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Sustainably Changing Small Traders' Harassment Behaviors - A Theoretical Framework

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Abstract

The goal of the paper was to put forward a theoretical model for sustainably changing small traders' harassment behaviors and to apply it to a destination grappling with the problem for decades. One hundred and eighty-one newspaper articles, 37 annual tourism reports, and 20 other government documents were reviewed to determine Jamaica's visitor harassment mitigation initiatives and activities from 1957 to 2013. Also, seven leaders from 14 of the island's craft markets were interviewed to determine the effects of these programs on their constituents' harassment behaviors. All archives and interview transcripts were analyzed using thematic content analysis. The case analysis revealed that while Jamaica had initiatives likely to discourage their small independent traders' engagement in harassment behaviors, the initiatives developed to strengthen their knowledge of the desired less aggressive trading behaviors had deficiencies likely to limit their engagement in these behaviors. The framework had implications of how measures to curtail visitor harassment are developed and tested.

Keywords: Visitor harassment, Jamaica, learning

Highlights

A model for sustainably reducing small traders' harassment behaviors was proposed.

The framework was based on established theories of behavior modification.

The framework was used to analyze Jamaica's visitor harassment mitigation program.

Jamaica's program had clear learning gaps which compromised its long-term success.

Introduction

Visitor harassment is a global phenomenon negatively affecting the sustainability of tourism sectors in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and the Caribbean (de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001; Kozak, 2007; J. McElroy et al., 2007). Despite vigorous efforts by territories like the Caribbean to understand and curtail the problem, the issue still remains an area of major concern (Caribbean Hotel and Tourism Association, 2007; J. McElroy et al., 2007). Although few, there has been significant research work in the area. Studies have: identified the types of harassment behaviors; indicated where the behaviors typically occur; elaborated on the impact of the behaviors on destinations; ascertained possible determinants of these selling behaviors; and proposed solutions for addressing them (Ajagunna, 2006; de Albuquerque & McElroy, 1999; de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001; Dunn & Dunn, 2002b; Hall, 2012; Kozak, 2007; J. McElroy et al., 2007; J. L. McElroy et al., 2007; Skipper, 2009). However, one noted absence in the literature is a theoretical framework to guide the development of sustainable solutions to the problem.

The goal of the present study was two-fold: first, to use established theories of behavior modification to craft a model for sustainably changing small traders' harassment behaviors at tourist destinations; and second, to apply the model to the case of one Caribbean Island that has been grappling with the problem

for decades. The framework is significant as it could take research in this stream one step further. Tourism destinations could also use the framework to guide the development and improvement of their own visitor harassment mitigation program. It is important for readers of this paper to note that the aim of this study was not to test theory, but rather to propose a model for effectively mitigating harassment behaviors at tourist destinations. “*Visitor harassment*”, as used within the context of the present study, is an individual or group contact or non-contact legal or illegal aggressive trading behavior between locals (traders) and visitors (buyers) that result in visitors (buyers or potential buyers) feeling varying degrees of anger, fear and/or sadness. Examples of individual or group contact and non-contact behaviors include: an individual or group of traders pulling or pushing a visitor (individual and group contact behaviors); a crowd of traders surrounding a visitor at once (group non-contact behavior); and a trader hurling abusive, rude or intimidating language at a visitor when he or she refuses to make a purchase (individual non-contact behavior) (Nicely & Mohd Ghazali, 2014). A “*visitor harassment mitigation program*” is all the initiatives of a destination, whether administered publicly or privately, where a central goal is to reduce the harassment of visitors. Finally, “*learning*” is the acquisition of knowledge, making meaning of such knowledge, and using it to act. Learning is therefore seen and described by behaviorists as behavior change (Barkley & Bianco, 2000; Casey, 2005; Dominiak, 2006; Huber, 1991; Mavrincac, 2005; Merriam, 2001; Morris et al., 2006).

Theoretical Foundation for the Model

According to previous behavior modification theories, behavior can be manipulated. In fact, Skinner found in 1948 that behavior can indeed be conditioned (Skinner, 1948, 1981). More specifically, behavior can be reinforced using stimuli and behavior reinforced will likely be repeated and those not will likely weaken. He further explained that reinforcers (stimuli) can also be varied (Skinner, 1981) as well as be positive or negative, such as giving or removing a reward. Skinner (1948) also determined that the shorter the intervals between reinforcers, the more pronounced the conditioning. The researcher however, contended that punishment will likely weaken an undesirable behavior but not necessarily strengthen the desired related behavior (McLeod, 2007; Skinner, 1948). Skinner’s theory was referred to as the *theory of operant conditioning*.

Another influential theory of behavior modification is Kurt Lewin’s *theory of planned change*. Lewin (1947) explained the change process in human systems using a three-stage model: unfreeze-change-freeze. The model requires prior learning to be rejected and replaced. According to Lewin (1947), unfreezing is the process of letting go of behaviors that are counterproductive, ensuring that forces against the undesirable behavior is greater than forces in support of the behavior. Then there is a change in thoughts, feelings, behavior, or all three among constituents. This is followed by a process of freezing, which means establishing the change as a new habit so that it becomes standard operating procedure (Agboola & Salawu, 2011; Burnes, 2004). Later studies have also confirmed the importance of unlearning, changing beliefs or unfreezing to successful application of new knowledge (Akgün et al., 2007; Akgün et al., 2006). Therefore, an undesired behavior can be changed to a desired one by persuading persons to desist the undesired behavior (unfreezing), introducing the desired behavior (changing), and reinforcing the desired behavior through the introduction and/or removal of rewards and benefits or through punishment (freezing).

The third behavior modification theory is Albert Bandura’s *social learning theory*. According to Bandura (1989), humans learn through imitation once certain components are within their repertoire (Bandura & Huston, 1961). The brain, when storing a new sensory input, will look for connections to earlier information (Merriam, 2008). Therefore, persons learn by observing others either directly through mimicking their behavior or vicariously by observing how the behavior was reinforced or punished in another (Bandura, 1989). Bandura’s experiments with children also found that while reinforcement was not crucial for imitation, incentives would reactivate a subsequent performance (Masia & Chase, 1997). Masia and Chase (1997) also found, after a careful review of the work of Skinner (1953) and Ollendick,

Dailey and Shapiro (1983), that imitated behavior will be sustained after intermittent reinforcement.

However, to facilitate learning through observation, Bandura (1989) thought the following were necessary. First, *attention processes*: the observer pays attention to the events modeled. Second, *representational processes*: the observed behavior is represented in memory. Rehearsal can reduce memory loss. Third, *production processes*: the events seen are then converted to actions similar to that modeled. Finally, *motivational processes*: the new behavior is then positively or negatively reinforced (Bandura, 1989; Grusec, 1992). The tenets of social learning theory have been used in a number of industries. In the United States it was used in the chemical industry to improve the industry's learning from crisis (Nathan & Kovoov-Misra, 2002).

Bandura (1978) also related his social learning theory to *the theory of aggression*. According to Bandura's *theory of aggression*, "people are not born with performed repertoires of aggressive behavior, they must learn them" (p. 14) and very often they do so vicariously by observing the behavior and the related consequences of persons in their families, communities, and the media. Bandura (1978) believed that levels of aggression would increase with repeated performance.

Bandura (1989) also believed what persons thought, believed, and felt could influence their behavior and the antecedents of such behavior could be modified through social influences, in particular through modeling, instruction, and social persuasion. Therefore, desired behaviors can be acquired through observation and imitation and the new behavior can be reinforced by observing environmental responses or consequences to the model's behavior.

In 1985, Ajzen (1991) developed the *theory of planned behavior*. This was an extension of the Fishbein and Ajzen's Expectancy-Value Model of Attitude which stated that beliefs can influence attitude. The scholars contended that if an individual believed that a behavior was good or bad (behavioral belief), there was local support or non-support for that behavior (normative belief), and the behavior was easy or difficult (control belief), then this would result in his or her positive or negative attitude towards the behavior (attitude towards the behavior). Ajzen (1991) went further and stated that human behavior could be explained and even predicted from these attitudes and intention. He also found that intention and perceived behavioral control could accurately predict behavior. Therefore, the stronger the intention and perceived behavioral control linked to the behavior in question, the stronger the behavior (Figure 1). However Ajzen (1991) cautioned users of the Theory of Planned Behavior that to accurately predict one's behavior from his or her belief, the individual's belief dimension must be clearly defined and opportunities and resources must be in place for the behavior to occur. Therefore, important antecedents of behavior change include belief, attitude, and subsequently intention modification.

