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SPECIAL ISSUE
Slavery and Liberation
in Hotels, Restaurants and Bars



Research in *Hospitality Management*



Research in Hospitality Management

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Aims and Scope

Research in Hospitality Management (RHM) is a peer-reviewed journal publishing articles that make an original contribution to the understanding of hospitality and to the theory and practice of international hospitality management.

The journal focusses on three main areas: (1) "Hospitality (Management) Studies" includes articles related to the study of and the study for hospitality. The study of hospitality refers to studies about the essence and ethics of hospitality from a social sciences perspective, while the study for hospitality refers to a more disciplinary approach according to the quintessential managerial areas of Finance, Human Resources, Operations, Marketing & Sales, and Technology; (2) "Hospitality Management Education" is devoted to articles about curriculum content and delivery methods for training and educating hospitality managers. Considering the size and scope of the hospitality industry, and the number of staff and students involved, studies on efficient, effective, and innovative ways of developing hospitality competencies are considered indispensable; (3) "Student Research Projects" allows excellent student work to be published. Student work can relate to excellent BA dissertations or MA theses.

RHM also accommodates short communications, working papers, book reviews, and discussion papers

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Research in *Hospitality Management*

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SPECIAL ISSUE: Slavery and Liberation in Hotels, Restaurants and Bars

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EDITORIAL

The research strategy of Stenden's School of Hotel Management includes the organisation of an annual research conference (AIHR) as well as publishing this journal. At least one issue of the journal includes some of the papers presented at the conference. This issue follows that pattern. Some papers are informed by presentations at the conference, while others follow general hospitality research projects. The journal's editorial policy also aims to encourage students to publish in academic journals. In this edition, three working papers briefly outline masters' student research.

The university's 2018 AIHR conference title was "Slavery and liberation in hotels, restaurants and bars". The programme was therefore planned around a cluster of keynote presentations on the title theme as well as papers covering more generic topics. A conference report is provided in this issue.

Conrad Lashley's paper, "Slavery, neo-slavery and business ethics", opened the conference on day one. It set the scene by defining modern slavery in its various forms. The paper also discussed neo-slavery brought about by low pay in secondary labour market roles, and suggested that ethical business practice should be both legal and good, and any engagement with slavery or neo-slavery, directly or indirectly is bad. Employing slaves is both illegal and bad. Firms like Accor Hotels and Shiva Hotels have taken a stand and actively work against slavery.

Erwin van der Graff of Accor Hotels presented a paper entitled, "Human trafficking in the hotel industry in the Netherlands: the fine line between service, responsibility and liability". It provides a fascinating insight into the company's business ethics and approach to slavery in the industry. It represents an example of best practice that might provide a blueprint to other organisations.

In a discussion paper, **Lashley** draws parallels between "Neo-liberalism and neo-slavery" linked to his presentation given on the afternoon of the first day of the conference. The paper makes a positive link between the emergence of neo-liberal economic and political ideologies in the 1980s and the subsequent rise in income and wealth inequality. It concludes that the low pay and poverty at the heart of neo-slavery is created by a neo-liberal ideology.

Steve French of the University of Keele in the UK submitted a paper based upon his presentation to the conference. "Between globalisation and Brexit: Migration, pay and the road to modern slavery in the UK hospitality industry" makes specific reference to the impact of neo-liberal economic policies in the UK hospitality sector, contending that Brexit will further intensify a "race to the bottom" in employment practices, which in turn will lead to lower levels of demand as employees have less to spend in the economy.

"Together we stand stronger" by **Marco Bevolo and Anique Gerrits** reports on research that was also presented at the conference. The paper reports on the treatment of Eritrean refugees who are located in a Dutch town. Apart from the immediate observations, it involves the concept of hospitality at a social and cultural level. Their Dutch hosts welcomed these refugees, but access to some facilities was limited because of cultural differences, fear and misunderstandings. The paper also highlights some the pragmatic constraints caused by too few translators, and fragilities in cultural assimilation programmes. Providing shelter and refuge to those in need reflects the highest of human ideals, but initiatives such as this must consider the practical development needs of both host and guest communities.

"Behaviours and attitudes towards sustainable food provision on the part of Dutch restaurateurs", by **Lieke Sauer and Roy Wood**, represents a more generic paper for the journal. The article discusses the rhetoric of sustainability in Dutch restaurant kitchens. It claims that the failure to construct sustainable menus was in part a failure of understanding the practicalities of how this may be done, and that in part it was also a by-product of low levels of demand for sustainability from restaurant customers.

Jacqueline Cheptepkeny Korir's paper, "Networking dimensions and performance of event management ventures in Kenya" is interesting in that it explores networking among events managers. Networking has a great deal of potential for an industry like the hospitality sector that is dominated by small firms. It has the potential to gain the benefits of size by coordinating the efforts of small firms. The paper is also further evidence of the journal and research team's growing international profile because the author and context explored are African.

"The impact of internal service quality on job satisfaction in the hotel industry", submitted by researchers in Jordan, explores the impact of internal service quality in fourteen five-star hotels. **Mukhles M. Al-Ababneh, Mousa A. Masadeh, Firas J. Al-Shakhsheerand, and Ma'moun A. Habiballah** explored the relationships found within hotel organisations reflecting that all departments and their workforce are both customers of and suppliers to other parts of the business. Higher levels of internal customer satisfaction translate into higher levels of external customer satisfaction.

Work in progress

This journal's editorial policy is also concerned with giving voice to student research. In this case, three students doing a master's in International Hospitality and Services Management at Stenden Hotel Management School (Leeuwarden, the Netherlands) presented work-in-progress papers that highlighted research on their dissertations. Their presentations to the AIHR conference outlined the topic to be explored and the research issues arising from prior research and publications. The following work-in-progress papers outline their first investigations of secondary sources, and give an indication of the issue to be explored in the primary research phase.

Hester Visser's paper, "Understanding how millennial hospitality employees deal with emotional labour", raises the issue that those born in the "millennial" generation have different expectations of life and work. The millennials are said to want to have a good work-life balance, a meaningful job and want to feel happy at work, otherwise they quickly switch to another employer. The emotional performance required of front-line hospitality workers may be seen as a negative experience that will add to employee turnover.

"Does the body modified appearance of front-line employees matter to hotel guests? – A study into body modification on guest perception in the hospitality industry" is the title of the research being undertaken by **Verena Hopf**. Aesthetic labour is an important aspect of many frontline roles in the hospitality industry. Looking good and sounding right create desirable reactions in customers. This research is focused on the impact of service employee's visible tattoos and body piercings on hotel customer perceptions in an environment where, among their peer group, this is an increasingly popular fashion statement.

