

GENDER ANALYSIS OF VIOLENCE, BULLYING AND SLAVERY IN THE TOURISM AND HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY

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Abstract

The issue of workplace violence, bullying and slavery as it relates to gender perspectives have been studied in different countries and industries; however, researches into workplace violence, bullying and slavery in Lagos State tourism and hospitality industry are limited. This investigative but literature review design study identified causes, perpetrators, effects and the coping strategies of the employees subjected to vices, particularly focusing on employees in the Lagos State tourism and hospitality industry. The research was conducted using a qualitative approach. The study findings showed that the perpetrators of workplace violence, bullying and slavery in Lagos State tourism and hospitality workplaces are victim's superiors, senior colleagues, co-workers and guests. Some of the perpetrators' behaviours were verbal abuse, sexual harassment, unfair workload and false accusations/blame, and such behaviours contributes to employees' negative emotions and work performance. The consequences of violence, bullying and slavery in the tourism and hospitality industry include poor psychological health, depression, stress, anxiety, low levels of emotional wellbeing, low job satisfaction, low commitment, reduced work performance and intention to leave job. Additionally, findings showed that the employees coped with the situations by observing people's mood and character, through perseverance and ability to observe pressure; by being calm in the situation and not responding disrespectfully; by avoiding unnecessary argument; and by discouraging any form of violence and slavery in a tourism and hospitality industry. The study concluded that violence, bullying and slavery is real and happening in the tourism and hospitality industry of Lagos State, Nigeria and must be curbed. The study recommends that, to prevent violence, bullying and slavery in the hospitality industry, organizations should develop and implement a clear cut policy on preventing and dealing with these vices which shall zero tolerance to all form of violence, bullying and slavery behavior at work..

Keywords: Gender analysis, Workplace violence, Workplace bullying; Workplace slavery; Tourism and Hospitality Industry

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Common beliefs often present tourism and hospitality place of work as violent environments, where guests are preys of questionable or even insane workers and managers. In the new global economy, hospitality is among the largest growing industries with a high labor-intensive and service-based operating environment in which attitudes and wellbeing of hospitality workers are a major concern in the organization's successful life (Hsu, Liu & Tsaur, 2019).

Employees in the US hospitality sector experienced excessive workloads and long working hours, work pressure, time constraints, highly intense work conditions, inadequate training and protections for their health and safety, and are exposed to a high prevalence of workplace bullying (Page, Bentley, Teo & Ladkin, 2018).

Approximately one-third of the 90,000 complaints related to workplace bullying and harassment incidents that were reported to the US Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission were from hospitality employees in 2015 (Golshan, 2017), resulting in adverse outcomes such as high turnover rates and low profitability (Ran, 2018). Workplace bullying, a feature of poor work environments, has been found to have negative health consequences (Ariza-Montes, Arjona-Fuentes, Law, & Han, 2017). It is critical for hospitality organizations to consider ways of effectively managing their human resources (HR) in order to attract and retain employees in the hospitality sector (Baum, Krali, Robinson & Solnet, 2016).

Gender base violence is against women, in all its forms, is about the abuse of power as an expression of entitlement that underpins patriarchy. Tourism provides a space for it to happen. Organisations such as the UN World Tourism Organisation, are keen to identify the potential of tourism to empower women and advance gender equality, but these frequently expounded assumptions are critiqued (Stevenson & Cole, 2018). Although the study of gender as a pertinent issue within tourism and hospitality has been on the agenda for 30 years, women continue to face injustice. Women make up between 60 and 70% of the labour force internationally (Baum et al., 2016), but are far more likely than men to be found in lower-paid, unskilled jobs. Women face discrimination, occupational segregation, are undervalued, stereotyped and not promoted, given less training than men and struggle more with work-life balance. They tend to have unskilled or semi-skilled work in the most vulnerable jobs, where they are more likely to experience poor working conditions, inequality of opportunity and treatment, violence, exploitation, stress and sexual harassment (Baum et al., 2016). The present work follows this perspective and focuses on situations when staffs are victimized. It reviews the current knowledge about violence, bullying and sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry and portrays knowledge gaps. Additionally, the present work aims to raise the awareness of academics, educators, students and practitioners to violent aspects of the tourism sector.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The history of gender violence against women remains vague in scientific literature. This is in part because many kinds of violence against women (specifically rape, bullying, sexual assault, slavery and domestic violence) are under-reported, often due to societal norms,

taboos, stigma, and the sensitive nature of the subject. (Krug, Etienne, Dahlgren, Mercy, Zwi, and Lozano, 2002) It is widely recognized that even today, a lack of reliable and continuous data is an obstacle to forming a clear picture of violence against women (Watts and Zimmerman, 2002). Although the history of violence against women is difficult to track, it is clear that much of the violence was accepted, condoned and even legally sanctioned (UN, 2013). (Examples include that Roman law gave men the right to chastise their wives, even to the point of death and the burning of witches, which was condoned by both the church and the state (although this was not a practice exclusively against women) (UN, 2013).

The history of violence against women is closely related to the historical view of women as property and a gender role of subservience (Stedman, 1917). Explanations of patriarchy and an overall world system or status quo in which gender inequalities exist and are perpetuated are cited to explain the scope and history of violence against women (Krug et al., 2002).⁸ The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) states, "violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men." (Toren, 1994)

According to the UN, "there is no region of the world, no country and no culture in which women's freedom from violence has been secured." (Krug et al., 2002) Several forms of violence are more prevalent in certain parts of the world, often in developing countries. For example, dowry violence and bride burning is associated with India, Bangladesh, and Nepal. Acid throwing is also associated with these countries, as well as in Southeast Asia, including Cambodia. Honor killing is associated with the Middle East and South Asia. Female genital mutilation is found mostly in Africa, and to a lesser extent in the Middle East and some other parts of Asia. Marriage by abduction is found in Ethiopia, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. Abuse related to payment of bride price (such as violence, trafficking, and forced marriage) is linked to parts of Sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania (UNFPA, 2014).