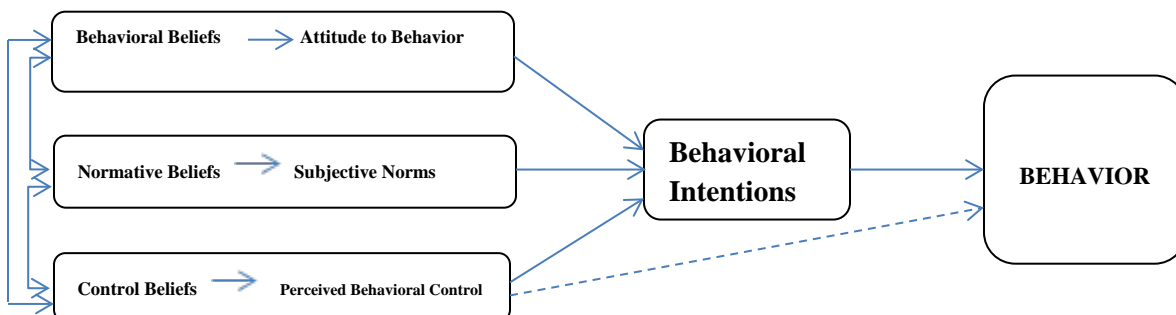


Figure 1. Theory of planned behavior

The theory of planned behavior has been empirically tested and confirmed in a wide cross-section of behaviors, in particular, the prediction of behavior from intention and perceived behavioral control. For example, when: seeking a job, playing games, drinking alcohol, breastfeeding, voting in presidential elections, trying to lose weight, trying to improve academic performance, giving a gift, and participating in immoral activities (like cheating, shoplifting and lying) (Ajzen, 1991). Yet seemingly the model has never been applied to small traders' harassment behaviors until now.

Model for Sustainably Reducing Small Traders' Aggressive Selling Behaviors (SR-ST-ASB) Explained

The focus of the SR-ST-ASB framework is reducing, over the long-term, small traders' engagement in aggressive selling behaviors while increasing their engagement in more effective, less aggressive selling behaviors. The framework's premise is that for traders to change their aggressive selling behaviors over the long term the following must occur. First, they must believe that aggressive selling techniques are bad for themselves and their community's tourism sector and other less aggressive selling techniques good (behavioral beliefs). There is no local support for harassment behaviors but in fact disdain for such behaviors (normative beliefs). Aggressive selling behaviors are not as rewarding and beneficial as less aggressive ones (behavioral control beliefs). Second, the traders must have knowledge of less aggressive selling techniques. Third, their engagement in less aggressive selling behaviors must be continuously reinforced.

To achieve these behaviors, traders must be convinced through various persuasion initiatives that less aggressive selling behaviors are good and aggressive selling behaviors are bad. There is support when they engage in less aggressive selling techniques rather than aggressive ones, and that less aggressive selling behaviors are easy and more rewarding than aggressive ones (*Preparation for Knowledge Acquisition Phase*). They must be taught and retaught the fundamentals of less aggressive selling behaviors. This can be done through various instruction, modeling, observation, and practice initiatives (*Knowledge Acquisition Phase*). Finally, the desired selling behavior must be positively and negatively reinforced, and the undesired selling behavior discouraged through punitive and other actions (*Sustained Behavior Change Phase*) (Figure 2). It is important to note that positive reinforcement, in this model, is a desired response to a behavior which often occurs when praise, benefit, or reward is issued. On the other hand, negative reinforcement is an undesired response to a behavior and often occurs when praise, benefit, or reward is withheld. *Punitive and alternative action* is an undesired response intended to inflict pain, discomfort or simply to block the occurrence of a behavior, for example punishment and the erection of physical barriers. The first two will encourage the desired behavior and discourage the undesired one, while the latter will only discourage the undesired behavior. The case study below highlights initiatives used by one destination, Jamaica, to change their traders' harassment behaviors.

The SR-ST-ASB model implies a cyclical process moving from belief modification to traders' learning to reinforcement and back to belief modification. However, the knowledge acquisition phase could strengthen the traders' belief and the reinforcement phase could improve the traders' knowledge as well as strengthen deepen their belief.

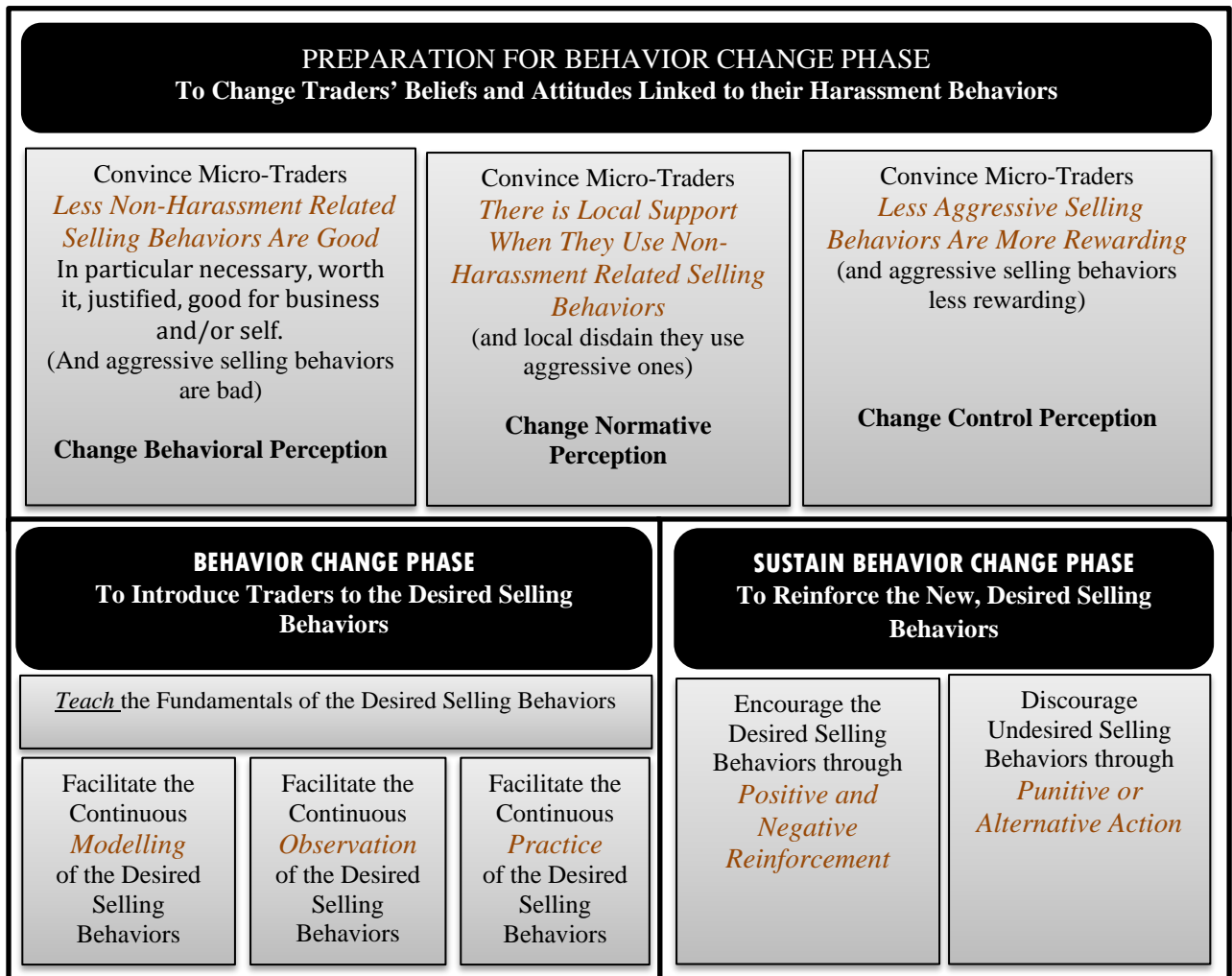


Figure 2. Model for sustainably reducing small traders' aggressive selling behaviors (SR-ST-ASB) at a tourist destination

Although the effect of the model on visitor harassment levels must be confirmed, the researchers were of the view that its likelihood for success was significant for several reasons. First, the model is based on sound, repeatedly tested theory of behavior modification. Second, a major element of the model is the acquisition of the desired selling behaviors through informal learning techniques, methods used by humans from birth. Yet the model has its weaknesses. First, users of the framework should expect behavior change to be slow as harassment behaviors could be deeply engrained, spanning generations. Second, the approach could be expensive and time-consuming for the designers of the traders' learning.

