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1 Sexual Harassment: Overlooked and under-researched
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5 **Abstract**

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

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

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

18 **Originality/value** – By providing evidence for Tribe's conceptual model, the paper
19 draws attention to a relative silence about sexual harassment in the tourism and
20 hospitality academy in contrast to its prevalence in the industry. Additionally, it
21 advances the previous model by identifying five truth facilitating forces. These have
22 two main implications for the field. First, awareness of the issue of sexual harassment
23 is raised; second, it offers a research agenda for revealing hidden topics and/or biased
24 knowledge by understanding the relationship between tourism and hospitality
25 phenomena and academic knowledge.

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

28

29 **1. Introduction**

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

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

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

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

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

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

28 d) Suggest practical implications regarding knowledge transfer between
29 academia and industry.

30 To address these, the article is organized as follows: first the issue of sexual
31 harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry and its limited representation in the

1 academic literature is introduced. Next, the gap between the phenomenon (high
2 prevalence of sexual harassment) and knowledge about it (limited discussion in the
3 academic literature) is analyzed using the conceptual model of Tribe (2006). The final
4 part of the paper extends Tribe's (2006) model to include new forces that offer an
5 agenda to overcome truth barriers with a focus on sexual harassment, but with
6 theoretical and practical implications for the tourism and hospitality in general.

7

8 **2. The gap between phenomenon and knowledge – The case of sexual** 9 **harassment**

10 *2.1. Definition of sexual harassment*

11 Sexual harassment is defined by the Directive 2002/73/EC of the European
12 Commission as: "a situation where any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical
13 conduct of a sexual nature occurs, with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of
14 a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or
15 offensive environment" (Equal Treatment Amendment Directive, 2002). Similarly,
16 the American Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC, 2002) indicates
17 that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that violates Title VII of the Civil
18 Rights Act of 1964, and defining it as: "An unwelcome sexual advance, requests for
19 sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual
20 harassment when this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's
21 employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance, or creates
22 an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment".

23 This definition stresses that sexual harassment is a multi-faceted phenomenon
24 and that the harasser and the victim can be either woman or a man, supervisor, co-
25 worker or non-employee. Additionally, the victim does not have to be the person
26 harassed, but anyone affected by the offensive conduct. The EEOC guidelines
27 recommend that the victim directly informs the harasser, who must stop her/his
28 misbehavior, and may use any employer complaint mechanism available.

29

30 *2.2. The Phenomenon: Sexual harassment in the tourism and hospitality industry*

1 Hoel and Einarsen (2003) indicated in the ILO report on violence at work in hotels,
2 catering and tourism that that some of the key characteristics of the industry can be
3 seen as stress factors, and may contribute to high prevalence of violence in this sector,
4 including sexual harassment. These characteristics are long shifts, irregular hours and
5 times (weekends, holidays), unstable income that is often heavily reliant on tips, weak
6 industrial relations' institutions and a sense of employee vulnerability, the nature of the
7 interface between workers and customers, operation in the "night economy" conditions
8 that center on alcohol consumption and erotic atmospheres and an ambiguity between
9 private and public norms. Furthermore, the ILO report noted that tourism and
10 hospitality sector attracts vulnerable groups of workers, specifically, women, part-time
11 employees, young people, migrants, and members of ethnic minorities (Hoel and
12 Einarsen, 2003). The combination of these characteristics facilitates, directly and
13 indirectly, problems as bullying, violence, stress and sexual harassment (Baum, 2013;
14 Hoel and Einarsen, 2003; Poulston, 2008a).

15 According the EU-OSHA (Milczarek, 2010), four per cent of the employees (men
16 and women) in the hotel and restaurant sector, are sexually harassed each year. This
17 prevalence is higher than reported in any other sector, such as health care, police
18 forces, education or communication (Milczarek, 2010). While there is a lack of official
19 data from non-European countries, national reports in the UK, Luxemburg, Denmark
20 and Norway echo these findings (Hoel and Einarsen, 2003). Hoel and Einarsen (2003)
21 and others (e.g., Hunt et al., 2007; O'Learey-Kelly et al., 2009) emphasize that sexual
22 harassment is largely underreported and likely to be a more widespread issue.