Thea Noordeloos's project, "Sustainable tourism development in Amsterdam Oud-West", aims to explore an increasingly important topic in the study of tourism: the impact that visitor numbers has on local residents and communities. Amsterdam is one of Europe's most popular destinations, over recent years experiencing a rapid growth in visitor numbers, an improved contribution to the local economy, and increased employment opportunities, but also an increasingly negative perception of tourists by residents. This research involves interviews with key stakeholders to explore the different views about the potential continued growth of visitors to the city.

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REPORT

Academy of International Hospitality Research Conference , 27–28 March 2018: Slavery and Liberation

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“Slavery and liberation in hotels, restaurants and bars” was the title of the AIHR annual conference in 2018. It is the first conference on the topic of slavery and liberation in the hospitality sector, and shows the research team’s aim to be at the leading edge of research in the sector. AIHR’s declared research strategy is committed to the study *of* and study *for*, hospitality industry management. Critical study and scientific observation are implicit to this research approach. Nothing is taken at face value and all industrial practices are the subject of research and publications, without fear or favour. The study of management practices that encompass slavery and neo-slavery, as well as employee liberation through employee ownership and various forms of employee participation in decision-making, aim to inform understanding of current management practices.

The ethics of management action is an important consideration in employee engagement, particularly the extent to which employees are exploited, treated fairly, or actively involved in making decisions that affect them. Slavery and neo-slavery embrace an exploitative relationship where employers minimise labour costs in pursuit of greater profits. Worker ownership and participation in decision-making acknowledges the key role employees play in hospitality service delivery, and in wealth creation. These two topics juxtapose important approaches to hospitality employee management and will hopefully lead to further research and study. Research publications, such as that produced by AIHR, have an impact on management’s educational development, and ultimately on management practice. The study of the topics pursued at the conference will hopefully inform practical management in the sector.

The 2018 conference was unusual because it included full research papers and working paper presentations, together with a cluster of keynote speakers who contributed their expertise on the topics of slavery and neo-slavery on day one, and employee self-management and employee participation on day two. This account of the conference provides an overview of the keynote speakers’ presentations as well as an outline of the research papers and work-in-progress sessions.

Keynote presentations

The first presentation was made by Conrad Lashley and discussed slavery and neo-slavery in the context of business ethics and the hospitality sector. Conrad Lashley holds

the professorship in Hospitality Studies at the Academy of International Hospitality Research. His presentation was entitled “Slavery, neo-slavery and business ethics”. Hospitality organisations concerned with ethical business practices are taking an active stand against the use of slaves, directly or indirectly, and they are adopting human resource management practices that pay wages that allow the workforce to live at an acceptable standard. This presentation highlighted some moral and ethical positions relating to slavery and neo-slavery, and the priorities for hospitality organisation policies.

Irina Todorova serves as a senior regional specialist on counter-trafficking and assistance to vulnerable migrants for the International Organisation for Migration (IOM)’s regional office in Brussels. Her presentation was entitled “Slavery today” and explored current issues related to slavery and human trafficking. Irina is responsible for analysing regional thematic trends, supporting liaison with EU institutions and member states, and she leads human trafficking prevention and protection programmes in Europe. Irina has worked as a counter-trafficking and migrant rights practitioner for over 13 years, particularly in Europe and Central Asia. In addition to her expertise in counter-trafficking, Todorova has several years of experience working for the protection of children in a migration context.

Erwin van der Graaf is the area general manager for the Mercure Hotels network and director of franchise operations for AccorHotels. He is responsible for a portfolio of 28 hotels in the Netherlands. When he was working as a general manager in Amsterdam in 2012, he was confronted with the ugly reality of human trafficking in the hotel sector. This experience motivated him to do research on this subject and the responsibility which hotel managers and hotel companies hold to fight and avoid this organised crime. During his studies at Nyenrode Business University, he wrote a paper called “Human trafficking in the hotel industry in the Netherlands: the fine line between service, responsibility and liability”. His presentation to the AIHR conference was informed by this work.

Alexandros Paraskevas presented a paper with the title “Researching slavery in Europe’s hotels”. He is a professor of strategic risk management and chair of hospitality management at the London Geller College of Hospitality and Tourism (University of West London). His industry background includes operations management positions for over 12 years

with Marriott and Starwood. He has led numerous hotel industry projects and authored several academic articles and book chapters in the areas of risk management and business continuity. His work on human trafficking in the tourism sector includes the research leadership of the EC-funded COMBAT_THB project, which produced an anti-trafficking training toolkit and management guidance for the European hospitality industry, and was endorsed by major hotel groups and the Institute of Hospitality.

Sian Lea, a senior programme manager for Shiva Foundation, gave a presentation entitled, "Opposing slavery: a practitioners response". Shiva Foundation is a corporate foundation funded by the Shiva Hotels Group. The foundation specialises in tackling modern slavery and human trafficking in the UK by working closely with business, civil society and government. Sian works with the hotel and hospitality sector, in particular, to support businesses in addressing the risks of modern slavery, including sexual and labour exploitation. She contributed to the creation of and implemented the Stop Slavery Blueprint for the Shiva Hotels Group and coordinates the Stop Slavery Hotel Industry Network. Prior to joining Shiva Foundation, Sian managed humanitarian education projects with the British Red Cross and worked on capacity building and access-to-justice projects with Legal Support for Children and Women, an anti-trafficking NGO in Cambodia.

Eline Willemsen and Brian Varma presented "Work with the victims of human trafficking". Eline Willemsen has a Master's in international relations, and political science. For the past fourteen years, Eline has been working at FairWork. FairWork is a Dutch-based NGO that fights modern slavery in the Netherlands. This is done through direct victim assistance, advocacy and lobbying, and the training of professionals in recognising trafficking for labour exploitation. In the past she has worked as a project officer on different projects that involved client contact, and for the last few years she has been working as a project manager on different projects focusing on the prevention, identification and assistance of trafficking victims. Brian Varma studied administrative and public administration law at the University of Groningen. In 2005, he started to work as a policy adviser at the City Of Amsterdam. He advised the mayor and the college of alderpersons on issues concerning the multidisciplinary approach to take against organised crime (for example, human trafficking in prostitution, labour exploitation and application of the "Bibob Act"). In 2011, he was one of the coordinators in the drafting of a new prostitution policy. In 2013, he represented the Netherlands as a national coordinator in a European project to develop common guidelines on first-level identification of victims of human trafficking. In 2017, he became manager at CoMensha, the coordination centre against human trafficking. CoMensha is commissioned by the Dutch government to register facts and figures about victims, and coordinates the initial search for shelter and care. CoMensha is proactive in influencing national and international policies regarding the combating of human trafficking.