Methodology

The goal of the study was to propose a model for sustainably reducing small traders' aggressive selling behaviors at tourist destinations. The goal of the data collection exercise, in particular, was to explicate the framework. That is, to use the case of Jamaica to illustrate the importance of each section of the framework to sustainably changing small independent traders' harassment behaviors. To do this the following had to be ascertained: 1) Jamaica's historical and socio-economic context; 2) the visitor harassment mitigation initiatives used by the island and their goal; 3) the gaps in their visitor harassment mitigation program relative to the framework; and 4) the likely impact of the gaps on their traders' harassment-related beliefs and ultimately their selling behavior. An instrumental case analysis was therefore felt to be appropriate. Instrumental case studies are normally used to facilitate understanding or to refine a theory (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Stake, 1995). Both archives and interviews were used for the case analysis. Archives outlining Jamaica's history, socio-economic conditions as well as the programs used by the island to tackle the problem of visitor harassment, and interviews with leaders of the island's craft market communities on their constituents' harassment-related beliefs, knowledge, and selling behaviors. A deductive interpretive post-positivistic approach to qualitative research was therefore applied where a theory for mitigating visitor harassment was suggested and used to better understand and diagnose a destination's visitor harassment mitigation program (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Ryan, 2006).

To generate a fairly accurate and comprehensive list of initiatives used by Jamaica the following archival sources were used: newspaper articles, tourism annual reports, and other government documents. Documents that mentioned visitor harassment mitigation programs and initiatives implemented were the only ones considered for analysis. The 181 newspaper articles used were from the period 1969 to 2013 and from Jamaica's oldest, most popular newspaper, the Daily Gleaner. The 37 annual tourism reports were from the period 1957 to 2010 and produced by the government agency responsible for developing and marketing Jamaica's tourism sector, the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) (Jamaica Tourism Board, 2014a). Twenty other government documents (i.e., program brochures, training documents, and acts) were also analyzed.

Jamaica's craft traders were selected as the focus of the study. This was done for three reasons. First, there were frequent reports of craft traders engaging in harassment behaviors on travel websites like TripAdvisor (Nicely & Mohd Ghazali, 2014). Second, the researchers were most interested in traders who, apart from engaging in harassment behaviors, were legally operating their businesses. Third, the craft traders had a formal management structure which made data collection relatively easy. A 2005-2006 and 2007 JTB Visitor Opinion survey also indicated that 51% and 29% of visitors, respectively, were harassed in shopping areas (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2006, 2007). Craft markets were the main areas visitors shopped on the island.

Steps were taken to ensure the reliability and validity of the data collected on Jamaica's visitor harassment mitigation initiatives. First, information on the initiatives was gathered from multiple sources, each was used to confirm findings generated from the other. Second, all documents used were coded twice by each of two researchers and the results compared. From the coding, tables comprising of the mitigation strategies were created. The tables were first organized according to the target audience of the

strategy (e.g., the community, the visitor, the trader etc.) and then each by the type of strategies applied. Two researchers, not involved in the initial coding of the documents, reviewed the tables to determine appropriateness of placements and final changes made. Third, all four researchers reviewed the revised tables and individually coded the initiatives according to the nine components of the SR-ST-ASB framework (Figure 2). The mitigation programs were later mapped according to the nine variables in the framework. A minimum of 75% agreement was required for the initiative to be assigned to one or more of the nine sections of the framework. The four researchers who participated in the exercise had expertise in tourism sustainability, community learning, community resilience, and tourism behavior and were from Australia, Jamaica, the United States, and Malaysia, respectively.

Fourteen leaders from the 14 established craft markets in Jamaica were approached in 2013. Seven agreed to be interviewed. The traders were identified as leaders of their various communities by their national association. The interview guide comprised of three questions with several parts. The first question focused on whether or not the leaders thought craft traders harassed visitors and their harassment behaviors. The second on beliefs craft traders shared that would explain their harassment behaviors, and the third on programs and initiatives they knew of targeting traders' harassment behaviors. All interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and coded by two researchers. A 97% convergence rate was achieved from the coded material. All data used in the case study were analyzed using thematic content analysis (TCA). TCA allowed the researchers to objectively identify common themes from the multiple archival sources and interview transcripts used (Anderson, 1997). It is the recurring themes that were summarized and reported in the case study. To protect the identity of the traders, aliases were used for the direct quotes reported.

Jamaica's Approach to Visitor Harassment

Jamaica is a tropical island in the Caribbean archipelago (Jamaica Tourism Board, 2014b) with year-round temperatures of 23.5 to 27 degrees Celsius (74.03 to 80.6 degrees Fahrenheit) and a rich history with colonialism and slavery as its basis. The island was first colonized by the Spanish in 1494 and later by the English in 1655, and both the Spanish and the English brought in the Africans to work the plantations (Hearne, 2008; Tortello, 2004). However, Jamaica is made up of a mixture of races and religions, the dominant being Blacks and Christianity, respectively (Jamaica Tourism Board, 2014b).

The island is considered an upper middle income developing country (World Bank, 2013). For the periods 1960 to 2011, 1991 to 2013 and 2002 to 2014, the island's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, unemployment rate, and inflation rate averaged USD 2,053.8, 14.02% of the labor force and 10.98%, respectively (Trading Economics, 2014). Also, between 2004 and 2010 the island's poverty levels ranged between 9.9% and 17.6% of its population (World Bank, 2014).

For decades the island has been a popular tourist destination. In 1955 the island had a total of 122,149 stopover and cruise visitors. This number has grown exponentially to 3,077,233 in 2011 (Jamaica Tourism Board, 2014c; World Travel & Tourism Council, 2012). However, since 2009 as the island's number of visitors increased, their visitors' total spending decreased (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2012). One plausible explanation for this could be poor shopping experiences (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002).

The island's main source market for visitors for some time has been the United States (approximately 70%) followed by Europe (approximately 20%) (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2005; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002). However, in 2010 there has been a slight shift with more Canadians visiting Jamaica resulting in a market share of approximately 65%, 17%, and 15% from the United States, Canada, and Europe, respectively (Jamaica Tourism Board, 2014b).

Jamaica has 14 established craft markets in five of its six resort communities: Kingston, Montego Bay, Ocho Rios, Negril, and Port Antonio. Some of these markets are owned by private entities, while others by government bodies such as the local council for the parish where the market is located, and the Urban Development Corporation (UDC), the agency responsible for the development, growth, and maintenance of public assets. Each craft market has an association of independent craft traders and the various market groupings are members of the All-Island Craft Traders Association.



Figure 4. Small traders meet at a craft market in Negril, Jamaica in 2013
(Photographer – Annmarie Nicely)

The harassment of visitors by small independent traders has been an area of major concern for tourism leaders in Jamaica for decades (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002; Jamaica Tourism Board, 2003). One of the earliest indications of the problem was reported in the island’s local newspaper, the Daily Gleaner in 1969. The article described the frustrations of business leaders in the resort community of Montego Bay because of the overcharging, hustling, and general abuse behaviors of taxi drivers, touts, beggars, and street sellers toward visitors (The Daily Gleaner, 1969). The problem continued into the 21st century.