23 An expression for the wide prevalence could be found in the tourism academic
24 literature, which report high rates (between 24% and 78% of their samples) of sexually
25 harassed employees. The lower percentage, 24 percent, was found in a sample of
26 employees in hospitality workplaces in Auckland, New Zealand (Poulston, 2008b). The
27 percent increased slightly to 28% in a sample of American women who worked in
28 hospitality industry and reported unwanted sexual touching. The percent rose to 40%,
29 when the women in the sample were asked about insulting sexual comments (Eller,
30 1990). More recently, Theocharous and Philaretou (2009) found that 56% of their
31 sample of employees from the hospitality industry in the island of Cyprus, both men
32 and women, reported unwanted contact or touch. A higher prevalence was found in

1 Coats, Agrusa, Tanner's (2004) study on the restaurant industry in Hong Kong, where
2 66% of women reported having been harassed. In a corresponding study, Agrusa,
3 Coats, Tanner and Sio Leng Leong (2002) found that 74% of their sample (both men
4 and women) of employees in restaurants in New- Orleans felt that they have been
5 harassed. The most alarming findings were found in Cho's (2002) study of 77 female
6 employees from Korea which reported 527 different incidents of visual, verbal or
7 physical sexual harassment.

8 Studies that focused on experiences of hospitality students while being in
9 supervised work or practicum periods yield similar results, ranging from 57% percent
10 of British students that reported sexual harassment incidents (Worsfold and McCann,
11 2000), up to 78% of Zimbabwean students (both men and women) that said they had
12 been victims of sexual harassment and to 91% of Taiwanese students who reported
13 certain forms of sexual harassment (Lin, 2006).

14

15 *2.3. The knowledge: Quantitative analysis of sexual harassment in the tourism and* 16 *hospitality academic literature*

17 Evidence of knowledge about sexual harassment in the academic literature was found
18 using a quantitative content analysis of the "Hospitality and Tourism Complete"
19 collection on the EBSCOhost Discovery Service. According to EBSCO (2014) this
20 collection "covers scholarly research and industry news relating to all areas of
21 hospitality and tourism". It contains "more than 828,000 records with coverage dating
22 as far back as 1965. There is full text for more than 490 publications, including
23 periodicals, company & country reports, and books". Using a quantitative content
24 analysis is an established method to examine the development of knowledge in
25 different fields such as nursing (Mantzoukas, 2009), communication (Riff, Lacy and
26 Fico, 2014), education (Rourke and Anderson, 2004) and tourism (Scott, Hall and
27 Gössling, 2015).

28 A search using the key words of "sexual harassment" for research papers that
29 were published in academic journals and subjected to peer-review produced 34
30 results. The rationale for focusing on peer-reviewed papers was to provide a clear
31 frame boundary for sampling and to standardise the method of qualitative content

1 analysis as much as possible. Furthermore, the peer review system can be viewed as
2 a screening mechanism that filters academic knowledge and thus plays an important
3 epistemological role. In order to learn if this represents a “standard” number of papers
4 in field, comparative searches were conducted for other work-related issues (i.e.,
5 burnout, turnover and gender & work) non-normative behaviours (i.e., drug use, theft)
6 as well as sex related issue (sex, sex & work). As indicted by Table 1, there is low
7 awareness of sexual harassment in comparison to other work-related issues and
8 misbehaviours in a tourism and hospitality context.

9 **[Table 1 here]**

10 From the 34 papers about sexual harassment, 28 had full-text but only 20 were relevant
11 for our analysis, meaning that sexual harassment was the main theme of the paper,
12 rather than marginally mentioned. These 20 papers were subject to further analysis,
13 presented in Table 2. The EBSCO search only reveals papers published since 2000,
14 and so overlooks older works such as Woods and Kavanaugh (1994) Kohl and
15 Greenlaw (1981), Aaron and Dry (1992), Gilbert, Guerrier and Guy (1998) and Eller
16 (1990). It also ignores more new papers, such as Ram (2015).

17 **[Table 2 here]**

18 Table 2 reveals that more than a half of the papers focus on tourists, students,
19 employers but not on employees. The papers (n=8) that did focus on employees were
20 published mainly in hospitality journals (or tourism and hospitality journals). On the
21 other hand, the papers published in tourism journals, tend to focus on tourists or
22 students, with only one (Theocharous and Philaretou, 2009) addressing employees.
23 Generally, these papers did not generate much impact in the academic community,
24 since only one (Yeung, 2004) was significantly cited. But this paper focused on
25 students rather than employees. The issue of sexual harassment has also been
26 overlooked outside academia, although the United Nations World Tourism
27 Organization recognized that women are more vulnerable to sexual exploitation due to
28 links between tourism and the sex industry. However the notion of sexual harassment
29 is entirely missing from its report on women in global tourism (UNWTO, 2011).

30 The official sites of the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) and the United
31 Nation World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) revealed nothing about coping with the

1 extremely high prevalence of sexual harassment in the industry. Interestingly, in other
2 sectors national and international organizations take a responsibility for improving
3 labour conditions of employees. For an example, the International Labor Organization
4 (ILO), the International Council of Nurses (ICN), the World Health Organization (WHO)
5 and the Public Services International (PSI) joined together in an effort to protect health
6 staff from violence of clients (Wiskow, 2003). Similarly, the American National
7 Education Association (NSA) takes responsibility for protecting teachers from violence
8 (Simpson, 2011), and the British Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) leads
9 the campaign against violence towards teachers in the UK (ATL, 2012).