Certain regions are no longer associated with a specific form of violence, but such violence was common until quite recently in those places; this is true of honor-based crimes in Southern/Mediterranean Europe. For instance, in Italy, before 1981, the Criminal Code provided for mitigating circumstances in case of a killing of a woman or her sexual partner for reasons related to honor, providing for a reduced sentence (Kirti, Kumar & Rachana, 2011).

Bringing in culture to explain some forms of violence against women makes it look as if it is appropriate. There is also argument and controversy about the ways in which cultural traditions, local customs and social expectations, as well as various interpretations of religion, interact with abusive practices (Watts, 2002). Specifically, cultural justifications for certain violent acts against women are asserted by some states and social groups within many countries claiming to defend their traditions. These justifications are questionable precisely because the defenses are generally voiced by political leaders or traditional authorities, not by those actually affected (Krug, 2002). The need for sensitivity and respect of culture is an element that cannot be ignored either; thus a sensitive debate has ensued and is ongoing.

In the 20th and 21st centuries, and in particular since the 1990s, there has been increased activity on both the national and international levels to research, raise awareness and advocate for the prevention of all kinds of violence against women (Krug, 2002). Most often, violence against women has been framed as a health issue, and also as a violation of human rights. A study in 2002 estimated that at least one in five women in the world had been physically or sexually abused by a man sometime in their lives, and "gender-based violence accounts for as much death and ill-health in women aged 15–44 years as cancer, and is a greater cause of ill-health than malaria and traffic accidents combined." (Renton, 1911). Certain characteristics of violence against women have emerged from the research. For example, acts of violence against women are often not unique episodes, but are ongoing over time. More often than not, the violence is perpetrated by someone the woman knows, not by a stranger (Stevens, 2018). The research seems to provide convincing evidence that violence against women is a severe and pervasive problem the world over, with

devastating effects on the health and well-being of women and children (Krug, 2002).

2.1 Bullying in hotels

Bullying is not a recent managerial concern nor is it an unknown feature in society and the workplace. The phenomenon has since received attention from academic researchers and international organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2016). The nature of bullying varies from organisation to organisation but broadly encapsulates all behaviours towards colleagues and or subordinates which are considered as inimical to their physiological, psychological, social, emotional and even economic wellbeing. Data in the field suggest that bullying may take the form of violence and harassment (verbal and sexual) (Doe et al., 2020), coercion and embarrassment (Patterson et al., 2018), making offensive remarks about a person, ostracizing a person, withholding information relevant for the effective execution of a person's job, discriminating against the person because of their colour or race or gender; "public criticism, angry tantrums, rudeness, inconsiderate action and coercion" (Bloisi, 2018). Bullying acts are prevalent in hotels too. Hotels are the first and last places where tourists, other visitors and local customers stop. Also, tourists and business visitors are the main customers of hotels and restaurants and the primary drivers of their business. Consequently, it is expected that hotels and their staff extend all the courtesies they can afford to make the stay of guests comfortable and profitable. Hotels and restaurants are high service-oriented organisations. Consequently, staff will bend over backwards in the process to make tourists happy and thus guarantee repeat visits. Being hospitable, however, has been found to draw out the worst of behaviours in some guests leading to the incidence of harassment and bullying meted out on the staff. Hotel staffs frequently encounter hostile guest behaviour which manifests by way of profanity, derision, shouting and patronizing with sexual harassment being the most dominant bullying act suffered especially by the front office staff (receptionists, room attendants).

Other forms of bullying include unwanted sexual attention; spreading of gossip and rumours about you; having insulting or offensive remarks made about your person; being shouted at or being the target of

spontaneous anger; intimidating behaviour such as finger-pointing, invasion of personal space, shoving, blocking/barring the way; threats of violence or physical abuse; insulting messages, telephone calls, or e-mails; practical jokes carried out by people you do not get on with; insulted/verbally abused by guests, etc. (Kensbock et al., 2015). In addition to the above, the researchers conceive that staff may also suffer the following acts of bullying from guests which form contributions by the researchers. These are making sexual advances/passes; being overly demanding and difficult; badmouthing staff to management; guests making work difficult by refusing to comply with rules and regulations; violently attacking staff; making derogatory or racially-laced remarks; raping or sexually molesting staff while they are providing service; shouting at staff; gossiping about targeted staff with other staff or other guests; intentionally creating more work for staff in their rooms; stealing the hotel's staff and asking staff to make errands or provide services outside their job roles. However, the isolated incidence of any of the above cannot be construed as bullying.