Later government reports hinted at a significant decline in traders’ harassment behaviors. In 1996 visitor harassment rates were reported at 60%, but a 2007 Visitor Opinion Survey from the JTB reported visitor harassment levels at 35%, suggesting a 25% decline (Crick, 2003; Jamaica Tourist Board, 2006, 2007; Reid, 2013). One local tourism official, referenced in the newspaper article titled “*Killing the Gold Goose, Crushing the Golden Egg*”, attributed this decline to two reasons: public education and increased security (Reid, 2013). However, the archives revealed a pivotal event that might explain further the significant decline and that was a September 3, 1997, workshop titled, “*Solving the Harassment Problem*”. The Solving the Harassment Problem Workshop was an initiative organized by the Office of the Prime Minister and came out the realization that the problem had reached a boiling point despite the efforts of the Courtesy Corps, the police, and the local army. A number of high ranking government and tourism officials attended the workshop (Davis, 1997). The Courtesy Corps was a quasi-police team established to minimize harassment in resort areas on the island (Bowen, 1998). After the workshop a number of initiatives were put in place to cauterize the problem and encourage more positive attitudes amongst locals towards visitors and tourism. Policing increased, legislation strengthened increasing the penalty for harassment behaviors, and a major thrust was embarked upon to infuse tourism in schools at

all levels and to make Jamaicans more aware of the importance of tourism to the nation’s economy. The initiative to foster visitors’ understanding of Jamaicans and the Jamaican culture which started in 1968, *The Meet the People Program*, was also strengthened (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2014). All the initiatives are listed and described in Tables 1-4. However, in 2003 local tourism stakeholders felt things had again taken a turn for the worse. The Courtesy Corps was disbanded for financial reasons and tourism stakeholders began complaining of a resurgence of the problem (Evans, 2003; Reid, 2008). The political leaders responded to the cry and in 2008 a new resort patrol was launched and dispatched to resort areas (Reid, 2008). Despite this tourism stakeholders were still of the view that harassment was on the rise (Gayle, 2012; Mathison, 2011). The goal of this case analysis was to use the framework for Sustainably Reducing Small Traders’ Aggressive Selling Behaviors (SR-ST-ASB) to identify learning gaps likely to explain why the island is unable to sustainably reduce its visitor harassment levels.

Jamaica’s Visitor Harassment Mitigation Program (1957-2013)

Jamaica has been working its visitor harassment mitigation program from as far back as 1957. In fact, the archives revealed that between 1957 and 2013 the island had over 50 major types of private and government-led initiatives and measures focused on reducing the harassment of visitors by traders. A significant majority of the initiatives Jamaica used targeted the wider community in Jamaica as well as the likely perpetrators of harassment behaviors, the traders. However, the island had employed a few measures which involved hotel owners/operators as well as targeting visitors (Tables 1 and 2). The wider community initiatives focused on discouraging negative attitudes and behaviors and encouraging positive ones amongst locals toward tourists and tourism (Table 3). While the community initiatives focused on deterring traders’ harassment behaviors and introducing them to other less aggressive business approaches (Tables 4). The single hotel owner and operator initiative found in the archives centered on isolating visitors from traders, while the visitor initiatives attempted to address the problem through greater visitor awareness of life in Jamaica and Jamaicans (Tables 1 and 2). Jamaica’s visitor harassment mitigation program would therefore suggest that the burden of greatest change rested with the residents and not with owners and operators of hotels on the island or the visitors.

Table 1. The visitor harassment mitigation program in Jamaica - Hotel owner/operator-focused initiatives

Major Category [yr. 1 st & last mentioned]	Anti-Harassment Goal	Types of Initiatives
VISITOR SEPARATION AND ISOLATION INITIATIVES [1976-2008]	To minimize visitor annoyance by local traders	The introduction and propagation of the all-inclusive hotel concept [1976, 1986- 1987, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1998-1999, 2008] Gates were erected at hotels. [1987, 1993]

Note: The years in brackets indicate when the initiative was mentioned in the archives.

Table 2. The visitor harassment mitigation program in Jamaica - Visitor-focused initiatives

Major Categories [yr. 1 st & last mentioned]	Anti-Harassment Goals	Types of Initiatives
HOST CULTURE AWARENESS INITIATIVES [1973-2006]	To facilitate greater interaction between visitors and locals	The <i>Meet the People</i> Program was instituted by JTB. In the program opportunities was created for visitors to be hosted by locals and experience Jamaican life. [1973, 1977, 1996-1999, 2004- 2006]
	To provide visitors with information critical to their safety while on the island	A visitor assistance service was established to provide a wide range of types of aid and support to visitors. [1973, 1997-1998]
		Program to sensitize visitors on new currency regulation was implemented. [1983]
		<i>Helpful Hints for Your Vacation</i> pamphlets on security related dos and don'ts, as well as emergency contact details for visitors, was developed and distributed. [1997]
		Public education program on Jamaica was shown on inbound flights. [1997]

Note: The years in brackets indicate when the initiative was mentioned in the archives. All the activities described above were led by the Ministry of Tourism in Jamaica (MOTJ). Both the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) and the Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCo.) are agencies of this Ministry.

Table 3. The visitor harassment mitigation program in Jamaica - Community-focused initiatives

Major Categories [yr. 1 st & last mentioned]	Anti- Harassment Goals	Types of Initiatives
FACE-TO- FACE AWARENESS INITIATIVES For schools [1971-2013]	To facilitate better local understanding of and local participation in the Jamaican tourism sector amongst the island's youth.	Tourism brochures, booklets, texts, and teachers' guides were developed and distributed to schools, e.g., <i>Careers in Tourism</i> brochure and <i>Pop Story Gimmi</i> booklet, were produced by JTB. [1971-1972, 1977, 1987, 1990-1991, 1994, 1999-2001, 2003, 2006]
		Audiovisuals on tourism were created for schools, e.g., videos like <i>People in Tourism</i> and <i>The Visitor and You</i> , as well as <i>Tourism and Me</i> series of radio programs as part of JTB's tourism in schools' program. [1971, 1987, 1991]
		Student tours of local hotels and cruise ships were facilitated by the JTB. In the <i>Hello Tourist! Program</i> schools were partnered with local hotels. [1971, 1973, 1996- 2001]
		Lectures, seminars, forums, and exhibitions on tourism were held for students e.g., <i>Youth in Tourism Conference</i> , <i>Career Symposia</i> , and the <i>Summer Program</i> [1971- 1974, 1984, 1987, 1990-1992, 1994-2007, 2010, 2013]
		Undergraduate and graduate programs in hospitality and tourism were established. JTB participated in the development of some. Their team members delivered lectures in some of these programs as well. [1972, 1986, 2000, 2001, 2008]