10 **Truth barriers and sexual harassment in tourism and hospitality**

11 *2.4. Tourism knowledge and Tribe's (2006) "Knowledge force-field" model*

12 Knowledge production issues have captured the attention of tourism scholars
13 (Belhassan and Caton, 2009; Botterill, 2001; Liburd, 2012; Platenkamp and Botterill,
14 2013) who have discussed the epistemological gap between tourism knowledge and
15 phenomenon. Other relevant concepts were developed, as well, such as hermeneutic
16 phenomenology (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010), ethical practice (Feighery, 2011) and
17 problemology (Lai, Li and Scott, 2015). However Tribe's (2006) concept of the
18 "'knowledge force-field' is one of the most cited analyses of tourism knowledge, with a
19 strong emphasis on issues of power (Belhassan and Caton, 2009) and this model is
20 best suited for the conceptual framework of the present work.

21 Tribe (2006) argued that the academic community invariably represents the
22 current social system and order, and is thus constrained by existing societal power
23 relationships. Additionally, he concluded that academic knowledge covers only a small
24 fraction of the real world and overlooks a wide range of topics. Tribe suggested the
25 existence of truth barriers, namely – person, rules, positions, ends and ideology that
26 together can unwittingly promote a limited production of academic knowledge (the
27 zone within the letters ABC, in Figure 1) and cause a blind spot that overlooks the truth
28 regarding some of the reality of tourism (the zone within the letters ACZ in Figure 1).
29 In other words, the knowledge captured and communicated in the literature is limited
30 because spoken issues can be biased by the combined impact of five truth barriers,
31 and there are many unspoken issues.

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[Figure 1 here]

2.5. *The five truth barriers and the case of sexual harassment*

2.5.1. *Person*. The person barrier refers to the "self" of the researcher, which is based on personal experiences, attitude, traits, emotions and gender. The researcher's self influences the selection of subjects (what to study) and the selection of research methods/interpretation methods (how to study). The researcher's gaze (Hollinshead, 1992) is an important aspect of knowledge production. The tourism academic world has been described as a dominated by males (Johnston, 2001; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000; Tribe, 2006, Wearing and Wearing, 1996). This has two potential consequences. First, sexual harassment is not a burning issue for men, as they are less likely to be its victims (Hoel and Einarsen, 2003). Second, researchers (men and women) tend to adopt the male gaze and focus on the interests of managers and firms in relation to sexual harassment, such as legal and financial implications (Agrusa, Tanner, Coats and Agrusa, 2000; Eaton, 2004; Gilbert et al., 1998; Sherwyn, 2010; Sherwyn, Kaufman and Klausner, 2000; Worsfold, and McCann, 2000).

Yet the predominance of the male gaze has shortcomings in fully explaining the overlooking of sexual harassment by tourism researchers, especially given the flourishing of critical theory in tourism studies (Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan, 2007; Bianchi, 2009; Hollinshead, 1999) and the feminist voice that characterizes it (Aitchison, 2005; Jordan, 1997; Kinnaird and Hall, 2004). Hence, another potential explanation to the "person" barrier relates to the common characteristic of academic researchers in terms of social class, e.g., being educated, privileged and living in developed countries. As such, researchers, both men and women, may overlook issues of economic inequality and labour conditions, and focus on "high-order" theoretical concepts such as critical research of meanings and cultures (Bianchi, 2009). Furthermore, while being critical about cultural issues, academic actors are the "beneficiaries of the power structure of the academy" (Hall, 2010a, p.210), so often ignore problems of the powerless, such as sexual harassment. In short, well educated, middle class scholars tend to overlook this issue which mostly affects lower social classes.

1 2.5.2. *Rules*. These are the science zones, the disciplines that divide and create
2 boundaries in academia. When a field is dominated by a specific discipline, questions
3 that are beyond its boundaries tend to be neglected (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991;
4 Tribe, 2006). This might perpetuate the overlooking of sexual harassment since it is a
5 topic that does not exclusively belong to any of the disciplinary science zones in
6 tourism. To illustrate this point, the different science zones and perspectives in tourism
7 studies will be described using Jafari's (2005) analysis. Jafari (2005) identified a
8 process of an evolution of tourism studies from economic topics to the social-cultural
9 and then to alternative forms of tourism (sustainable tourism). The pattern of
10 publication of papers addressing sexual harassment corresponds to Jafari's analysis.
11 Most of the papers that refer to sexual harassment from an economic/managerial
12 perspective were published more than ten years ago, in hospitality journals. These
13 papers tend to explore managers views (Fernsten, Lowry, Enghagen and Hott, 1988;
14 Gilbert et al., 1998; Woods and Kavanaugh, 1994); offer managerial tools (Aalberts
15 and Seidman, 2001; Eaton, 2004; Eller, 1990; Sherwyn et al., 2000; Weber, Coats,
16 Agrusa, Tanner and Meche, 2002) and portray sexual harassment in the context of the
17 impacts of tourism development on the local community (Haralambopoulos and Pizam,
18 1996). However, this line of managerial research tended to overlook the main victims
19 of sexual harassment – the employees, mostly women.