The second half of the first day of the conference programme dealt with the theme of neo-slavery, that is the impacts of low pay on employees that disempowers and enslaves them. This has particular relevance for the hospitality sector, which has

a well-deserved record for paying low wages. In the UK, for example, one in four employees receive the legal minimum wage, and the majority is paid just a few pennies over the minimum, and few are paid at "living wage" level. Conrad Lashley again made the first presentation, setting poverty pay within the economic framework that became dominant in the 1980s and that has subsequently increased levels of inequality. While the impact of neo-liberalism can be seen across the globe, the anglophone countries, particularly the UK and USA, have followed economic and political policies informed by the neo-liberal mind-set. Lashley's paper, "Neo-liberalism and neo-slavery", argues that increased inequality and the impoverishment of many low-paid employees is not accidental. It is a direct consequence of neo-liberalism.

Steve French was the second keynote speaker of the afternoon, sharing his research on low pay in his presentation entitled, "Low pay research". He is a senior lecturer in industrial relations and human resource management at Keele University in the UK. After graduating from university, he worked for Inland Revenue, where he was a lay activist in the IRSF union (now the Public and Commercial Services Union, PCS). He then moved to Birmingham University where he completed his PhD (examining German collective bargaining after unification) in 1999. Prior to joining the staff at Keele in September 2000, he worked both as a research assistant at the London School of Economics and as a lecturer in industrial relations at the University of Warwick. His main research interests relate to the employment of migrant workers (broadly defined) in the UK labour market since 2000, where he has explored issues of wage levels, union organising, and skill utilisation mismatch. Research has been conducted for, among other bodies, the Low Pay Commission, UNITY trade union (now part of the GMB union), the West Midlands Strategic Migration Partnership and a regional lifelong learning network. This research has been supported by research grants from the Nuffield Foundation and Sir Halley Stewart Trust.

Martha Crawford is a senior project manager for the Living Wage Foundation and she shared insights on the impacts of paying the living wage via the presentation on that subject. Martha Crawford joined the Living Wage Foundation in September 2017. Her role is to lead a new project that will develop and drive new benchmarks to tackle in-work poverty. Alongside this role at the foundation, she leads the Good Jobs Campaign at Citizens UK. This work aims to tackle social mobility and the growing skills gap through unique partnerships between businesses, schools, colleges and young people.

The second day of the conference included a keynote speaker contributing to the theme of "liberation". This included a number of insights into alternative employee empowerment schemes. These ranged from systems of employee ownership through to more participative and democratic management styles that enabled employees to have more say in the decisions and policies of the organisation.

Elisabet Abrahamsson made a presentation called "Workers' co-operatives". Abrahamsson has been involved in cooperative development in Sweden since early 1980, and in Europe since 1995. She founded and was the first chair of the Swedish CDA Association, Coompanion Sweden. She also held other posts at Swedish and European level, for instance vice-chair

of the Cecop (European Association of Workers' and Social Cooperatives) and of REVES (a European network of regional and local authorities working with the social economy). Between 2000 and 2004, she lived and worked in the USA, mainly as an ISO coordinator and European marketing assistant to the president of QMC Quality Management System in Auburn Hills and Detroit. Since returning to Sweden, Elisabet has been working in the development of cooperative business models for work-integrated social enterprises, WISEs. Elisabet is currently on the board of directors in Le Mat Sweden and Le Mat Europe, working in the start-ups of new Le Mat establishments.

Dave Turnbull is a regional official for Unite the Union, covering the hospitality sector in London. His presentation shared his experiences of organising London hotel workers and was called, "Hotel workers' trade union". He has been organising since 1988, starting with Unite's predecessor union, the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU). Prior to taking up full-time employment with the union, Dave worked as a chef in hotels, restaurants and casinos, and was the elected secretary of the TGWU Catering Workers' Branch. He holds one of the trade union seats on the UK Hospitality Sector Forum established by the Health and Safety Commission, and is the UK and Ireland representative on the joint trade union and employer social dialogue forum for the hotel sector. He is the coordinating officer for the European Works Council of a major transnational contract catering company. Since 2009, he has led Unite's high profile Fair Tips Campaign and, in conjunction with Unite's Hotel Workers' Branch, launched the Unethical London Report on Global Hotel chains for which the union received a human rights award in 2017.

Research papers

In line with the conference's mission to provide a platform to share research on the study of hospitality and hospitality management, the papers presented reflected a range of themes, not always directly related to the "slavery and liberation" topic.

Marco Bevolo, a lecturer at NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, presented research into the treatment of Eritrean refugees in Nijmegen North. The research sought to explore the acceptance of these refugees by the local community using hospitality concepts. The paper was entitled, "Together we are stronger". While the local community were generally accepting of their guests, particular individuals closed some leisure venues to them.

Peter Lugosi of Oxford Brookes University in the UK presented a paper entitled "Deviance and hospitality management". This presentation provided an overview of the concept of deviance, and discussed its relationship with hospitality management. It began with a review of definitions of deviance in the social sciences and the applications of the concept in organisational and consumer behaviour research, before briefly considering the notion of the deviant organisation. The paper distinguishes between four sources of deviance in hospitality management: staff; suppliers; customers; and other external agents, and explores the different forms that deviance may take from each source. In the final part, the discussion considers antecedents and drivers of deviance, exploring how these have been conceptualised in various disciplines at different scales of

analysis: organisational; interpersonal; social and cultural; and personal and individual levels. The review and discussion identifies multiple themes in the connections between deviance and hospitality management, and their implications for policy, practice and research.

Bill Rowson is part of the AIHR research team in the hospitality studies group. His paper explored some of the new working arrangements being applied in the hospitality sector. It was called, "The changing role of work: outsourcing in the gig economy". The world of work is changing dramatically and, in our increasingly flexible labour market, the notion of a "job for life" and the concept of a "9-to-5" workday is diminishing fast. In its place, the idea of "gig working" is rapidly gaining ground. To briefly define this, gig working is when people take temporary, often ad hoc, work contracts (or "gigs") sourced online through digital, cloud-based marketplaces.

Michael Chibli, Conrad Lashley and Victoria Ruiter presented findings from research using the hospitality attitude survey developed by Blain and Lashley. The paper presented to the conference was entitled "Students attitudes to hospitableness". The survey instrument was distributed to students in three departments in Stenden and NH universities: the Hotel School; the School of Tourism and Leisure; and the Business School. The proportion of students registering positive responses to the suite of hospitableness statements was greatest among undergraduates studying on the hotel management programme.