Most researchers in the field agree that criteria for categorisation of bullying acts or behaviour should be evidenced by the said act or behaviour against the victim being consistent and recurrent (on weekly basis) for a period of half a year. This criterion also suggests that the perpetrator be the same person over the six months. However, this criterion is weak in not being able to take into consideration situations such as isolated incidences of bullying that may be meted out on staff by guests. Guest stay in hotels is transient and may not last for the period of maturity. Secondly, an act of bullying from a guest may not be repeated more than twice, and a guest can use a combination of acts or behaviours to bully staff. Staff experiences of bullying Again, from the intentionality perspective, it is difficult to be conclusive that a bullying act by a guest was intentional. This is because most hotel guests are out-of-town guests, especially international guests, who come into a community or country to transact business, attend conferences or visit. The exigencies of business such as glitches in transactions, frustrations resulting from excessive bureaucracy and other factors can make guests behave in awkward ways, sometimes as a way of venting their frustrations, without intention to hurt or bully a staff. This

resonates with Bloisi's (2018) argument that the traditional views of the bully, like that of a hostile person who has entitlement behaviour, lack emotional sensitivity towards others and is domineering, may not necessarily fit in with the bully-guest, since there are inadequate weighing criteria of guest character and personality away from their own or home setting. This alibi is however not applicable to guests who may sexually harass hotel staff as the act is often very intentional, calculated and targeted (Nimri et al., 2020). Nonetheless, since bullying is often defined from the perspective of the victim (Bloisi, 2018) and reasonably so, this research will be based on accepted labelling criteria.

Matulewicz (2016) therefore defined sexual harassment as "a demeaning practice, one that constitutes a profound affront to the dignity of the employees forced to endure it. By requiring an employee to contend with unwelcome sexual actions or explicit sexual demands, sexual harassment in the workplace attacks the dignity and self-respect of the victim both as an employee and as a human being".

Consequently, sexual harassment tends to take various forms which include but are not limited to the following: Differential treatment based on sex; use of sexist objects (graphic) to tease or cajole a person, verbal and visual expressions aimed at getting the attention of the victim which are offensive; coarse jests that have sexual overtones; catcalls, physical attempts at touching a part of the body in a carnal way, staring in a pervasive way, coercing or courting a person for sex, directly or indirectly threatening a person with a punitive sanction if they refuse one's sexual advances, etc. (La Lopa and Gong, 2020). Generally speaking, harassment can be classified as a form of bullying in the sense that it involves the perpetrator having more power over the victim to be able to sexually harass the victim although in some cases harassment has been known to involve people of equal power or leverage. Bullying on the other hand denotes a situation where a person or group of persons are subjected to severe pain, anxiety and negative behaviours by another person who has more power than the victim. It is generally used to describe negative interpersonal relationships but can be extended to describe all manners of human interactions that produce a negative outcome for the underdog. It is conceived as a wrongful display of power and might on the part

of a person who has an upper hand by way of authority. It can also be understood as “an insidious form of “coercion” meted out on an individual’s psyche and emotions which violates the will, emotional well-being and readiness of an employee” (Doe, 2018). This “coercion” is conducted via words, glares, insinuations, threats, acts of incivility acts of denial or refusal and overly stringent application of procedures and policy especially when it is intended to disadvantage an individual or groups of individuals with whom the leader has a negative dyadic relationship. In the context of this research, it is a display of deviant behaviour on the part of the guest towards the staff. Causes of guest-bullying in hotels. Several reasons have been adduced for the occurrence of bullying of staff by hotel guests. Some of the causes include permissive customer-service norms that elevate customer needs IHR above their behavioural repertoire and dim staff responses, licensure for alcohol abuse by guests (Aslan and Kozak, 2012) and poor understanding of service standards by staff (Kensbock et al., 2015; Ram, 2018). These behaviours may be tolerated by staff because of what Giorgi et al. (2020) have described as “Fear of Non-Employability and Economic Crisis”. Bloisi (2018) explains that staff may “tolerate” bullying for fear of losing their jobs. Taken individually, the causes of bullying need to be delved into. The high service-oriented nature of hotels Orientation towards high customer service has been attributed to the prevalence of guest bullying in the hospitality industry (Ariza-Montes et al., 2017). This orientation stems from traditional notions of the rightness of the customer. This traditional notion of the customer presents an environment that puts excessive pressure on staff to exceed customer expectations and needs no matter the cost (Gettman and Gelfand, 2007). Thus, the bid to grant customer gratification to meet Management's high expectations of customer satisfaction can overtly excuse customer excesses (Karatepe et al., 2009; Poulston, 2008). The kingship of the customer is thus authenticated giving clients an upper hand in the client–staff relationship and thus putting power in the hands of guests to enact behaviours that are inimical to the welfare of the staff. This confirms earlier research that established a relationship between the high service-oriented nature of the industry with emotional abuse of staff (Di Martino et al., 2003). The economic security of any hotel staff is in the repeated

patronage of their organisation’s accommodation and restaurant services, which ensures continuity of revenue to pay salaries. Thus, the satisfaction of the customer is tantamount to the survival and continuous sustenance of hotels and restaurants. In some cases, the retention of staff is incumbent on customer rating of the quality of service received at the hands of individual staff. This creates a huge dependency on client satisfaction, thus resulting in some staff tolerating bullying especially sexual harassment and unnecessary client outbursts against staff. This is particularly frequent towards the staff of lower status such as cleaners, room attendants, porters, etc. (Kensbock et al., 2015). As a result of the conferment of “kingship” on the customer, customer complaints against staff who displease them can cost that particular staff their jobs or a demotion. This is what Ram (2018) refers to as “host-guest imbalance”. This implies that traditional notions of customer satisfaction such as “the customer is king”, “the customer is right”, “the customer is the reason for our being” make the hospitality industry a high service-oriented industry. While these service mantras have been widely accepted in business globally and their adherence to them has proven to result in positive outcomes for the bottom line, they have nevertheless produced negative outcomes for staff especially in the hospitality industry resulting in staff becoming victims of guest bullying.

