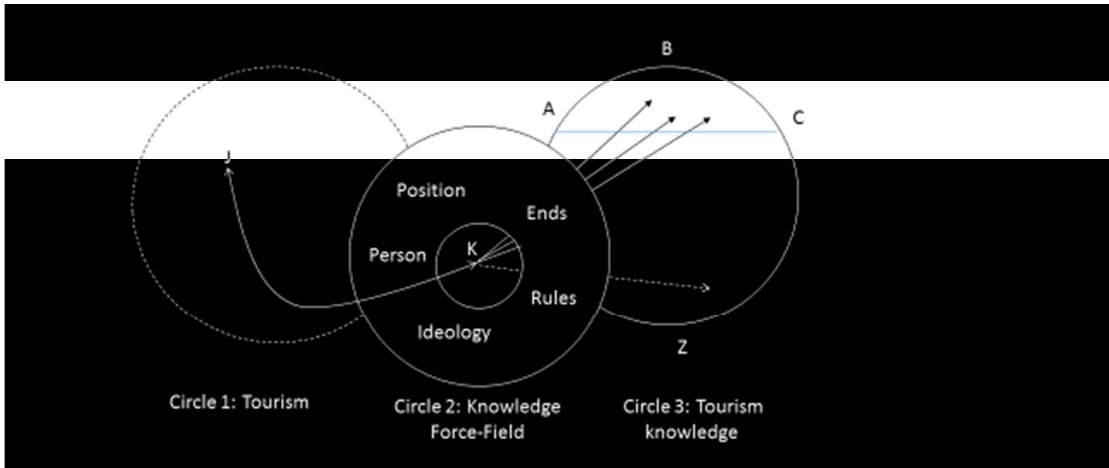


Figure 1. The Knowledge Force-Field, with permission from Tribe (2006).

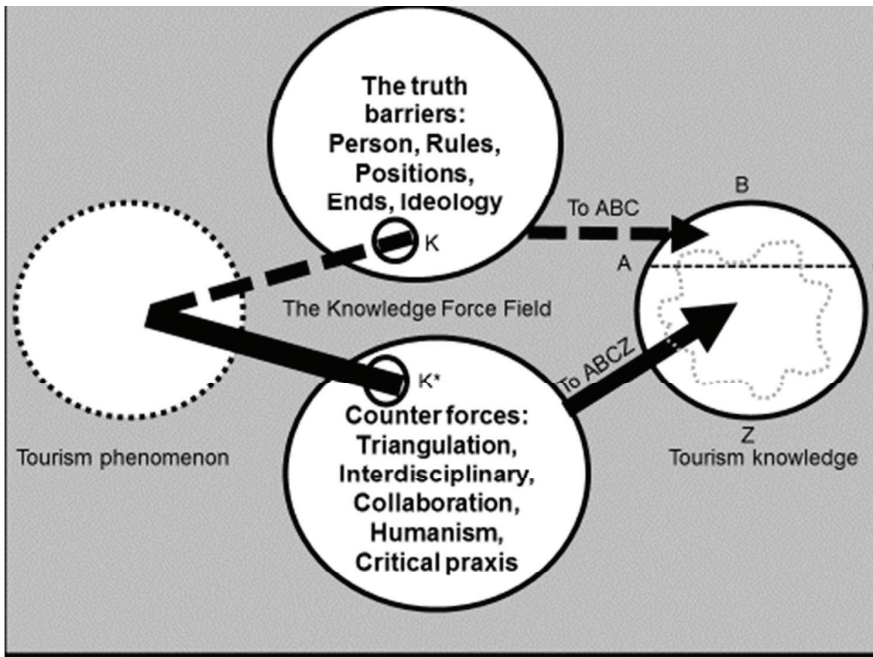


Figure 2: Beyond Tribe (2006) – truth barriers and counter forces in tourism knowledge.