Work in progress sessions

Three master's students made "working paper" presentations, reporting on the early stage of their research dissertations. In each case, students had identified a research topic and completed a preliminary literature review.

Verena Hopf's work-in-progress piece, "Body modification in the hospitality industry", explores how the service interaction between front-line staff and guests is crucial for the hospitality industry. These employees are important for the relation between guest and hotel – they present the image of the company. Therefore, appearance is one of the judgement factors for guests to evaluate service quality. Consequently, hotels operate with dress codes and grooming standards to create the appropriate employee appearance. The concept of forming employees' appearance is also known as aesthetic labour, developed by the researchers Warhurst, Nickson and Witz, and is linked to the concept of emotional labour. It is seen as a way of companies to "develop", "mobilise" and "commodify" their employees to improve the company brand image. Therefore, the hotels use dress codes, provide training to improve the body language and to strengthen the aesthetic skills of the employees.

"Understanding how millennial hospitality employees deal with emotional labour" is the title of Hester Visser's work in progress. In recent years, an increasing number of researchers have focused on the millennial generation (born 1980–1999) who are known for their special traits, work-values and their likelihood of burning out. The millennials want to have a good work-life balance, a meaningful job and want to feel happy at work, otherwise they quickly switch to another employer. This master's dissertation's exploratory study aims at understanding how the millennials deal with emotional

labour by focusing on their perception of the job. Data will be collected via semi-structured interviews with 12 front-line employees working in a four-star hotel in the Netherlands. This study wants to contribute to the literature by combining both in the context of the hospitality industry. Moreover, it wants to contribute to practice by providing practical applications for hospitality practitioners.

The third work in progress by master's student Thea Noordeloos is entitled "Sustainable tourism development in Amsterdam's Oud-West". This study explores the concept of sustainable tourism development as it applies in the rural area of Amsterdam Oud-West. Data will be collected by 11 semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders such as the municipality, residents and the tourism industry. The main contribution of this study will be in terms of context, since no research on sustainable tourism development has been done in this particular area. Besides, it will provide insights into the practical application of sustainable tourism development, which might be helpful for all areas in Amsterdam.

Reflections

The 2018 AHIR conference continued the practice first developed in 2014 where each year the conference is organised by one of the three professors in the Academy of International Hospitality Research. This year it was my turn, and I chose to give the conference the *slavery and liberation* theme, because I feel that slavery and neo-slavery need more exposure as issues that have a bearing on the contemporary commercial sector. Apart from the outrage at the existence of contemporary slavery, I was also keen to explore some of the alternative ways of managing a hospitality enterprise that break with the traditional, top-down, command and control model that is so widespread in the hospitality sector. From being a new manager myself, I have always thought that the workplace works best when there is recognition of an array of stakeholder interests that should be recognised when making decisions that effect everyone, or when identifying and remedying operational faults. The collective wisdom of those closest to the operational context is usually more insightful than the commanding instructions emanating from on high.

Slavery, neo-slavery and business ethics

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Despite the campaigns of the 19th century, there are currently millions of people that are enslaved across the globe. Some of these slaves are directly engaged in the hospitality sector, in other cases they are indirectly associated with the hospitality firms through sub-contracted supplier organisations. In addition, some of the industry's employees experience a kind of neo-slavery, due to low pay and low levels of personal wealth. Although they are free, their circumstances limit their power to resist unfair treatment and poverty pay rates. Hospitality organisations concerned with ethical business practices are taking an active stand against the use of slaves, directly or indirectly, and they adopt human resource management practices that pay wages that allow the workforce to live at an acceptable standard. This paper highlights some moral and ethical positions relating to slavery and neo-slavery, and the priorities for organisational policies.

Keywords: ethical priorities, living wage, neo-slavery, slaver

Introduction

The management of workers in hotels, restaurants and bars is the underlying theme of this paper. As a service industry, labour costs are a constant concern for managers and owners of commercial hospitality organisations. There is an obvious link between reducing labour costs and increasing profits. The replacement of labour with technology, or the replacements of skilled labour with less skilled, cheaper labour, are trends across the sector. Centralised kitchens allow skilled labour to be employed in a factory-like setting, and unskilled labour onsite reheats dishes prior to service in the restaurants. In other cases, menus have been designed around “one-step” cooking methods that rely on simple frying, roasting, or grilling so as to employ low-cost employees at unit level. For other businesses, the management strategy has focused on the cost of the labour being bought.

Among the various strategies to minimise labour costs is the use of slave labour, either directly or indirectly, or low pay and employment relationships that create a state of neo-slavery. The use of slave labour reduces labour costs to a mere subsistence level, but slavery has been outlawed in most Western countries. However, slavery does exist and there are reported instances in the hospitality sector. Within the law, paying minimum wages and the encouragement of customer tipping reduces the direct amount spent by employers on the cost of labour. From the employees' perspective, these employer policies frequently result in employees being paid poverty wages, i.e. levels of pay that enable them to only just survive. The Living Wage Commission (2016) shows that there is a considerable gap between the level of the legal minimum wage and the rate that recipients need to live in a way that allows them to exist beyond “just coping”. For many hospitality industry employees, low pay traps them in a world of neo-slavery. They are not the property

of their employers, but their power to resist the employer's power is seriously limited.

This paper explores the phenomena of both slavery and neo-slavery against ethical management practices. In Western hotels, restaurants and bars there are fewer instances of firms directly employing slave labour, but there are examples of the use of slave labour down the supply chain in sub-contracted cleaning or laundry services. Business ethics is at the heart of how firms deal with their labour management practices and the ethical standards they define and maintain. Employers are able to make choices, and a defined ethical policy in the firm's dealings with employees and other stakeholders helps to provide principled direction to those choices.

Slavery today

The practice of the powerful enslaving those who are weaker has a long history in human affairs. The sugar plantations of the southern United States were supplied with slave labour by both British and Dutch traders throughout the eighteenth century, though concerted campaigns against the trade brought it to an end, and ultimately led to the liberation of the slaves. For many people this was a shameful period in history, and slavery is now consigned to the past. In reality, slavery in all its forms is still around and can be found, with varying degrees of intensity, across the globe.