2.2 Level of Permissiveness of Guests

The “Level of Permissiveness of Guests” (LPG) is another factor attributed to the occurrence of guest bullying in the hospitality industry. Permissiveness refers to the level of tolerance given to hotel guests in a bid to provide satisfactory service and value for money. Researchers have established that bullying behaviours have to a certain degree been given an endorsement in the hospitality industry (Bloisi and Hoel, 2008). Ariza-Montes et al. (2017), and some other researchers promulgate that client freedom to consume alcohol and/or drugs engenders bullying behaviour. This permissiveness is exhibited in management’s attempts at providing high customer satisfaction by overtly excusing problematic client conduct, in environments where clients Staff experiences of bullying are allowed to be anonymous and freedom to indulge themselves in alcohol (Karatepe et al., 2009). Indulgence in alcohol

and other behaviours leads to violent behaviours that result in irritation and strain in employees leaving some employees feeling humiliated. This can result in feelings of degradation, humiliation, disrespect and emotional exhaustion. This level of permissiveness also fails to provide a safety net for staff from bullying, who are encouraged to endure the “misbehaviour” of guests on account of “customer being the king”. Another aspect of the permissiveness of guests is embedded in what Kim et al. (2020) describe as “employee’s acquiescent silence behaviour”. Acquiescent silence refers to a situation where an employee fails or refuses to report the unruly behaviour of guests. Such behaviour thus gives guests an impression that they can get away with anything since they will not be reported, and consequently, no action will be taken against them. This creates a culture of impunity. Management and Staff Laxity on appropriate behaviour

The third cause of bullying identified in the literature is Management and Staff Laxity (MSL) on appropriate guest behaviours. Each organisation has social norms that dictate what acceptable or unacceptable behaviour is. In the hospitality industry, female staff (especially) are compelled to bear denigrating remarks, stroking, etc. from guests because of a perceived lack of control. This is because of extant social norms that blur the lines between acceptable behaviour and unacceptable behaviour. This laxity creates blurred perimeters between staff and lodgers or customers (Kensbock et al., 2015). The key cause of staff laxity has been identified as management’s turning of a blind eye to varied customer behaviour because of the penchant to exceed customer satisfaction (Ram, 2015). This is indexed to the high-service orientation of the hospitality industry. Managers feel compelled to provide customer satisfaction and would bend over backwards to do so even at a cost to staff and their facilities. Management’s laxity has also been identified in terms of their relinquishing control over what may be acceptable behaviour of guests towards staff. Managers have relinquished control to staff to self-manage on the premise that it is easier to control staff behaviour through policy than it is to control guest behaviour. In many instances, management leaves the definition and enforcement of personal space (Einarsen et al., 2009) because of the inability to determine the severity of guest actions to report or take action

against it. This leaves acceptance or otherwise of guest behaviour at the discretion of the staff. This creates a conducive environment for guest-bullying to occur, as there are no clear codes on what acceptable or unacceptable behaviours are. The blurred perimeters, attributed to norms (Good and Cooper, 2016) make it difficult for staff to decipher correctly where to draw the line between being nice and being assertive with customer behaviour. The undocumented nature of these norms makes it possible for customers to enact behaviours that initially appear harmless. Measures of acceptable behaviour consequently became ambiguous, as staff are expected to satisfy the customer. Hence, bullying acts such as harassment tend to be unqualified and left to the discretionary delineation of affected staff. Confronted with the obligation to treat the customer as king, the staff are often misunderstood by the guest who interprets staff courtesy as an enticement to be licentious towards them (Good and Cooper, 2016). With regards to sexual harassment, in particular, the extant literature establishes that in female-dominated workplaces, especially in the services sector, such as in the hospitality industry, there is a quasi-conscious sexualization of the work context thus making staff enact unspoken sex-role behaviour. Female staff in particular nurture unwritten obligations that management expect them to act sensually (Waudby and Poulston, 2017). Following from Tangri et al. (1982) and Gutek and Morasch’s (1982) sex-role spillover model, management expectation of female workers to act sensually will result in the work environment becoming “sexualised” thus creating a situation where flirtatious behaviour may be exhibited by workers especially the IHR female staff who are required “to be friendly”, thus consequently generating a reciprocation by guests and resulting in sexual harassment. This tacit expectation of management may coerce female staff, particularly in the hospitality industry, to endure sexual harassment, flirtatious behaviour and even physical harm from clients because they feel obliged to satisfy management’s expectation by bending over to accommodate the clients’ pleasures (Poulston, 2008; Rosenthal et al., 2008). Warhurst and Nickson (2009) believe the tacit expectation of managers is the rationale behind management’s efforts at delighting the customer through enhanced staff appearance. Thus, the personal service that characterizes the work of hotel staff engenders

bullying from clients who vent their frustrations and sensual impulses on frontline staff such as those in the front office and room service. Added to management expectation of sexualized worker behaviour, there is also the problem of the climatization of sexual harassment of the work environment by management. Management is responsible for creating the work climate. Where managers actively investigate and prosecute sexual harassment, it sets the tone for the bastardization of the enigma. The reverse happens however when management turns a blind eye and a deaf ear to complaints of the occurrence of sexual harassment (Madera et al., 2018). Management's laxity on guest sexual harassment behaviour incapacitates staff repudiation of unwanted guests' advances. This is because attempts by staff to spurn such advances can be reported as being unfriendly and can be damaging to staff's ratings when reported to management through customer feedback. However, management's refusal or laxity about reported or observed guest behaviours that border on harassment has also been identified as another reason why guests may be confident in enacting bullying behaviours in hotels (Aslan and Kozak, 2012; Ariza-Montes et al., 2017). This has led to advocacy efforts in Australia dubbed the "Know the Line" awareness-raising campaign (AHRC, 2008 in Good and Cooper, 2016). While the LPG and MSL share common outcomes in that they both lead to guests having a field day to bully staff, they differ diametrically in the way that while LPG is an informal approach to client service management, the latter is or should be a formal approach towards client service management involving the drafting and implementation of policy.