		<p>Tourism was infused in multiple subjects within the school curricula, from early childhood to secondary school levels, the most mentioned was <i>The Tourism Infusion Program</i> [1971, 1995, 1997, 1998-1999, 2001-2006]</p> <p>Educational competitions on tourism like poster, essay, and public speaking competitions as well as national tourism awareness quizzes were held. [1972, 1974, 1994-2005, 2007, 2010]</p> <p>Special events on tourism were held at schools, e.g., <i>Tourism Awareness Week</i> and <i>Anti-Harassment/Anti-Drugs Concert</i>. [1973, 1987, 1990, 1997- 1998, 2006, and 2010].</p> <p>Developmental programs on tourism were hosted for teachers, e.g., workshops, printed material, overnight stays at hotels, and the <i>Hello Tourist! Program</i> which introduced teachers to the local tourism product. [1990, 1995- 2001, 2005]</p> <p>Scholarships administered by JTB for locals to pursue hospitality and tourism at the tertiary level in Jamaica and overseas. [1994, 1997- 1998, 2005, 2007]</p> <p>Tourism Action Club was established in secondary and tertiary institutions across the island as a way the JTB could pass on tourism information to students. [1998, 2000- 2007, 2010, 2013]</p> <p>Tourism Youth Advisory Council was established to advise the Prime Minister on tourism issues. [2001]</p>
For wider community [1971-2013]	To improve local attitude to tourism and tourists	<p>Community outreach programs like the <i>Tourism Month, Rural Tourism Public Awareness, National Tourism Awareness Week</i>, and lectures to community groups were conducted to sensitize communities on the importance of tourism. Each entailed a series of activities. [1971, 1973-1974, 1987-1988, 1994-1995, 1997-1998, 2000, 2001- 2003, 2005- 2006, 2010, 2013]</p> <p><i>Discover Jamaica</i> tours introducing Jamaicans to facilities available to both visitors and locals were conducted. [1976]</p> <p>Slide presentation on local hotels was prepared for viewing by members of the private and public sectors. The goal was to remove residents' anxiety towards visiting local hotels. [1977]</p> <p>Training program was conducted on the new currency regulation (as some harassment behaviors were linked to the buying of foreign currency from tourists). [1982-83]</p> <p>Media seminars and press conferences were held. [1995-96]</p> <p>JTB worked with community-based organizations to develop and promote community festivals to visitors, e.g., various food, sports, music, film, and literary festivals. [2000- 2002]</p>
NON-FACE-TO-FACE MEDIA INITIATIVES [1957-2005]	To encourage positive attitudes amongst locals toward tourists and tourism	<p>Various print media were used.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Posters were distributed. [1957] - Advertisements placed in local newspapers and magazines. Advertisements such as <i>Tourism: It's every Jamaican business</i> and <i>Tourism Page</i>. [1957, 1971, 1973, 1982, 1986, 1988, 1996-1998]

- Editorial materials were published weekly in local newspaper e.g., on the Discover Jamaican program for locals [1971, 1976]
- Fortnightly columns were published in local tabloid [1971]
- Newsletters like *Travel Talk*, *Tourism Talk*, *Jamaica Tourism Bulletin*, *Tourism Newsletter* and *JTB Newsbrief* were produced by JTB for locals. [1974, 1988- 1991, 1996, 1998, 2005]
- Special t-shirts were produced and distributed. [1976]
- A book was published titled, *Beautiful Jamaica*. [1976]
- Taxi rate sheet and currency card were produced. [1976]
- Billboards installed which stated *Jamaica Welcomes You* and *Tourism, Its Every Jamaican Business* with facts communicating the importance of tourism to Jamaica. [1988, 1997]
- Placards were placed on buses which stated not to harass the tourist. [1991]

Radio and television programs were produced as well as a website created.

- Radio and television commercials such as *Let's Make it Great/Right Now* and *Right Now*. The Private Sector Organization of Jamaica also placed an ad on air in 1982 to encourage Jamaicans to treat visitors right. [1957, 1971, 1973, 1982, 1986, 1988, 1991, 1995-1998]
- Radio dramas encouraging positive attitude in business, like *Nora by the Sea*, *Right Now* were aired on local stations. [1971, 1975-1977, 1997-1998]
- Radio programs like *Travel Log*, *Focus on Tourism* and *Tourism Talk* which later became *Jamaica Tourism Bulletin*, *JTB Newsbriefs*, *Interesting Facts on Jamaica* were aired. [1972-1973, 1984, 1990, 1992, 1996-1998]
- Promotional songs were produced and played on the radio, e.g. *Discover Jamaica*, *Discover Me*, and *A Fi Wi Country*. [1976]
- Television programs on local tourism like *Discover Jamaica*, *Doin the T*, and *Putting Yourself in the Picture* were aired. [1978, 1997-1998]

Website

- Daily postings were made on the newsroom of the JTB website. [2005]

PUBLIC PLEAS BY LOCAL POLITICAL, BUSINESS & TOURISM LEADERS [1969-2011]	To condemn visitor harassment	Statement was made by a former hotel manager condemning harassment behaviors. [1969]
	To encourage community policing of traders' harassment behaviors	Statements were made by government officials encouraging locals to police and denounce fellow Jamaicans' harassment behaviors. [1985-1988, 1990, 1993-1995, 1997, 2011] Statements were made by business leaders encouraging local support against harassment. [1986, 1987, 1993, 1997] Statement by a craft leader as well as a journalist calling for greater protection for visitors. [2001, 2009]
BUSINESS	To train locals in skills and	Open workshops were provided on small business development (in particular businesses for tourism). [1986, 1988, 1994]

TRAINING INITIATIVES FOR THE COMMUNITY IN GENERAL [1986-1994]	attitudes necessary for their participation in Jamaica's tourism sector	
EVALUATION INITIATIVES [1974-1998]	To determine the effect of work done to change Jamaicans attitudes towards visitors and tourism.	Survey of local attitudes to visitors and tourism conducted and results distributed [1974, 1996]. Survey of visitors. [1998]

Note: The years in brackets indicate when the initiative was mentioned in the archives. Majority of the activities described above were led by the Ministry of Tourism in Jamaica (MOTJ). Both the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) and the Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCo.) are agencies of this Ministry.

Table 4. The visitor harassment mitigation program in Jamaica - Trader-focused initiatives

Major Categories (yr. 1 st & last mentioned)	Anti-Harassment Goals	Types of Initiatives
LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES Rules [1987-2001]	To facilitate the orderly delivery of taxi service	Rules were established for taxi drivers, requiring them to remain in their vehicles until called by a number. [1987, 1996, 2001]
Acts [1867-2011]	To provide the framework for legal action to be taken against those who engage in behaviors likely to cause discomfort to visitors and others.	6 Acts were in place to deter harassment behaviors e.g., Hawkers and Peddlers Act, Trespass Act, Vagrancy Act, Towns and Communities Act, Airport Authority Act, and Tourist Board Act [1867,1955, 1988, 1997]. The penalty for disturbing the industry and visitors under the amended Tourist Board Act included fines and possible jail term. [1985-1989, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2011]
Licensing [1985-2010]	To regularize participants in the island’s tourism sector and ensure that they are least likely to harass or contribute to the harassment of visitors.	A licensing system was implemented under the amended Tourist Board Act. Important to the system was the inspection and monitoring of tourism enterprises (such as hotels, restaurants, attractions, transport operators and craft traders) by JTB. [1985-1989, 1995-1997, 2000-2002, 2004, 2006- 2007, 2010]
POLICING INITIATIVES The Formulation of Special Management Structures [1964-2012]	To establish structures which would allow for the effective management of traders’ harassment behaviors	<p>Courtesy Corps was established in 1961 by JTB but moved to various government agencies. The group was given police powers and hence could arrest and charge persons. Their activities included: patrol resort areas; give information; and ensure the safety of visitors and locals. [1964, 1968, 1971, 1973-1974, 1976, 1982-1983, 1985-1990, 1992, 1995, 1997-2003, 2005- 2006, 2008- 2012]</p> <p>An anti-harassment unit was established in 1989 and re-established in 1998. The unit operated out of the TPDCo. Its responsibilities included: enforcement, public education, and social upliftment. [1989-1992, 1998, 1999, 2001- 2002]</p> <p>Hotel/Tourism Watch Committee was established to reduce harassment in Negril. [1990, 1993]</p> <p>24-hour Tourism Help Line was established to assist visitors. [1996-1998]</p> <p>Anti-harassment taskforce was established in the Office of the Prime Minister. [1998]</p>
Public and Private Policing Initiatives [1961-2013]	To provide visitors with information and protect them from traders’ harassment behaviors	Courtesy Corps patrolled tourist areas [1961, 1964, 1968, 1971-1974, 1983, 1985-1989, 1993, 1995- 2003, 2008- 2010, 2012- 2013]