20 Following the managerial focus, studies of sexual harassment that were
21 influenced by socio-cultural tradition have mostly been published in the last ten years,
22 but focused on tourists rather than on work environment. These works disconnected
23 the term sexual harassment from its origins – the workplace - linking it instead to the
24 dangers that tourists (especially female tourists) may face in various destinations
25 (Brown, 1999; de Albuquerque and McElroy, 2001; Kozak, 2007; Lozanski, 2007).

26 The more recently published works relate to topics of sustainability and
27 responsibility. These works address issues such as the need for ethics education
28 (Yeung, 2004; Yeung and Pine, 2003; White and Hardemo, 2002); barriers for women
29 employees, and not only women managers (Cho, 2002; Crafts and Thompson, 2007);
30 barriers for sexual minorities in the tourism and hospitality industry (Ineson, Yap and
31 Whiting, 2013) and criticize the tradition of sexual behaviours in this industry (Poulston,
32 2008b; Theocharous and Philaretou, 2009). Attention has also been given to the

1 sexual harassment of students during the professional placement, emphasizing the
2 responsibility of higher education institutes (Lin, 2006; Mkono, 2010; Worsfold and
3 McCann, 2000). However, these latter studies tend to ignore managerial issues,
4 especially with regard to socially responsible management.

5 Whilst Jafari's (2005) work did not refer to the place of geography in tourism,
6 Hall (2013) pointed to its central role with a focus on space, place and environment.
7 But again geography rarely directly engages with the issue of sexual harassment.
8 Given the multidisciplinary nature of tourism studies it is not surprising that sexual
9 harassment remains overlooked in academic inquiry. In sum, falling between the
10 cracks of different science zones and perspectives, the issue of sexual harassment,
11 which is not purely managerial, geographical nor social or ethical, but rather a
12 combination of these four perspectives, did not get full academic attention.

13 2.5.3. *Position*. Position relates to the physical domain, meaning the researcher's
14 geographical and cultural background and his or her department within a university,
15 and to the psychological domain including concepts such as occupational belonging,
16 cultural background and identification with a specific academic community or tradition
17 (academic tribalism) (Tribe, 2006). The physical (academic) domain can explain why
18 scholars, having lecturing positions, tend to focus on students as subjects. From eight
19 papers focused on employees, four papers addressed students (Table 2) (Lin, 2006;
20 Mkono, 2010; Yeung, 2004; Yeung and Pine, 2003), even though students are only
21 a marginal fraction within more than 200 million employees supported by tourism
22 sector (World Travel and Tourism Council, WTTC, 2015).

23 Perhaps the most influential aspect in relation to sexual harassment is the
24 psychological domain or the "academic tribe". These are the "tribe norms" that
25 researchers tend to obey (Becher, 1989). The norms in business schools, where many
26 tourism departments reside, include publishing in recommended lists of journals
27 (Bennis and O'Toole, 2005), using "impact factor" as a proxy for journals' quality and
28 the number of citations as reflecting the scientific value of papers (Campbell, 2008;
29 Garfield, 2006) and for institutional decisions regarding promotion, tenure, universities
30 and departments ranking and funding (Lane, 2010). Consequently, researchers make
31 efforts to publish in high impact journals and ensure that their papers are cited (Todd
32 and Ladle, 2008). Strategies include avoiding topics that do not have much of a

1 "scientific rating" and thus have little chance to be published in high impact journals or
2 to be cited. Another strategy would be to focus on "safe" issues that will not cause
3 potential dispute with editors or reviewers. Considering the low citation rates of papers
4 dealing with sexual harassment, (Table 2), and the high potential of this issue to
5 provoked unsupportive reviews it is not surprising that researchers avoid this issue.

6 Another "academic tribe" principle noted by Tribe (2006) is domination by the
7 elders of a field that function as the "gate keepers" of knowledge, by holding key
8 positions in journals, universities and conferences. As the elders of the tourism and
9 hospitality (as other) academic tribes are predominantly male, issues that are male-
10 peripheral may be filtered out by these powerful gatekeepers. This is further supported
11 by Poulston (2008b) observation that "even amongst mature hospitality academics,
12 there is a strong ethos of 'get over it' [sexual harassment] and 'it's just part of the
13 industry" (p.239). When the elders are not interested, and the younger academics
14 aspire to maintain their academic positions within 'the system', the sexual harassment
15 issue remains sidelined.