The causes of guest-staff bullying are however not a one-size-fits-all, as hotels vary in their structure and organisation. According to Samnani and Singh (2012), cultural differences and national guidelines can determine the differences in the causes and nature of bullying in hotels. For instance, sexual harassment may not be reported in some countries as women do not work in hotels, for example, in Arab and Islamic nations. Again, differences in technological advancement may provide some hotels with technology such as AI for business and service delivery such that customer-staff contact is very limited or eliminated. In such cases, certain staff such as porters may avoid

any contact with customers. For instance, revine.com reveals that many hotels have engaged AI technology to deliver on service objectives including dealing with various service products. Examples of hotels deploying AI technology include Henn-na Hotel in Nagasaki, Japan, where AI technology is used in place of humans at the reception to offer information and booking as well as in front desk services, luggage carriage, etc. Another hotel that uses AI such as Connie, an automaton doorman, is Hilton (Revfine, 2021). Obviously for such hotels, "guest-host imbalance" (Ram, 2018, p. 764) is eliminated. The same will apply in cases where hotels use automated janitors. The machines will not be subjected to sexual harassment.

2.3 Tourism Work, Slavery, and Freedom

Tourism is vitally important to Jamaica's economy. It employs over 277,000 both directly (in hotels, transport, attractions, and craft), and indirectly (trading, manufacturing, banking, etc.) mainly in and around resort towns (World Travel and Tourism Council 2017), and generated 27.2 per cent of Jamaica's GDP in 2014 (World Travel and Tourism Council 2015). The Ministry of Tourism regards tourism development as central to the strategy by which Jamaica 'will progress to become developed over the next 21 years' (Ministry of Tourism 2018). To this end, efforts to attract local and foreign investors by identifying suitable tourism sites for the development of more resorts and attractions, and by fast-tracking the approval process for tourism development projects have been made (JAMPRO 2016), and the government hopes to see still greater expansion of the industry. In the words of Edmund Bartlett (2018), Minister for Tourism:

The resilient tourism sector continues to be the leading catalyst of economic development in Jamaica ... generating one in every four jobs and forging many critical sectoral linkages that produce positive spillover effects for the wider local and Caribbean economy.

It is certainly true that tourist development has created jobs in Jamaica. However, as in the Caribbean more generally, the heavy presence of transnational conglomerates as owners of large hotels, booking companies, transportation links, and tour operators 'reinforces the asymmetrical distribution of power and economic resources between former colonies of

the Caribbean (periphery) and their European (core) colonizers' (Sealy 2018). Moreover, aside from noting problems of leakage (it is estimated that around 'one third of Jamaica's tourism revenue is lost in leakages' (Gordon & Harris, 2015)) and tax avoidance by the big tourism players (Ambrosie, 2015), to evaluate the benefits of the industry to the island's people, it is important to consider its social, economic, and environmental impact, and of particular importance to this article, the kind of work and employment tourism creates.

2.4 Violence, bullying and sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry

Previous academic works in tourism and hospitality used different methods and focuses on different definitions of bullying (Civilidag, 2014); violence from customers and guests (Aslan & Kozak, 2012); and sexual harassment (Kensbock et al., 2015). All works, with no exception, indicated a high prevalence of aggression in the field. Similar findings regarding a high prevalence of violence, bullying and harassment were reported in a working paper of the International Labor Office titled Violence at work in hotels, catering and tourism. Generally speaking, three categories of causes for the high prevalence of violence, bullying and harassment were identified: structural causes (e.g. causes that related to the structure of the tourism sector and the nature of its employment), managerial causes and popular norms in the tourism sector. The next section will explore each of these categories in detail.

2.5 Bullying in tourism and hospitality industry

Bullying at work may be defined in different ways in many cultures and languages. The present review adopted the definition provided by Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf and Cooper, (2003) 'the systematic mistreatment of a subordinate, a colleague, or a superior, which, if continued, may cause severe social, psychological and psychosomatic problems in the victim'. The bullying reflects a structural imbalance of power between the victim and the bully(s) (Einarsen et al., 2003). 'Mobbing' is a bullying situation when a group of people offends one victim (Hoel & Einarsen, 2003). Zapf (1999) identified five main types of behaviours that can be considered as bullying expressions at the work environment: (1) changing the victim's work

tasks in some negative way or making them difficult to perform (2) social isolation and boycott by not communicating with somebody or excluding someone from social activities (3) insulting remarks, personal attacks (also on the victim's private life) (4) verbal threats in which the victim is humiliated in public (5) spreading rumours regarding the victim.

Workplace bullying is defined as "a situation where one or several individuals perceive themselves to be on the receiving end of negative actions from one or more persons persistently over a period of time, in a situation where the targets have difficulty defending themselves against these actions" (Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy, & Alberts, 2007). Workplace bullying includes person-related, work-related, and physically intimidating bullying behaviors (Einarsen et al., 2003). Workplace bullying is a highly damaging psychosocial risk. There are several examples of workplace bullying behaviors in the hospitality management literature. These include incivility, verbal abuse, physical abuse, hostility, kitchen banter and sexual harassment. It is found in hospitality organizations, which have a prevalence rate of between 11–20 % (Oneson, Yap, Whitin, 2013). Approximately 5.6 % of European hospitality employees (Ariza-Montez, 2017), 14 % of Canadian hospitality workers, and 30 % of US hospitality workers (Golshan, 2017) have experienced these behaviors. There is strong empirical support for the negative consequences of workplace bullying, such as poor psychological health and depression, stress, anxiety, and low levels of emotional wellbeing (Einarsen et al., 2003).