Slavery is defined by the Anti-slavery International (2017b, p. 1) as occurring when a person is

forced to work through coercion – mental or physical; owned or controlled by an “employer” through mental or physical abuse, or threat of abuse; dehumanised, treated as a commodity or bought and sold as “property”; physically constrained or [has] restrictions placed on their movement.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2017) suggests that 40 million people were enslaved in 2016. The Global Slavery Index (GSI) (2016) estimates this is higher at 45.8 million. The ILO suggest that 25 million are in forced labour arrangements where people are forced to work without pay, or at very low rates of pay. A further 15 million are the victims of forced marriage. Globally, slaves represent 5.4 per 1 000 of the population, and 4.4 per 1 000 were children. Women are most likely to be enslaved: 71 per cent of slaves were women. Almost all those forced to marry against their wishes were women (99 per cent) and 5.7 million of these were children; and 21 per cent of the victims of sexual exploitation were also children. The UN Convention on Human Rights defines children as being under the age of 18.

The difference in estimates of the volume and extent of slavery is, in part, due to variations in the forms that slavery takes. Anti-slavery International (2017a) suggests that slavery can be linked to the following:

- Bonded labour: where individuals are forced to work for another because they are in debt to them. Often the poorest people have limited resources to call upon when unexpected expenses arise. They have to take out loans – often at punitive rates of interest, and are then forced to work for the person making the loan;
- Forced labour: individual are forced to undertake work against their will. This might be linked to debt, or to the right to farm a piece of land, or as a result of physical force. This frequently takes place where some individuals or groups are deemed to be less worthy than others due to ethnic or religious differences, for example;
- Forced child labour: children are compelled to work against their will. In some cases, children are made to work to pay off family debt or some other obligation. In some cases, children are forced to operate as boy soldiers, fighting against other communities, social groups, or gangs;
- Descent-based slavery: the children of slaves are considered to be the property of slave owners and can be sold on to others, or given as wedding presents; and
- Human trafficking: people are traded for prostitution, domestic servitude, forced marriage, or forced organ donation.

Direct forms of slavery can be seen to have a geographical dimension in that the ILO (2017) suggests that 62 per cent of slaves are to be found in the Asia-Pacific region, Africa has 23 per cent of slaves, Europe and Central Asia 9 per cent, and the Americas 1 per cent.

While there are instances of the direct use of slaves in Western hotels and restaurants, they are more frequently found in the hospitality sector supply chain, in sub-contracted laundry or cleaning services, or in food and drink production. The accommodation sector accounts for approximately 10 per cent of slaves, while agriculture accounts for 11 per cent of slaves. The accommodation sector is likely to involve mostly slaves who are women and girls. The agriculture sector is mostly concerned with physical labour and has more male slaves. Table 1, based upon ILO (2017) observations, shows some of the industries and activities involving slave labour and the gender balance in each instance.

The figures quoted in Table 1 are linked to the fact that much slavery is located in the Asia-Pacific area, but there are still some occurrences in the supposedly “slave-free” world. The Global

Table 1: Gender distribution of victims of forced labour exploitation by sector of economic activity

Sector	Gender
Accommodation and food service	8% men 92% women
Domestic work	39% men 61% women
Wholesale and trade	52% men 48% women
Personal services	52% men 48% women
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	68% men 32% women
Manufacturing	82% men 18% women
Construction	82% men 18% women
Begging	90% men 10% women
Mining and quarrying	100% men

Source: ILO (2017)

Slavery Index (2016) estimated that there were 17 500 slaves in the Netherlands, while it is estimated that between 13 000 and 30 000 people are in slavery in Britain, and that there are 1 243 400 slaves across Europe. Against the international average of 5.4 slaves per 1 000 of the population, the European ratio is 3.8 per thousand, though there may be differences within that average across the continent. Western-based slaves mostly come from outside of Western Europe – Albania, Vietnam, Nigeria, Romania and Poland, in the main, but some are also citizens of their home country. Anti-slavery International (2017b) estimate that there is just a 1 per cent chance of British slaves having their exploiters brought to justice.

Neo-slavery

In addition to those people enslaved in the various forms outlined above, some employees experience neo-slavery. They are technically free, but low pay, regular unemployment, and unstable employment keep them in a state in which they are forced to work and have limited opportunities to resist exploitation. Poverty and a working environment where they are commanded and controlled effectively enslave them.

Low pay results in having limited resources available when times get tough. They have to work to survive and are a pay check away from abject poverty should job loss happen. In-work poverty is rife (Bramley & Bailey, 2017). In the UK, “[p]overty, defined as those whose lack of resources and low-income forces them to live below a publicly agreed minimum standard, is affecting over one in five people – and over one in four children” (Dermot & Main, 2017, p. 32). The *Working for Poverty* report (Living Wage Commission [LWC], 2016), claimed that 21 per cent of the workforce (5.24 million worker) are paid below a “living wage”, and this had risen by 9 per cent in the preceding twelve months. Over half of the 13 million people living in poverty in the UK were in households where at least one family member works; many other poverty households were retirees. The LWC report (2016, p. 32) stated that “housing costs have tripled in the last 15 years, one and a half times the amount by which wages have risen; and

electricity, gas and water bills have risen by 88 per cent in the last five years". In these circumstances, people look to support themselves via the use of loans: 2.9 million people classed as over-indebted have an income below £15 000 (LWC, 2016). By 2016/2017, food banks issued 1 182 954 three-day packs, rough sleeping had almost doubled since 2010, with 4 751 people sleeping rough on the streets, though some estimate this to be as high 9 000 (Miller & Moore, 2018).

The hospitality sector has a reputation for low pay. The industry has one of the highest proportions of staff receiving the UK National Minimum Wage (re-branded as the National Living Wage). It is estimated that 25 per cent of the workforce receive the national minimum wage (Eversham, 2013), but there are other wrinkles in which employers minimise labour costs by paying wages that are the lowest they can get away with. The use of service charges and tips increase the "take-home pay" for employees while minimising the labour cost to the firm. The Office for National Statistics (2016a) estimated that 60 000 employees in the hospitality sector were being illegally paid below the legal minimum wage rate (4 per cent of the workforce).

In the UK, just 3 per cent of the hospitality employees are members of a trade union (Turnbull, 2018). Most of these are in bigger hotels, where it is easier to organise the workforce collectively. Trade union membership is also higher in the welfare sector, in hospital and schools, and industrial catering, where the hospitality workforce is unionised as a by-product of the unionisation of the organisation's total workforce. As a consequence of low trade union membership, there is a limited ability for collective resistance for many hospitality employees. If they are able, employees withdraw from the firm, or take unplanned absences. Their ability to change things is restricted and, because the secondary labour market is unskilled and plentiful, employers easily manage to replace staff who leave the organisation, and employees who do withdraw often move from one exploitative low-paid job to another (Toynbee, 2003).