16 *Ends.* This factor refers to the purpose of research. According to Tribe (2006)
17 the purpose of research in the academic field of tourism and hospitality tends to be
18 practical and mostly focus on "consumer satisfaction and planning and management
19 of resources" (p. 373). The discussion about consumer satisfaction has a direct link to
20 sexual harassment because the tourism industry offers close contact between guests
21 and employees, with an emphasis on pleasing the customers and thus may be
22 susceptible to incidents of sexual harassment by guests. Previous studies (Aslan and
23 Kozak, 2012; Eaton, 2004) adopted this view, but while doing so, narrowed their
24 discussion to one form of harassment (the one that was generated by guests) and
25 ignored other frequent forms of sexual harassment, those who were initiated by peers
26 and managers (Cho, 2002; Poulston, 2008b; Worsfold and McCann, 2000).

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

1 al., 2002). This means-end perspective considers the organization as a victim of sexual
2 harassment rather the employee, since it may suffer financial losses due to the
3 reduction in employees' productivity. "The maximisation of profit remains a pivotal
4 objective for service business activity and as such organisations need to deal
5 proactively with the issue of sexual harassment" (Gilbert et al., 1998, p.53). Moreover,
6 under the means-end perspective the goal of the organization will be to minimize the
7 potential costs so that in a case where an employee reports sexual harassment
8 incident it would "... exercise reasonable care, but not too much.... [if] it was too easy
9 to report harassmentemployee[s] did, in fact, report" (Sherwyn, 2008, p. 55).

10 2.5.4. *Ideology*. Ideology refers to the fundamental beliefs that guide people's thoughts
11 and actions. One of the main ideologies in the tourism and hospitality field is the
12 western ideology, which favours consumerism and capitalism (Tribe, 2006).
13 Consumerism is defined by Miles (1998) as a way of life in which the act of
14 consumption represents a social expression. To serve this ideology of
15 consumption/consumerism the supply side has to provide goods and services that
16 would attract potential customers.

17 In the context of tourism, one way to do so is to link tourism with sex. "Tourism
18 is sometimes regarded as a 'sexy' business - it is glamorized, can be exploitative, and
19 certainly has used sexual imagery to sell its products" (Ryan and Kinder, 1996, p. 516).
20 However, the link between sex and tourism goes beyond just selling the image of sex,
21 it is impregnated in the DNA of the industry. The philosophy of service, known as "the
22 customer is always right" constructs the superiority of customers over service
23 providers, implying that customers can misbehave while the service providers have to
24 tolerate it (Poulston, 2008a; Yagil, 2008).

25 In an industry that is subtly or explicitly sold by sex themes, this philosophy
26 encourages employees (and especially women employees) to "serve the emotional
27 and sexual needs of tourists" (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000, p.888). As long as this
28 ideology is sustained, both academic and practitioners will demonstrate an indifference
29 to sexual harassment and may misinterpret it as an acceptable part of the job.
30 Furthermore, even employees in the industry identify with this ideology, as Poulston
31 (2008b) noted: "Sexual harassment is widely accepted by hospitality workers, and to
32 some extent, welcomed and enjoyed. As long as hospitality workers accept behaviours

1 that other workers find unacceptable, customers (and other workers) will behave as
2 they want, rather than as they should" (p.239).

3

4 **3. Beyond Tribe: The counter forces**

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

15

16 *3.1. Triangulation as a counter to person*

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

30 *3.2. Interdisciplinary as a counter to rules*

1 Rules describes the limits imposed by the traditions (or disciplines) that govern the
2 academic world. A suggested counter force to this truth barrier is interdisciplinary which
3 represents a synthesis of two or more disciplines, creating together an integration of
4 knowledge (Klein, 1990). Recently, Darbellay and Stock (2012) defined
5 interdisciplinary in tourism as "an organization of an interface between different
6 disciplines and bodies of knowledge in order to analyze the manifestations and the
7 existing complexities of society's touristic dimensions" (p.455). This sets a possible
8 antidote to the truth barrier of rules. The melding of the sociological and philosophical
9 with the economic and managerial can be an important facilitator here and would help
10 to address the multifaceted problem of sexual harassment as well as other hidden
11 issues in the tourism and hospitality industry. This does not mean that scholars should
12 abandon their "home" academic fields in order to incorporate an interdisciplinary
13 subject (Coles, Hall and Duval, 2009) but rather enable them to contribute unique
14 knowledge to study complex problems, such as sexual harassment.