Workplace bullying has also been found to impact negatively on job satisfaction, low affective commitment, and work performance in the general population (Ineson, et al., 2013). There is an increasing interest on its effect on the work attitudes and wellbeing of hospitality employees (Ariza-Montez, 2017).

2.6 Work environment factors and workplace bullying

Workplace bullying is a highly damaging psychosocial risk. It is found in hospitality organizations, which have a prevalence rate of between 11–20 %. Approximately 5.6 % of European hospitality employees (Ariza-Montez, 2017), 14 % of Canadian hospitality workers, and 30 % of US hospitality workers (Golshan, 2017) have experienced these behaviors. There

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2.7 Violence in tourism and hospitality industry

Violence at work is more present in service sectors than in other economic sectors, because they originate to a large extent from the interface between workers and customers. Violence in this relationship can be felt either directly, when a customer acts unreasonably, or indirectly, through unexpected situations which are difficult to control and may provoke inappropriate reactions. Like other service sectors, the hotel, catering and tourism sector is characterised by an interface with the public/customer. Account is to be taken of the fact that the hotels and catering enterprises provide employment to large numbers of workers some of whom have little training and come from vulnerable groups of the population such as young people, women with family responsibilities, and migrants or members of ethnic minorities. These workers are in particular need of support to prevent, and cope with, situations potentially generating violence. Workplace violence is defined by the European Commission as 'incidents where persons are abused, threatened or assaulted in circumstances related to their work, involving an explicit or implicit challenge to their safety, well-being or health (Wyne et al., 1997). This definition does not distinguish between coworkers, customers or complete strangers as the persons responsible for a violent act. It is important to emphasize that violence can be of a physical as well as a psychological nature. The latter would include phenomena such as bullying and mobbing, as well as harassment on the basis of gender, race and sexuality.

According to the United States National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH, 1993), restaurants were the second most dangerous places to work, based on the number of people killed at work, whereas according to the United States Department of

Labor (Toscano and Weber, 1995) restaurants were only the fifth most dangerous location measured in terms of risk of workplace homicide. Jenkins (1996) indicates that bartenders or other bar staff are particularly exposed with three-times greater the risk of being victims of homicide than the national average. The vulnerability of bar and waiting staff is further highlighted in a report on psychosocial working conditions from Finland. Of all occupational groups measured, waiters were exposed to the highest risk of violence at work in 1990 and the second highest in 1997 (after social workers) (Vahtera and entti, 1999). In both years surveyed, more than 75% of waiters reported having experienced violence from time to time. In another recent report from the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health (Isotalus and Saarelak, 1999), being a hotel receptionist was considered one of the most dangerous occupations with respect to violence, for men as well as women. For men, being a waiter was also a high-risk occupation.

2.8 Slavery in the Hotel Industry

As a major global business sector employing millions of people, including in many regions where the rule of law is weak and Modern Slavery prevalent, the hotel industry faces substantial risks in relation to Modern Slavery. There are three clear areas where Modern Slavery can occur:

- Hotels can unknowingly be used to exploit victims, particularly victims of sexual exploitation who may be moved through the hotel when being trafficked, or kept in the hotel by traffickers who use hotel bedrooms as a base for sexual exploitation;
- Workers recruited or subcontracted via unscrupulous agencies (often in lower skilled roles such as housekeeping) may be the victims of forced labour and debt bondage (e.g., forced to work, extortionate recruitment fees charged leading to indebtedness, and passports / identity documentation confiscated); and
- A hotel's supply chain such as products passing through a complex network of producers, distributors, and vendors before being brought into hotels, may also carry the risk that they are tainted by exploitation. It is estimated that, annually, there are over 1.1 million victims of Modern Slavery in Europe, including over 93,000 sex slaves

and 4,500 victims of forced labour exploited in hotels.

2.9 Structural causes for violence, bullying and sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry

The tourism and hospitality sector (including the restaurant sector) is generally characterized by vulnerable, unorganized workers (female, young and minorities) with an income insecurity that emphasizes their dependency on supervisors and managers. These imbalanced power relations can be easily translated to offensive patterns of supervising low-status staff (Hoel & Einarsen, 2003). Civilidag (2014) found that most of the employees who reported being bullied were belonged to 'blue collar' departments in hotels, and Mathisen et al. (2008) argued that trainees in restaurants are exposed more often to bullying incidents compared to more experienced workers. In the context of sexual harassment, Poulston (2008) found that 'casual and part-time female staff are the most vulnerable population.

The pattern of abusive power relations is also found in the context of service, through the host-guest imbalance, and the dependency of the workers on the satisfaction of customers/guests. Thus, incidents of both violence and sexual harassment of low-status employees by guests are very common (Kensbock et al., 2015). Furthermore, these incidents are intensified by an excessive use of alcohol by customers and guests (Aslan & Kozak, 2012) and by a close contact between staff and customers, which blurs the boundaries between private and public space (Kensbock et al., 2015).

Students in placements share some characteristics with low-status employees given that they are young and inexperienced. Previous studies from different places and periods found that the majority of female students (from 60% to 78%) and about 25% of male students were sexually harassed by other staff members (colleagues, supervisors and managers) and guests while in placements (Mkono, 2010). Additionally, students were exposed to violent guest behaviours, but the findings regarding the impacts of their exposure to bullying are inconclusive (Patah et al., 2010).