Public Policing Initiatives [1971-2013]	To deter traders' harassment behaviors in resort towns	<p>Representatives from JTB visited places frequented by visitors to ensure there were no problems. They also tried to resolve visitor complaints. [1971, 1973, 1985-1986]</p> <p>Police patrolled tourist areas. [1985-1993, 1995, 1997- 2001, 2003, 2011, 2013]</p> <p>Soldiers occasionally brought in patrol resort areas. [1992, 1999]</p> <p>Regular meetings between JTB and the police [1992]</p> <p>Crisis management plan (which included unexpected crimes against visitors) was developed. [1992]</p>
Private Policing Initiatives [1987-2013]	To protect business patrons (visitors) from trader harassment	Private security guards oversaw access points at businesses frequent by visitors like hotels, craft markets, attractions, cruise pier etc. [1987-1988, 1991-1993, 1997- 1999, 2013]
Public and Private Policing Personnel Training Initiatives [1985-2013]	To facilitate more effective and professional policing of harassment behaviors in resort areas	<p>Training was provided to the police and the Resort Patrol. [1985-1986, 1997-1999, 2003, 2013] Topics covered in the training sessions included: Tourism Awareness; The Role of the Police in Tourism; Mediation and Conflict Resolution; Local Tourism Laws; Government Policy on Tourism; Crime and Harassment of Visitors; Narcotic Drugs Incidents; Working with the Courts; and Handling Visitor Complaints.</p> <p>Seminars were kept with the judiciary on the effects of harassment on the tourism sector. [1993, 1997]</p> <p>Policing training was also provided for private security guards. [1998-1999]</p>
Special Court Initiatives [1993-1998]	To quickly deal with cases of visitor harassment	Special court sessions were convened for harassment cases, e.g., night court. [1993, 1997-1998]
STAKEHOLDER COMING TOGETHER INITIATIVES [1971-2011]	To discuss the threats to tourism and solutions for the problem of visitor harassment	Forums were convened by tourism officials with other tourism stakeholders to discuss threats and/or opportunities in the island's tourism sector, e.g., listening tours, workshops with various groups including the craft traders. [1971, 1987, 1989, 1993- 1997, 2001, 2003, 2006-2007, 2010, 2011] Special meetings and workshops were also convened with tourism officials, community groups, and private sector members to address specifically the problem of visitor harassment. [1988, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2011]
TRADER TRAINING INITIATIVES [1971-2008]	To prepare traders in the skills, knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors required for the local tourism sector	<p>Training was provided for persons working in the tourism industry (e.g., craft traders, craft producers, taxi operators, hotel workers etc.). They included: attitude training, language training, motivation, and hospitality skills. The most noted of the training initiatives was the mandatory training program, the TEAM Jamaica program. The program was established in 1998 to change the attitudes of tourism workers and was a requirement for a license to operate a business in the sector. [1971, 1974, 1983, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1997-1999, 2008] Training was provided specifically for craft traders by government agencies and private sector groups (e.g., Small Business Association of Jamaica). Topics covered included proper business behavior and service. [1985-1987, 1996]</p> <p>Assistance was provided by JTB to organize traders into an association. [1974]</p>

	Training aids for tourism personnel, like the video <i>The Visitor and You</i> , were produced. [1991]
SHOPPING SPACE IMPROVEMENT INITIATIVES [1977-1996]	Craft markets were constructed and improved in resort areas. [1977, 1987, 1996]
RECOGNITION INITIATIVES [2004-2010]	The Tourism Awards was established which recognized outstanding tourism workers, including traders [2004, 2010]

Note for Tables 1-3: The years in brackets indicate when the initiative was mentioned in the archives. Majority of the activities described above were led by the Ministry of Tourism in Jamaica (MOTJ). Both the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) and the Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCo.) are agencies of the MOTJ.

Jamaica’s Visitor Harassment Mitigation Program - Its Strengths and Weaknesses

When Jamaica’s visitor harassment program was reviewed using the model, it was discovered that the SR-SIT-ASB model was not fully explicated (Table 5). In an attempt to facilitate the traders’ unlearning of the undesired aggressive selling behaviors, Jamaica had a number of initiatives focused on convincing traders that: 1) harassment behaviors were bad for Jamaica’s tourism sector and not desired; 2) less aggressive selling behaviors were good and preferred by officials; and 3) they had no support from the government and other tourism stakeholders when they engage in harassment behaviors. In fact, local politicians, leaders from local tourism agencies, and business leaders from resort towns pleaded for community support in policing fellow Jamaicans’ harassment behaviors. However, no pleas were found in the archives from leaders of the various trader communities. In fact, a craft leader implied in a 2001 newspaper article that the harassment of visitors was likely attributed to “strangers” and not members of her community (Davis, 2001). However, when tackling beliefs critical to changing small traders’ harassment behaviors, Jamaica’s program was found deficient in two areas. First, there was no evidence to indicate that there were efforts on the part of local tourism stakeholders in communicating to the traders that there was strong support when they do engage in the desired less aggressive selling behaviors. Second, the researchers found only one initiative likely to communicate to the traders that aggressive selling behaviors was difficult and in fact less aggressive selling techniques easier and more rewarding (Table 5).

Jamaica also had initiatives which taught small traders the mechanics of the desired selling behaviors, as well as facilitated the modeling and observation of these behaviors. The most noteworthy was the government’s Team Jamaica training program, a requirement for persons to work in island’s tourism sector. An important outcome of the two-week seven module training program was the ability of the participants to demonstrate positive interactions with visitors (Tourism Product development Company, 2014). Prior to the Team Jamaica program in 1998 other workshops were available to traders. These workshops looked at topics such as attitude, sale techniques, and presentation (Gleaner Western Bureau, 1986; Jamaica Tourist Board, 1987). Business training was also provided to members of the public, in particular those unemployed, with the view that they would have the requisite skills to start businesses or seek employment in the sector (Jamaica Tourist Board, 1994). The researchers also thought that by placing the traders in markets facilitated the simultaneous modeling and observation of both the desired and undesired selling behaviors. However, no initiatives were found in the archives likely to facilitate the traders’ frequent, continuous, real-life practice of the desired selling behaviors (Table 5).

Jamaica also had initiatives likely to both discourage the undesired selling and encourage the desired selling behaviors but also initiatives to simply stop the undesired selling behaviors. However, initiatives that would likely discourage the undesired behavior but not likely encourage the desired behavior seemed most popular and highly favored amongst industry stakeholders and that was policing. Remember,

punishment will likely decrease the undesired behavior but not likely to increase the desired (Skinner, 1948). Enforcement received the most mentions of all initiatives in the archives over the years (Table 4). In fact, an increase in intensity in policing was observed in the archives from the use of public/private policing (the Courtesy Corps) to the inclusion of the local police force and occasional inclusion of the local army. Fines for those that break Jamaica's "anti-harassment" laws also increased over the years.

The all-inclusive hotel concept, which was first introduced in Jamaica in 1978 (Caine, 1987; Jamaica Tourist Board, 2013) and grown to become the dominant hotel concept amongst large hotels on the island in 2014, was particularly deleterious to reducing the frequency of harassment behaviors as it was likely to increase the undesired behavior while not strengthening the desired one. The concept reduces the ratio of potential shoppers to traders. The permanence of the initiative also gives traders little or no opportunity to redeem themselves. The all-inclusive concept is where the visitor pays one price and enjoys room, food, beverage, and entertainment on the hotel property. Public access to these hotel properties is often restricted mainly to overnight guests. The initiatives the researchers felt were most likely to negatively and/or positively reinforce the desired behaviors were the various host culture awareness; face-to-face community awareness; non-face-to-face media initiatives; public pleas by local leaders; the evaluation; recognition; legislative, policing and trader training initiatives (Tables 1-5). Jamaica also had in place a program to recognize excellence amongst tourism workers, the National Tourism Awards. However, the program had a limited presence in the archives.

In summary, Jamaica placed tremendous emphasis on discouraging the undesired selling behaviors amongst their small independent traders but to a limited extent on encouraging the desired. Although Jamaica's visitor harassment mitigation program had notable strengths, deficiencies were observed in all three phases of the framework, in fully facilitating traders' unlearning of the undesired behaviors as well as in facilitating the traders' learning and reinforcement of the desired selling behaviors.

Table 5. Using the Model for Sustainably Reducing Small Traders’ Aggressive Selling Behaviors (SR-ST-ASB) to highlight the gaps in Jamaica’s visitor harassment mitigation program.