Low pay in these low-skilled, secondary labour market jobs is accompanied by a low investment in training and development. Opportunities for advancement at work are constrained and many are locked into a section of the labour market where there is little chance of escape. The stress of just managing to cope with low-paid jobs, and a financial existence that requires the use of loans, creates stress for the hospitality worker in this position. Some have to rely on "pay-day loans" for those people who are a potentially higher risk, but suffer under punitive interest rates, locking them into a cycle of debt and pay-day repayment. Command and control and hierarchical top-down management styles do little to value employees' sense of worth. In addition, a culture of bullying in some hospitality units and departments increases the stress of working in these roles. Though not the property of their employers, these workers exist in a state of neo-slavery through the use of direct and in-direct enforcement. The neo-slave is forced to work and take what is given, in some cases having to work in more than one job (Office for National Statistics, 2016b).

Ethical and moral responses

Fisher and Lovell (2014) provide a valuable insight into business ethics that can map various actions and stances in reaction

to slavery and neo-slavery. Although the words *ethics* and *morality* are often used interchangeably, it is more helpful to see *morality* as relating to codes of behaviour determining what is good and what is bad. In western Europe, for example, the sale of alcohol is more strictly controlled in more dominantly Protestant societies as a result of Calvinism and the advocacy of duty to work as an end in itself. The German sociologist Max Weber's work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, suggests that Protestantism emerged as economies began to rely more and more on trade. The move from agricultural work patterns, where people worked when they needed to, towards a moral code that valued work as a social good, promoted an ethic of hard work as being an act of piety. For adherents of these religions, alcohol consumption was seriously restricted, or in some cases was banned completely. Moral codes define acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, and religious pronouncements may be further reinforced by legislation.

Apart from the ideological imperative provided by Protestantism, slave labour on the sugar plantations and the trade in slaves provided important financial resources that were able to fund increasing international trade and the industrialisation of production. In the hundred years ending in 1820, it is estimated that British trading ships transported over 3 million slaves. Slavery was therefore at the heart of industrialisation and the growth of capitalism. Williams (1994) reports that as many as one fifth of wealthy Victorians derived all or part of their fortunes from the slave economy. Indeed, when slave ownership was outlawed in Britain in the nineteenth century, slave owners were given financial compensation for each liberated slave so as to compensate them for their "loss". These slave owners were paid huge sums in compensation by the British government. Interestingly, no compensation was paid to former slaves (Williams, 1994).

Nowadays, slavery is legally outlawed in most, if not all, Western societies, though neo-slavery through low pay and limited safeguards are frequently deemed as unfortunate, but determined by the supply and demand for labour and on the status of the labour concerned. In secondary labour markets, plentiful, low-skilled, low-status labour attracts the lowest levels of wages. Given that the supply of labour into these roles is also increased by those looking for part-time, fractional or holiday work due to family commitments, or the need to top-up income levels, market forces would push pay rates for some jobs to the point beyond a base level of survival for those in work. Low wage legislation, in-work benefits, and income support are state initiatives designed to manage the tendency for pay rates to "race to the bottom". That said, the interventions and pay levels deemed to be acceptable are deeply political. Employers and their political advocates want the rates to be low, while the low paid and their trade unions push for above inflation levels of pay increase. The moral positions taken by employers and employees are intrinsically in conflict: income for employees is a cost to employers; and employee income determines the lifestyle and comfort of employees and their families.

Ethics are principles and virtues which guide individual or organisational conduct. There are a number of ethical positions an individual may take about slavery and neo-slavery. The most disconnected and lacking in compassion refuses to accept that they exist. The refusal to acknowledge a problem is a classic response of the ruling elite. The limited coverage of the extent

of slavery, the experiences of slaves and the low paid, and the injustices that many victims face, is typical of the response of the mainstream media in many Western countries. The Indian freedom fighter Mahatma Gandhi famously commented: "First they ignore you; then they laugh at you; then they fight you; then you win". The neo-slavery caused by poverty-like pay rates is rarely a feature of mainstream media, and human trafficking is mostly presented as something that happens overseas, or to people from Third World countries.

A second position acknowledges the existence of slavery or poverty, but distances the person from the problem. Sometimes blaming the victims, or finding some form of justification for disengagement with these human problems requiring action. In contemporary times, this "blame the victim" mindset acknowledges that slavery and neo-slavery exist, but attempts to explain it as the fault of the victim, either by being born in the wrong place, or for not having any qualifications. Again, limited exposure in the mass media limits popular understanding of these issues, and this influences the political priority given to tackling slavery and neo-slavery. The Global Slavery Index (2016) estimates that there are 17 500 slaves living in the Netherlands, with a similar level in the UK (the ILO estimate that it could be as high as 30 000 in the UK). In Europe, the GIS estimate that there are 1 243 000 slaves across the continent. Neo-slavery arising from low pay and fractional contracts varies between countries, with countries like the UK being less "protectionist" than some of its mainland neighbours due to the stronger influence of neo-liberalism and greater income and wealth inequality.

Fisher and Lovell (2014) provide an interesting model for mapping the ethical management actions that might be helpful in the analysis of slavery and neo-slavery. By combining two continua – good/bad and legal/illegal – they produce four ethical positions. Actions that are

- *bad and illegal* are judged to be both bad in that they cause harm and are against the law;
- *good and illegal* are judged to reduce harm but are deemed to be illegal;
- *bad and legal* are judged to cause harm but are not against the law; and
- *good and legal* are judged to reduce harm and are lawful.

Figure 1 applies this model to actions over the direct use of slaves by hospitality organisations.

In the Western world, slavery is illegal, however, some operators may see it is an easy way to make extra profits. Where it does occur, this is more likely to take place in "back-of-house operations" – in kitchens, housekeeping, and cleaning services. There are examples of slaves being employed in restaurant services, in some "ethnic" restaurants, where individuals are transported from the local national and cultural setting to work in the Western-based restaurant. These examples aside, slavery tends not to be employed directly in hospitality businesses in the West, but rather at some point in the supply chain. Sub-contracted laundry or cleaning services, or in the food supply chain on farms, etc., are the more likely locations for slave labour. Both these positions are bad, though direct slave recruitment is illegal and the indirect use of slave labour is legal. Organisations that directly campaign against, or adopt business practices to avoid both the direct and indirect employment of slave labour are located in the quadrant that is good and legal (see Figure 1). Employment practices that

		LEGAL ACTS	
GOOD	Actively campaigning against the use of slave labour in the industry	The use of suppliers that exploit slaves so as to reduce costs and increase profits	BAD
	Discriminating in favour of the former slaves in recruitment	Directly recruiting slaves to make higher profits via exploitation	
		ILLEGAL	

Figure 1: Ethical options on slavery in the hospitality sector

positively discriminate in favour of the recruitment of former slaves in an attempt to compensate former slaves for their abuse are perhaps good, but would be deemed illegal in most countries with equality legislation. "Positive discrimination" in these circumstances is deemed to be illegal, though the intention may be good.