In sum, low-status employees in the tourism and hospitality industry (including students during their placement periods) face a structure-related violence in two simultaneous fronts: from their supervisors and from guests. These two forms of

aggression are not only added to one another, but also compound each other. Unattended violent behaviour of guests or an absence of awareness of supervisors and managers to the violent behaviour of guests/customers is experienced by employees as an additional form of violence and bullying

(Hoel & Einarsen, 2003). Students, in particular, are exposed to the danger of sexual harassment, not only from supervisors and guests, but also from colleagues. Hence, students are the most vulnerable population to sexual harassment, while low-status employees are vulnerable to bullying in addition to sexual harassment. Both populations are exposed to violent guests and customers.

2.10 Managerial causes for violence, bullying and harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry

Two opposite perspectives are included under the umbrella of managerial causes. The first perspective sees violent behaviour as an acceptable managerial practice (Alexander et al., 2012) or something that managers have to contend with (Sherwyn, 2008). The second and more common perspective perceives bullying, violence and sexual harassment as a direct result of failed management and weak leadership (Aslan & Kozak, 2012). In the context of the first perspective, Alexander et al. (2012) argued the bullying plays a social integration role in kitchens, and hence could be perceived as an acceptable managerial tool that facilitates cohesive and highly functioning teams. Sherwyn (2008), on the other hand, did not argue that sexual harassment has a positive role, but recommended to 'exercise reasonable care, but not too much...employers who exercised reasonable care and made it too easy to report harassment could lose if the employee did, in fact, report' (Sherwyn, 2008). This approach sees incidents of sexual harassment and discrimination as the lesser of two evils, when comparing the burden of the employer in dealing with lawsuits and potential compensations. In other words, dealing with sexual harassment is considered by Sherwyn (2008) as an issue of risk management and not as a basic ethical responsibility of employers.

According to the second and more common perspective, preventing incidents of bullying, violence and sexual harassment is an essential component of good management practice.

Thus, the occurrence of these incidents indicates a lack of managerial abilities. The high prevalence of aggression and deviant behaviours of guests towards employees was explained by the inability of managerial authorities to develop and implement appropriate service policies (Aslan & Kozak, 2012). Bullying and managerial misconducts and abuse (including

dismissal) were identified as the result of ineffective leadership style (Bentley et al., 2012), less effective organizational strategies in coping with bullying acts (Bentley et al., 2012) and a lack of management skills and/or management training. Incidents of sexual harassment were related to insufficient managerial awareness to the problem (Kensbock et al., 2015).

3.0 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

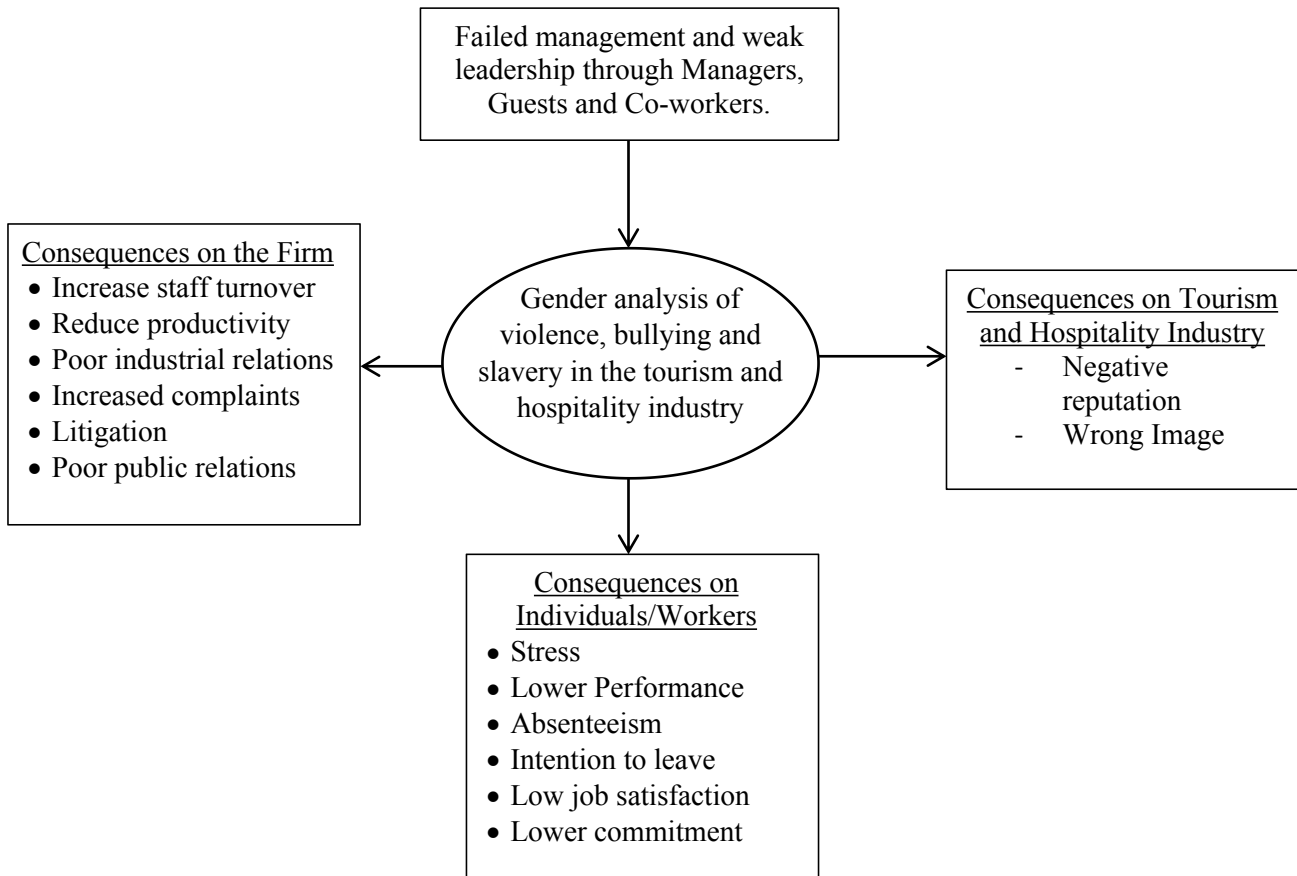


Figure 1: Gender Analysis of Violence, Bullying and Slavery in Tourism and Hospitality Industry. (Source: Fashakin, 2021.)