GENERAL PREPARATION FOR BEHAVIOR CHANGE INITIATIVES			
Convince less aggressive selling techniques were good and aggressive ones were bad (10)	Convince local support for less aggressive selling behaviors and local non-support for aggressive ones (6)	Convince less aggressive selling behaviors were more rewarding and aggressive ones less rewarding (1)	
<p><i>VISITOR-FOCUSED</i> Host Culture Awareness Initiatives [1973-2006] Visitor Isolation & Separation Initiatives (1976-2008)</p> <p><i>COMMUNITY-FOCUSED</i> Face-to-Face Awareness Initiatives [1971-2013] Non-Face-to-Face Media Initiatives [1957-2005] Public Pleas By Local Political, Business & Tourism Leaders [1969-2011] Business Training Initiatives for the Community, in General [1986-1994]</p> <p><i>TRADER-FOCUSED</i> Legislative Initiatives [1867-2011] Policing Initiatives [1961-2013] Stakeholder Coming Together Initiatives [1971-2011] Trader Training Initiatives [1971-2008]</p>	<p><i>COMMUNITY-FOCUSED</i> Face-To-Face Awareness Initiatives [1971-2013] Non-Face-to-Face Media Initiatives [1957-2005] Public Pleas By Local Political, Business & Tourism Leaders [1969-2011] Business Training Initiatives for the Community, in General [1986-1994]</p> <p><i>TRADER-FOCUSED</i> Stakeholder Coming Together Initiatives [1971-2011] Trader Training Initiatives [1971-2008]</p>	<p>Business Training Initiatives for the Community, in General [1986-1994]</p>	
GENERAL BEHAVIOR CHANGE INITIATIVES			
Mechanics of Desired Selling Behavior (2)	Modeling of Desired Selling Behavior (3)	Observation of Desired Selling Behavior (4)	Practice (Business Support) (0)
<p><i>COMMUNITY-FOCUSED</i> Business Training Initiatives for the Community, in General [1986-1994]</p> <p><i>TRADER-FOCUSED</i> Trader Training Initiatives [1971-2008]</p>	<p><i>COMMUNITY-FOCUSED</i> Business Training Initiatives for the Community, in General [1986-1994]</p> <p><i>TRADER-FOCUSED</i> Trader Training Initiatives [1971-2008] Shopping Spaces Improvement Initiatives [1977-1996]</p>	<p><i>COMMUNITY-FOCUSED</i> Business Training Initiatives for the Community, in General [1986-1994] Non-Face-to-Face Media Initiatives [1957-2005]</p> <p><i>TRADER-FOCUSED</i> Trader Training Initiatives [1971-2008] Shopping Spaces Improvement Initiatives [1977-1996]</p>	

GENERAL SUSTAIN BEHAVIOR CHANGE INITIATIVES

Positive and Negative Reinforcement (9)

VISITOR-FOCUSED

Host Culture Awareness Initiatives [1973-2006]

COMMUNITY-FOCUSED

Face-to-Face Awareness Initiatives [1971-2013]

Non-Face-to-Face Media Initiatives [1957-2005]

Public Pleas by Local Leaders [1969-2011]

Evaluation Initiatives [1974-1998]

Recognition Initiatives [2004-2010]

TRADER-FOCUSED

Legislative Initiatives [1867-2011]

Policing Initiatives [1961-2013]

Trader Training Initiatives [1971-2008]

Punitive or Alternative Action (3)

HOTEL OWNER/OPERATOR-FOCUSED

Visitor Isolation & Separation Initiatives [1976-2008]

TRADER-FOCUSED

Legislative Initiatives [1867-2011]

Policing Initiatives [1961-2013]

Note: The information presented above was taken from Tables 1-4. The placement of the initiative types in the areas of the framework was based on a consensus rate of 75% across the four researchers involved in the project. Items in brackets are the years the type of initiative was mentioned in the archives.

The Effect of Jamaica's Harassment Mitigation Program on Traders

Seven leaders of Jamaica's craft communities were interviewed to determine the effect of Jamaica's visitor harassment mitigation program on their own as well as their constituents' harassment/anti-harassment beliefs, knowledge, and behaviors. The seven craft leaders were from seven craft markets across the island. Four were from four craft markets in Montego Bay and one each were from craft markets in Ocho Rios, Negril and Port Antonio, respectively. Kingston was not represented in the sample. Of the seven leaders six were female and one male.

All seven leaders interviewed believed using aggressive selling behaviors was a bad way of doing business; their views were however mixed as to their constituents' thoughts on this. According to the leaders, some traders saw visitor harassment behaviors as bad; others did not, and of those that saw it as bad, a few felt that some traders would not admit that they thought so. For example, Rose from Montego Bay stated, "When you talk to them on a one-on-one basis they would say they wish they would not have to do it (sell) that way." While Paul from Montego Bay felt, "It is a bad way but they don't see it that way ...because the thing about it, it is about survival..." Michelle also from Montego Bay stated, "Some won't come out and tell you that I know it is bad because it is a part of their living." Therefore, Jamaica's visitor harassment program was somewhat successful in convincing traders that the use of aggressive selling behaviors was bad.

Leaders of the craft markets were however conflicted as to whether they supported or not their colleagues' engagement in harassment behaviors. Six of the seven craft leaders indicated non-support of their colleagues' engagement in harassment behaviors. However, five of the same seven leaders expressed empathy for those that do. One such case was Marjorie from Montego Bay. She stated:

"Sometimes when we talk to them they would say no business nah come in a di market (not coming into the market) so when we see one we have to call to them and remind them to take a look this way when they finish they remember cause sometimes some of the vendors are way in the back You understand. It is very difficult for them."

This would therefore suggest that there is some support from community leaders for traders' harassment behaviors. As evidenced by the *theory of planned behavior* (Ajzen, 1991), such support for traders' harassment behaviors could derail long-term change of such behaviors.

The leaders however contended that many of their constituents believed that aggressive selling behaviors were necessary for their survival. This point was made earlier. For example, Mary from Negril stated:

"Sometimes they do not see it as aggressive because the thing is they are not getting any guest so when they see a guest, they try to sell them but at the end of it its harassment the way they do it..... Overhead expenditure, like rent, causes them to be so aggressive because they need their demands to be met so they try to get it any way they can."

This finding is consistent with those of previous studies which identified economics as the main driver of small traders' harassment behaviors and hence why the all-inclusive concept, as administered on the island could further drive rather than inhibit such behaviors (Dunn & Dunn, 2002a; Kozak, 2007).

Most craft leaders interviewed also believed their constituents found aggressive selling behaviors an easy approach, in fact "normal" and financially rewarding as seen from Susan from Ocho Rios comments. "Yes they find it (aggressive selling behavior) easy because they don't call it aggressive; they call it hustling (working hard to make a living). Hustle dem (them) hustle. So, we will say it is aggressive, but they don't look at it like that. It is how they hustle". On the issue of harassment being rewarding Marjorie from Montego Bay stated "Maybe. Because they come today they make J\$10,000 tomorrow they want to make 20 so when they come they find it more easy to sell to go put on the pressure to make more money." In fact, two leaders of craft markets stated, they thought their constituents found less aggressive selling

techniques difficult and not as rewarding. Here is one such comment. “Yes they find it (less aggressive selling technique) more difficult because they are saying if they don’t put pressure on the guest, the guest not buying.” This corroborated an earlier finding as the research team identified only one initiative likely to convince the traders that less aggressive selling techniques were easier and more financially rewarding than aggressive ones and that was the business training initiatives provided to the wider community (Table 5).

Six of the seven leaders confirmed that the traders should know less aggressive selling behaviors as they were formally taught these behaviors. For example, Susan from Ocho Rios, “We do a Team Jamaica training so they know exactly how to approach and what to do and what not to do.....Yes they know..... We have training. And we have people from JTB train in how to be less aggressive to guests.” The leaders also found the training to be very effective. Feedback on the training initiatives was good. According to Mary from Negril, “We benefit (from the seminars). There are things we learn there that we didn’t know before. It is good. It is educational.” However, three leaders felt more knowledge was needed in this regard. According to Paul, from Montego Bay, “They don’t understand the principles of business.” Therefore, based on the leaders’ comments some success was achieved here but more was necessary.