Employees in the hospitality sector are more likely to experience neo-slavery in most Western countries. In some cases, employers are paying below the legal minimum rate, they are acting illegally and their actions are bad. Others are paying legal minimum wages, but these do not provide a living wage, or tie employees into arrangements such as zero-hour contracts. Hospitality workers are employed, but the employer is not obliged to provide a minimum number of hours. In other cases, the use of sub-contracted labour makes the worker nominally self-employed and the organisation avoids holiday pay and other legal obligations it might have. Again, these are examples of actions that are legal but bad. Hotel companies like Accor take an ethical stance that is committed to anti-slavery, and at the same time pay employees at a rate above the national minimums in the countries in which the company operates. Both Accor and Shiva hotels adopt ethical policies relating to slavery and neo-slavery that are legal and good.

Against the Fisher and Lovell (2014) model, neo-slavery is essentially bad, but when employers pay below even the legal minimums, their action are both bad and illegal. Using the law to pay the legal minimums, which are below the point deemed to be a "living wage", is legal and bad, as are the use of tips to meet part of the wage, zero-hour contracts, and sub-contracting arrangements that define people working for the organisation as self-employed.

Epicurus, the Greek philosopher writing in around 400 BC, provided a valuable ethical guide when he suggested that in dealing with other people it is important to ask: "How would I like to be treated like this?". While Epicurus was an atheist writing at a time when most of his fellow Greeks were polytheists who believed that the gods lived on Mount Olympus, the message resonates with many contemporary religions across the globe today.

Insights from contemporary religions

- *Buddhism*: "Treat not others in ways that you yourself would find hurtful" (Udana-Varga, 5–18).
- *Christianity*: "In everything, do to others as you would have them do to you; for this the law of the Prophets" (Matthew 7:12).

- *Hinduism*: “This is the sum of duty: do not do to others what would cause pain if done to you” (Mahabharata 5: 1517).
- *Islam*: “Not one of you truly believes until you wish for others what you would wish for yourself” (The Prophet Mohammad, Hadith).
- *Jainism*: “One should treat all creatures in the world as one would like to be treated” (Mahavira, Sutrikanga).
- *Judaism*: “What is hateful to you, do not do to your neighbour. This is the whole Torah all the rest is commentary” (Hillel Talmud, Shabbat 31a).
- *Taoism*: “Regard your neighbour’s gain as you gain, and your neighbour’s loss as your own loss” (T’ia Shang Kan Ying P’ien, 213–218).
- *Zoroastrianism*: “Do not do unto others whatever is injurious to yourself” (Shayast-na-Shayast 13.29).

Learning to ask the question “What is it like not to be me?” is an important message that comes from these various philosophical and religious observations. Buddhism and Jainism are not like the Abrahamic religions in that they do not believe in a monotheistic god and the notion of heaven as an afterlife for the soul. The quotations above suggest a common human morality that requires individuals to treat other people as they themselves would wish to be treated. Whatever the religious narrative, there is a common thread with atheists that might be better understood through an ethical position that recognises just one common humanity. Whatever we look like or sound like, we are all one human family as brother and sisters, and an injury to one is an injury to all.

The ethical message is that a cornerstone of human morality is founded on empathy for each other and compassion for those who are weak and powerless. Slavery and neo-slavery are both manifestations of oppression of the weak by the strong. In the case of the hospitality sector, the oppression may be direct or indirect. The payment of poverty wages, the use of zero-hour contracts, and pseudo-self-employment do not involve direct slavery, but they create a state of neo-slavery in their effects. Employees involved barely survive on the income paid and in their domestic life options are restricted by the shortage of income and wealth, and their experiences in employment constrained by the secondary labour market powerlessness, and a restricted collective voice because of low levels of trade union membership.

Slavery and neo-slavery are different in that the slave is formally tied in one way or another to a “slave-owner”, while neo-slaves are legally free agents, they are enslaved by their low levels of income and wealth, and so are similar in that both states involve oppressors and oppressed. Whether they are slave owners or merely low-paying employers, they are using their power to oppress people that have limited power to oppose them. Indeed, the oppression may be focused on many different issues: gender; ethnicity; religious faith; language; geographical origin; etc. In these circumstances, there are a number of positions individuals may adopt. Clearly, they may side with the oppressors, or with specific oppressed target groups, or with all forms of oppression. In the latter case, the manager or citizen tries to imagine what it is like to be oppressed and comes to the conclusion that it would not be something one wants for oneself and therefore should be opposed. Indeed, all forms of oppression should be opposed and this needs to be also in the contexts in which this occurs.

Martin Luther King, Jr draws a parallel between individual injustices and their systemic causes: “True compassion is more than flinging a coin at a beggar, it comes to see that the edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring”.

Others observe that they themselves are not affected so why should they concern themselves. This position is one lacking in empathy and compassion, but is expressed by some. Others attempt to blame the victims for their plight, implying that this situation is their own fault and they are just getting what they deserve. This is again a position lacking in an ability to imagine the position of the victim. Individuals who have authoritarian personalities tend to dismiss or demean those they perceive to be inferior to themselves, often having in reactionary and “alt-right” political views.

Some people aim to distance themselves from these events by asserting that they are not interested in politics; they are “not political”. Given that slavery and neo-slavery exist in the world today and are the result of the power of a few individuals to dominate many others, political forces are at the heart of the situation, so being “not political” implicitly supports the injustice of the status quo. Being “not political” is therefore ultimately conservative of the way things are and supports the oppression of the many by a few. Malcolm X, the US black rights activist famously observed: “A man who stands for nothing, will fall for anything”.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the existence of slavery in the world today. Despite slave owning and the trade in slaves being illegal, the practice continues in the world today. Estimates suggest that there are millions of slaves across the globe. Most are women, who are typically trafficked for sexual purposes, though some are victimised into slave labour. Approximately three in ten slaves are males, mostly traded for labour exploitation. Children make up a significant minority of trafficked humans, many for “sexploitation”, but many are enslaved to work and, in some cases, to fight for their owners. In Western countries, hospitality firms are less likely to directly employ slave labour, though some benefit indirectly as they use the services of firms in the supply chain that use slaves.