15 *Collaboration as a counter to position*

16 The truth barrier of position contains both physical and psychological domains that
17 influence the point of view of the researcher, according to his/her physical location and
18 professional academic identity. A possible solution for this barrier will be of the
19 encouragement of collaborative research. This topic has recently captured the
20 attention of the tourism academic literature, using both qualitative (ANT – Actor
21 Network Theory: Ren, Pritchard and Morgan, 2010; Tribe, 2010) and quantitative (SNA
22 – Social Network Analysis: Ye, Li and Law, 2011) research methods. The analysis of
23 Ye et al. (2011) pointed out that the tourism field is still characterized by a relatively
24 low level of collaboration compared to other scientific fields. Furthermore, their study
25 indicated that tourism is a field with a very tight core of researchers, regularly co-
26 authoring with each other, while other researchers are more isolated from each other
27 on the academic periphery.

28 Here, technological-driven collaborative networks can be a powerful tool for enhancing
29 collaboration. On-line platforms enable researchers from different universities,
30 organizations and agencies to exchange knowledge, to share opinions and to be aware
31 of voices that were silenced by the gate keepers of academia. Liburd (2012) coined
32 the term 'Tourism 2.0' to describe the process of creating bottom – up tourism

1 knowledge, which is based on pluralism, web 2.0 technology and collaborative values.
2 The platform of INNOTOUR (<http://www.innotour.com/>) is an example of a web 2.0
3 collaboration network that focuses on tourism innovation. Furthermore, collaboration
4 might refer to networks of academics and practitioners from specific regions, or
5 worldwide that will work together to promote knowledge in tourism.

6

7 *3.3. Humanism as a counter to ends*

8 Ends refers to the tendency of researchers to see workers in the industry as resources
9 (or means) for achieving other ends, such as guests' satisfaction or business success.
10 This perspective is preserved through the mechanism of tourism and hospitality higher
11 education that stresses vocational merits and neo-liberal frames of thought (Ayikoru,
12 Tribe and Airey, 2009).

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

26

27 *3.4. Critical praxis as a counter to ideology*

28 If ideology directs and controls our research in powerful but often undisclosed ways,
29 then efforts to counter it should be directed towards unmasking ideology. Here the role
30 of critical theory is to expose how ideology and power operate (Kincheloe and
31 McLaren, 2003; Tribe, 2008). Yet, critical praxis would take this an important step

1 further by holding the promise to engage critical theory with action, practice and
2 problem-solving (Kilduff, Mehra and Dunn, 2011). In this kind of problem-centered
3 approach, the solutions (the "what works" issue) are as important as the theory or
4 method taken (Creswell, 2012). Problem solving is responsive to public needs (and not
5 to ideology) and requires the flexibility, innovation and creativity of researchers (Leavy,
6 2011).

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

20 **Conclusion**

21 The paper deals with a paradoxical case of speaking the unspoken. Drawing on Tribe
22 (2006), it empirically investigated the assertion that there are subjects, which are
23 hidden from knowledge, or presented in a biased way because of five truth barriers,
24 i.e., person, rules, position, ends and ideology. Thus, to facilitate a more open
25 discussion of hidden real world phenomena and lead to a more fully developed truth
26 space, five counter forces were offered: triangulation, interdisciplinary, collaboration,
27 humanism and critical praxis. Figure 2 of the "Beyond Tribe" model shows how the
28 tourism phenomenon is translated to tourism knowledge by two different paths. The
29 path signified by the dotted line is that which was described by Tribe (2006). It can lead
30 to a partial and biased knowledge (ABC zone) due to the operation of truth barriers
31 (represented in the K circle in Figure 2). The alternative path, signified by the solid line,
32 demonstrates the deployment of the counter forces (represented in the K* circle in

1 Figure 2) which can lead to knowledge which is less biased and partial (ABCZ zone).
2 The "beyond Tribe" model can explain the knowledge gaps regarding sexual
3 harassment and ways to counter these gaps. Furthermore, it can also be generalized
4 to explain knowledge gaps in other contexts and cases.

5 **[Figure 2 here]**

6
7 *3.5. Practical implications – transferring knowledge*

8 The transfer of knowledge between research and business in tourism had been
9 previously described as a weak one (Xiao and Smith, 2007). The current investigation
10 provides more evidence of this weak link. However, while previous works indicate a
11 broken flow from research to business (Cooper, 2006; Xiao and Smith, 2007), an
12 important focus here is on a gap in information flow between business to research. In
13 both cases the result is the same: partial knowledge contributes to poor performance
14 and leads to sub-optimal results.