One leader of a craft community in Montego Bay found policing by the Courtesy Corps, which focuses on stopping the undesired selling behavior, to be ineffective. According to Paul from Montego Bay:
“Time to time they talk about harassment and they try all sort of things but they don’t work. They have the Courtesy Corps to decrease the harassment level within the market or tourist areas...They don’t work. The Courtesy Corps comes inside the market and just sit down. They do nothing. “

A similar comment was made in 2005 by a former president of the Jamaica Hotel and Tourist Association, the lobby group that represents the island’s hoteliers, Mr. Godfrey Dyer. According to Mr. Dyer, “When that happened (increased policing) we saw significant improvement, but things have begun to deteriorate again. Harassers no longer fear the police.” (The Gleaner, 2005). Jamaica had a myriad of initiatives focused on the effective policing of harassment behaviors in resort areas (Table 4) but the comments would suggest that this approach has largely been effective, at least over the long-term.

In summary, Jamaica witnessed significant success from its visitor harassment mitigation efforts. The island had initiatives which convinced traders that using harassment behaviors while attempting to sell their goods and services to visitors was a bad way of doing business and using less aggressive selling behaviors a good way. The island also had initiatives which communicated that there was no support from political, business, and tourism leaders for traders’ harassment behaviors. Both the archives and the craft leaders’ comments confirmed that the traders were indeed taught the desired less aggressive selling behaviors. The island also had initiatives which positively, but in particular negatively, reinforced the desired selling behaviors amongst the traders. The interviews and the newspaper articles confirmed that policing efforts did cauterize the problem, but not for long.

However, the most significant finding from the study was the clear gaps in Jamaica’s visitor harassment mitigation program. Despite the valiant efforts on the part of Jamaica in convincing the traders that harassment was bad, some traders were still not convinced this was the case. Second, there was significant support for the traders’ harassment behaviors from leaders within their community and a lack of strong support, at least from the authorities, when they engage in less aggressive selling behaviors. Third, it was clear from both the archives and the interviews that the traders did not believe that when they use less aggressive selling behaviors their rewards will be greater than when they do not. Fourth, efforts at facilitating the traders’ continuous largely informal learning of the mechanics of less aggressive selling behaviors were not evident. It was clear from the interviews that training was not enough to teach the traders the critical behaviors. Therefore, Jamaica had clear deficiencies in all three stages of the SR-

ST-ASB framework and hence why the problem persists. Putting it simply, the traders believed visitor harassment was bad and largely there was no support for such behaviors, but they were unable to sustainably demonstrate the desired selling behaviors (Table 5).

Recommendations for Jamaica

For Jamaica to reduce their visitor harassment to acceptable levels over the long-term, measures need to be taken. First, tourism leaders must address traders' normative beliefs linked to their aggressive selling behaviors. Traders must be convinced that there is no support for harassment behaviors in direct selling but rather and most importantly strong support when they use less aggressive selling behaviors. One way Jamaica could facilitate this is by giving voice to those respected traders that do not support fellow traders' engagement in harassment behaviors. Such traders could be used in documentaries and public service advertisements to denounce the negative selling behaviors of their colleagues and encourage their use of the more effective, less aggressive selling behaviors. Another way could also be by providing greater support and recognition to those traders and communities that don't harass visitors, getting the word out on those exemplary individuals and trader communities. Hotel owners and operators as a sector could play an important role in organizing and funding such initiatives. Because once the use of aggressive selling behaviors and their non-use of less aggressive selling behaviors are justified within trader communities, then their unlearning of aggressive and learning of less aggressive selling behaviors will be next to impossible (Ajzen, 1991; Bandura, 1978; Burnes, 2004).

Second, tourism leaders in Jamaica should apply initiatives focused on addressing small traders' control beliefs. Traders must believe that less aggressive selling behaviors are easier and more rewarding than aggressive ones. Control beliefs are important predictors of behavior. However, this must first be true. Hence, studies could be commissioned through independent bodies and if the studies find that less the aggressive selling techniques suggested yielded lesser rewards relative to trader efforts than the aggressive, the reasons should be ascertained, and measures taken to address them. However, if less aggressive selling techniques result in greater financial benefit for traders, this information must be widely disseminated across trader groups. If traders believe less aggressive selling behaviors are easier and more rewarding, they will learn these behaviors and shun their use of harassment behaviors (Ajzen, 1991).

Third, significant improvement is needed in traders' learning of less aggressive selling techniques. In fact, specific less aggressive selling techniques should be crafted, tested and taught as any arbitrary, less aggressive selling technique might not yield the level of financial success desired. Also, direct instruction should not be the only means by which to pass on critical selling behaviors to traders as this method is slow and expensive. Instead, consideration should be given to the use of a wider range of structured and unstructured learning techniques, particularly those likely to drive traders' learning from other traders. Hence, once the mechanics of the desired selling behaviors have been introduced, tourism leaders in Jamaica should have in place initiatives that would facilitate traders' continuous informal relearning of those behaviors, in particular the continuous modeling, observation, practice of the desired selling behaviors. One initiative that could increase such relearning amongst the traders is selling spaces or markets with more open layout and designs. This was not the case in many craft markets in Jamaica. Open market designs would facilitate the traders' observation of both the desired and undesired selling behaviors as well as the consequences of such behaviors, driving their learning through imitation as well as vicarious learning (Bandura, 1989).

One way destinations like Jamaica could facilitate regular practice is to increase the ratio of visitors to traders in these communities. The more business activity in these communities, the more the traders will be able to practice the desired selling behaviors and witness the consequences of it. Business activity could be stimulated through greater government assistance in improving and marketing the locations where traders sell. Frequent visitor spending will reinforce the desired selling behavior among the traders.

Practice is crucial to knowledge retention (Bandura, 1989) and frequent stimuli (such as visitor spending) can be a powerful driver of practice (Skinner, 1948). Before traders can practice the desired behavior they must have an initial understanding of the required behavior (Bandura, 1989; Bandura & Huston, 1961).

Finally, tourism leaders in Jamaica need to have programs that intermittently reward traders who consistently demonstrate less aggressive selling behaviors so as to facilitate the maintenance of the desired behavior (Masia & Chase, 1997; Ollendick et al., 1983; Skinner, 1953). The rewards used to do must also be valued by the traders (such as money, vacation, special privileges etc.). Most importantly, the destination might need to review the all-inclusive concept with the view of modifying it so that traders can have greater access to visitors. Efforts are being made to do this on a property-by-property level but a national policy and incentives might be necessary to drive inclusiveness across the island's tourism sector.

Conclusion and Future Research

The study proposed a theoretical framework for sustainably reducing small independent traders' harassment behaviors which has not been explored, in any significant way, in the tourism literature. The premise behind the framework is that in order for destinations like Jamaica experiencing high levels of visitor harassment to reduce such levels over the long-term, there must be an emphasis on: 1) facilitating traders' unlearning of the undesired selling behaviors through persuasion and not just awareness; 2) introducing the desired selling behaviors through the use of a wide variety of structured and unstructured learning techniques, not just through training and the establishment of markets; and 3) there must be a focus on reinforcing the desired selling behaviors through the use of both positive and negative reinforcement measures, not just through negative reinforcement measures like policing. Destinations should also avoid initiatives that simply discourage harassment behaviors but not encourage the desired alternative.

Therefore, the SR-ST-ASB model could change how tourism destinations deal with the pervasive problem of visitor harassment. Tourism leaders could use the model to assess their destinations' visitor harassment mitigation program, identify the gaps in their approach, and make the adjustments necessary. However, there is a caveat and that is the model should only be used after local consensus that the behavior displayed by the target group is undesirable. The study could also open up a new area of visitor harassment research and that is changing harassment behaviors through learning. Incidentally, the case analysis was not without limitations the most notable being not being able to determine whether or not the visitor harassment initiatives pursued by Jamaica actually achieved the objectives stated. The next step is for researchers in this stream are to conduct a series of experimental and causal comparative studies looking at the effect of the model on traders' harassment behaviors.

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