3.1 Consequences of violence, bullying and slavery in the tourism and hospitality industry

The consequences of aggressive behaviours could affect all stakeholders – individuals (employees, supervisors and customers), then firms and finally the sector as a whole, in terms of reputation, image and attractiveness. Furthermore, the consequences may be cumulative, in a sense that impacts of individuals create an effect on the firm, and the aggregation of effects on firms project the image of the sector (Hoel, Einarsen & Cooper, 2003).

3.2 Consequences for the individual

Negative consequences of bullying are not exclusive to victims, but also to witnesses. In both cases employees (as victims or witnesses) reported stress, lower performance, higher absenteeism and intention to leave (Worsfold & McCann, 2000). Victims, in particular, reported lower job satisfaction, higher levels of cynicism and lower commitment, which again resulted in a stronger intention to quit the job (Mathisen et al., 2008). Bullying negatively affects satisfaction and positively affects stress and pressure (Mathisen et al., 2008). Similar consequences were reported by employees who faced violent guests. They reported on intentions

to quit the job, emotional exhaustion and decrease in life satisfaction (Karatepe, Yorganci & Haktanir, 2009). Aslan and Kozak (Poulston, 2005) described these employees as ‘pacified robots’. The impact of witnessing violent episodes of guests by other customers has not been studied, even though Harris and Reynolds (2004) found that customers were aware of aggressive behaviours of other guests towards employees and firms’ property. The effects of unfair managerial practices on managers and supervisors were reported by Poulston (2005) who described a constant arrival of new and potentially unsuitable staff as a result of high staff turnover. Positive consequences to bullying were reported only once, when Alexander et al., (2012) described how it serves to form a cohesive group. In the context of sexual harassment, Worsfold and Cann (2000) found that the victims described feelings ranging from embarrassment and anger, to disgust, adverse feeling about work, feeling cheap but also a small group of victims reported being flattered. Theocharous and Philaretou (2009) emphasized that sexual harassment affects an individual’s employment (in terms of security and promotions), interferes with an individual’s work performance, intrapersonal well-being and interpersonal relations due to significant psychological upset. They also mentioned that sexual harassment creates an offensive work environment, especially for women.

3.3 Consequences for the firm

When accumulated at a firm level, the individual consequences for employees led to greater absenteeism, increased staff turnover, reduced productivity, poor industrial relations, a growing number of complaints and litigation and poor public relations (Robinson, 2008). Bullying, in particular, produces a negative organizational climate (Worsfold & McCann, 2000) and negative associations with creativity (Guerrier & Adib, 2008). Theocharous and Philaretou (Yeung, 2003) connected sexual harassment to a significant loss of productivity and a high staff turnover rate among hospitality organizations. Poulston (2005) also argued that unfair managerial practices represent a serious threat to customer service standards and to profitability in the tourism and hospitality industry.

3.4 Consequences for the industry

From a sector perspective, the high prevalence of bullying has a negative impact on industry

image (Robinson, 2008). The high rates of violence and harassment create a sexualized and risky image for hotels as a working environment (Guerrier & Adib, 2000) and deter potential workers who cannot tolerate these kinds of behaviours (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000).

4.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Kensbock et al. (2015) pointed out a set of immediate (and easy to implement) activities to prevent incidents of sexual harassment of employees by guests. The recommended steps include changing the uniforms of female workers from dresses to shirts and pants, allowing staff to work in pairs and hanging posters in public spaces in hotels prohibiting or warning against sexual harassment. This solution also corresponds with common norms in hospitality, where women are perceived as sexual objects (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000) and as a consequence implicitly permit customers to harass them. In situations where immediate steps are impossible, because of lack of policies and/or lack of awareness (Robinson, 2008), the development of policies and programmes is recommended. Programmes for enhancing constructive leadership were recommended as a remedy for bullying (Worsfold & McCann, 2000; Theocharous & Philaretou, 2009), together with training programmes to provide supervisors with effective managerial tools (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). In the context of violent and harassed guests, recommendations for policies include implementing educational programmes to provide employees with problem solving and listening skills (Kensbock et al., 2015) and also to emphasize the difference between being ‘friendly’ and ‘seductive’ (Yeung, 2004).

Another set of programmes was suggested for managers who have to deal with problems that are associated with the psychological well-being of their employees (Kensbock et al., 2015)³⁷. Hotels’ employees as well as students showed interest in including topics addressing sexual harassment in the curriculum. This kind of educational intervention relates to an attempt at changing the common norms and beliefs in the tourism and hospitality industry. Long-term agendas, such as changing the work culture and strengthening the ethical foundations of the industry, have been suggested in order to prevent bullying, guest violence³² and sexual harassment (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). The

need to revise and question the common perception of the ‘customer is always right’ was mentioned in this context, as wellⁱ. This can be seen as a step in changing the underlying norms of the industry, which permit and even encourage aggressive behaviours towards employees. In this context, the pessimist view of Poulston (2005), who questioned the possibility of changing the very deep-rooted norms, seems relevant: ‘As long as hospitality workers accept behaviours that other workers find unacceptable, customers (and other workers) will behave as they want, rather than as they should’.

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