15 In her review about tourism innovation "Repairing innovation defectiveness in tourism",
16 Hjalager (2002) noted how intermediate players (but not direct tourism practitioners)
17 should take an active role in bridging the gap between knowledge and practice and
18 enhancing tourism innovation. The re-conceptualizing of Tribe's (2006) model offers a
19 way to improve knowledge channels between business and research by relying on
20 academics and practitioners and not intermediates. All five counter forces are based
21 on cooperation between these two parties, from using different databases and points
22 of view (triangulation) to a greater involvement of researchers in problem-solving tasks
23 (critical praxis) and collaboration. Humanism calls for a greater involvement between
24 higher education and the industry. Furthermore, the identified truth facilitators may also
25 function as guidelines for research institutions, funding bodies and departments in
26 developing practices and mechanisms to enhance the "real life" impact of their
27 research.

28 *Theoretical implications - overcoming truth barriers*

29 This study of sexual harassment has provided key ideas for re-conceptualizing Tribe's
30 (2006) model and overcoming truth barriers in tourism and hospitality. The suggested
31 re-conceptualized model can be applied more generally, in identifying hidden topics

1 and guidance to avoid biases in knowledge. A pioneering example for that is the "While
2 Waiting for the Dawn" initiative (Munar et al., 2015), aiming to raise awareness to the
3 gender imbalance in the tourism academy. Its humanistic point of view is supported by
4 a triangulation of different databases, analyse by 12 researchers from different
5 continents, background and fields, providing an interdisciplinary perspective as well as
6 its collaborative values. The critical agenda is disseminated by using multiple active
7 channels, among them – seminars, workshops, video and written reports.

8 In a second case, tourism knowledge is seen to be partial. Hall (2010b) noted
9 that tourism knowledge systematically overlooks the enormous group of people that
10 do not travel at all, focussing mainly on the rich minority that travels. All five counter
11 forces can be activated to improve the truth relating to this minority/majority bias.
12 Triangulation of additional datasets to supplement data that is provided by tourism
13 related organizations such as the UNWTO is necessary. Additionally, both
14 interdisciplinary and collaboration are needed to address knowledge gaps, create
15 research groups and dialogue between scholars of different disciplines, regions and
16 backgrounds as well as practitioners. Finally, a humanist higher education and critical
17 praxis are key to changing the situation.

18

19 *3.6. Limitations and future research*

20 The current study has empirically analysed Tribe's (2006) truth barriers and postulated
21 five counter- forces taking us beyond the original model. It is hoped that this analysis
22 will provide a blueprint to enable future research in tourism to be more deeply engaged
23 with "truth-telling" and give voice to more unspoken subjects.

24 As 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, could
26 be studied using other academic publications (in addition to peer reviewed papers) and
27 to address other models and perspectives. Perspectives, such as hermeneutic
28 phenomenology (Pernecky and Jamal, 2010) ethical practice (Feighery, 2011) or
29 problemology (Lai, Li and Scott, 2015) are relevant and could identify additional truth
30 barriers or facilitating forces. Second, the five suggested counter-forces may overlap.
31 Collaboration overlaps with triangulation and interdisciplinary, humanism shares

1 issues with critical praxis, in a similar way to Tribe's truth barriers, which overlap with
2 each other and jointly produce a barrier for truth telling. The importance of the five
3 counter forces is derived from their collective function as truth facilitators (Figure 2),
4 rather than their independent impact.

5 Future research may elaborate further on the counter forces, discuss possible
6 overlaps between them and advance their definitions. Additionally, more unspoken
7 issues are waiting to be discovered by using these counter forces and translating them
8 into policies and practical tools. Finally, the problem of sexual harassment in the
9 tourism and hospitality industry calls for more research on similar practical steps to
10 influence governments and industry to highlight and address this illegal, unfair and ugly
11 phenomenon.

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2 **Table 1. Number of papers in the Ebsco database of hospitality and tourism on**
3 **SEXUAL HARASSMENT and other topics**

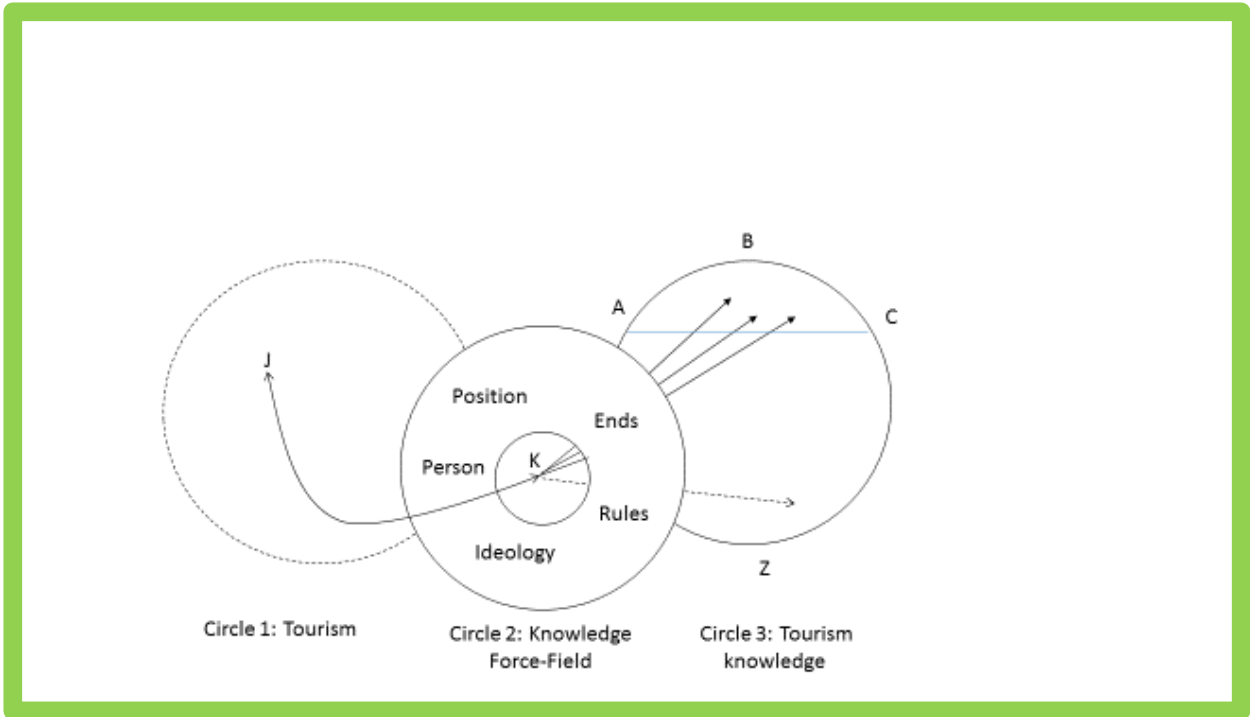
Subject	Key words	Number of papers
Main search	Sexual harassment	34
Work related subjects	Burnout	65
	Turnover	427
	Gender & work	200
Misbehaviors/criminal behaviors	Drug use	63
	Theft	62
Sex related issue	Sex	489
	Sex & work	65

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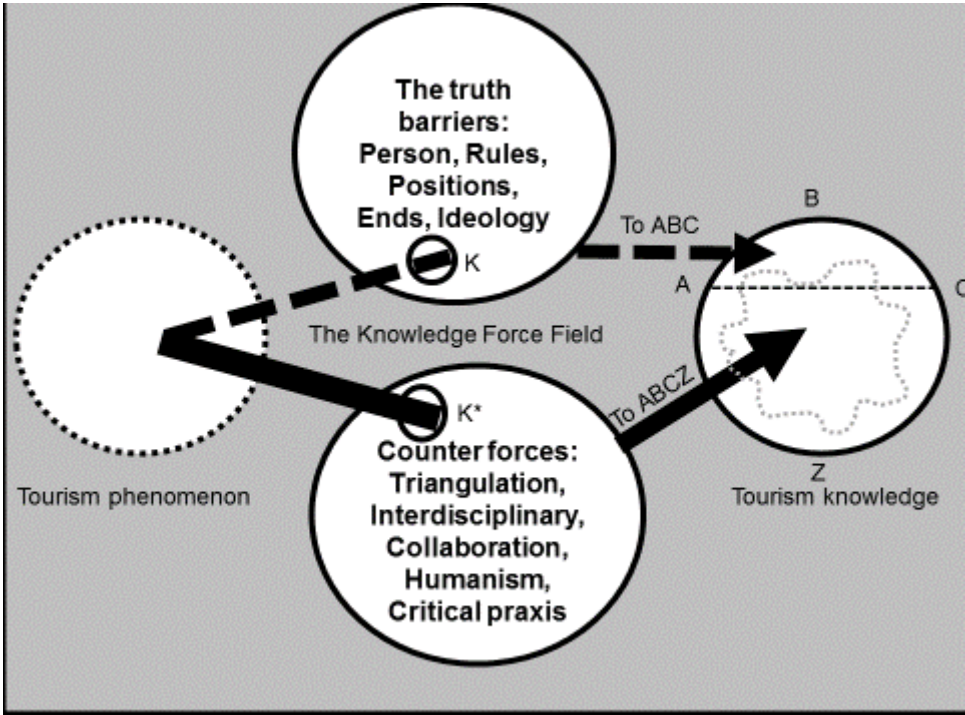
1 **Table 2: Analysis of papers on SEXUAL HARASSMENT based on EBSCO search**

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



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