The paper has also explored the plight of neo-slaves, those who are actually not the property of another, but who are locked into slave-like relationships because of their low pay, low status, and limited oppositional power. Low pay rates are a common feature of the work in too many hospitality firms and this causes in-work and domestic-life stress. Pay rates that leave employees’ households “just coping”, secondary labour market jobs that are easily recruited and allow limited bargaining, together with low trade union membership, restrict employees’ powers to resist.

Slavery and neo-slavery raise some important ethical issues for hospitality managers and organisations. A fundamental ethic of humanist and religious faiths is that individuals should not treat the other in a way that they themselves would not like. Flowing from this, organisations have ethical obligations that require a concern for employees as organisation stakeholders and these have to be recognised in a way that informs management priorities and practices.

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Human trafficking in the hotel industry in the Netherlands: the fine line between service, responsibility and liability

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Human trafficking is the fastest growing form of organised crime and the biggest source of income for criminals in Europe. Within the prostitution sector, there is a shift towards less visible forms such as hotel prostitution. About half of all prostitutes working in the Netherlands are victims of human trafficking and sexual exploitation. The hotel industry runs the risk of liability and reputational damage, and has a moral responsibility to prevent and combat human trafficking in hotels. This paper examines the risks of human trafficking for the hotel industry from three different perspectives. The first is the marketing perspective: what commercial risks exist for hotels in relation to human trafficking? The second is the legal perspective: when does a hotel bear criminal liability in relation to human trafficking? The third is the ethical perspective: where does the moral responsibility of a hotel in relation to human trafficking begin and end? In conclusion, the paper describes risk mitigation measures already taken by the hotel industry, as well as the public/private collaboration between the Netherlands Public Prosecution Service (Openbaar Ministerie), the Dutch Criminal Investigation Department (Nationale Recherche), and the hotel industry to prevent and combat human trafficking in the Dutch hotel industry.

Keywords: forced prostitution, hotel industry, human trafficking, moral responsibility, public/private collaboration, sexual exploitation

Introduction

In 2013, it had been 150 years since the Netherlands banned slavery. Yet slavery still exists in the Netherlands – modern slavery, better known as human trafficking. Beijer (2010, p. 1) defines human trafficking as follows: “Human trafficking is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. What is characteristic of human trafficking is that it focuses on exploitation, which may involve sexual or non-sexual exploitation”. A recent report presented by the Committee for Migration, Refugees and Displaced Persons of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe states that human trafficking is still on the rise, can be considered the fastest growing form of organised crime, and is the biggest source of income for (transnationally operating) criminals in Europe (National Rapporteur on Trafficking of Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children [NRM], 2013).

There are no good data on the scope of human trafficking in the Netherlands. It is only known how many cases come to the attention of the police and social and welfare organisations. In 2012, there were 1 711 registered victims of human trafficking in the Netherlands, of which 1 455 involved cases of sexual exploitation and 256 cases of non-sexual exploitation. It is assumed that at any given time in the Netherlands, some 30 000 persons are in a position involving criminal exploitation – 21 000 cases of non-sexual exploitation and 9 000 cases of sexual exploitation. Neither are there precise data about the number of prostitutes working in the Netherlands. It is estimated that there are approximately 20 000 prostitutes. Combining these assumptions, we can

state that out of approximately 20 000 prostitutes in the Netherlands, 9 000 are exploited – in other words, nearly half of all prostitutes working in the Netherlands. “The prostitution industry seems to be shifting from more visible forms, such as window prostitution and brothels, to less visible forms like escort, hotel and home prostitution” (NRM, 2013, p. 56).

So a situation is emerging in which organised crime-driven human trafficking is growing rapidly, on the one hand, and prostitution is exploited from hotels more frequently, on the other, and nearly half of all prostitutes are being exploited and are victims of human trafficking. That brings us to the role, responsibility and importance of the hotel industry in relation to human trafficking.

The NRM’s ninth report talks of stimulating awareness of aware and unaware facilitators of human trafficking. The Netherlands Public Prosecution Service (PPS) believes that hotels were insufficiently involved in combating human trafficking. The Netherlands Criminal Investigation Department (CID) initiated a campaign in which actresses were deployed as prostitutes at three hotels in Amsterdam, testing the alertness of hotel personnel in responding to signals of human trafficking. The observations of the PPS and CID based on this campaign confirmed the idea that hotel personnel are insufficiently aware of the signals of human trafficking in hotels and therefore do not respond adequately. The results of the campaign were filmed and broadcast on the television show *Nieuwsuur* in 2012. It led to significant (negative) media attention for the hotels in question and the hotel industry in general.

In principle, a hotel is a company that focuses on service to guests and customers against payment. It is considered

inappropriate to ask guests questions that may be too critical or personal, since hotels aim to respect the privacy of their guests to the greatest possible extent. This serviceable and discrete basic attitude means that hotels may be misused, without their knowledge and without wanting to, as a location for human trafficking.

As such, the question arises, what are the risks for hotels when they become involved in human trafficking? This paper aims to reveal the risks of human trafficking for hotels from three different perspectives. The first is the marketing perspective: what commercial risks exist for hotels in relation to human trafficking? The second is the legal perspective: when does a hotel bear criminal liability in relation to human trafficking? The third is the ethical perspective: where does the moral responsibility of a hotel in relation to human trafficking begin and end? The paper also aims to explain measures that help limit the risks of human trafficking – what risk mitigation measures has the hotel industry already taken to prevent human trafficking? The scope of this paper is limited to sexual exploitation of human trafficking victims in the Dutch hotel industry. Labour exploitation of human trafficking victims in the hotel industry is not covered in this study, nor is sexual exploitation of human trafficking victims in locations other than hotels. Subsequent to the 2012 PPS and CID campaign that deployed actresses in hotels as so-called prostitutes, a public/private collaboration emerged between all of the chain partners. The Dutch PPS, the CID, and the Koninklijke Horeca Nederland (KHN) hotel industry association joined forces to prevent and combat human trafficking in the hotel industry.

Human trafficking

The literature and media expressions relating to human trafficking use a range of terms that may seem confusing, overlapping or contradictory. I have defined these key terms below so their meaning in this paper is unambiguous. The definition of these key terms is given in the Dutch context. The term “human trafficking” is described comprehensively in Article 273f of the Dutch Criminal Code. This Article defines a range of activities as criminal offences when they aim to exploit, sexually or otherwise, other persons, and profit from the exploited situation of the other person. The description of human trafficking as a criminal offence is derived from the definition of *trafficking in persons* in the Palermo Protocol from 2000. It consists of three parts, i.e. an action (recruitment, transportation, etc.), the means used to achieve this (forms of coercion), and the intention of exploitation (or removal of a person’s organs). In all cases, exploitation covers sexual and labour exploitation, including coerced or required service (Rijken et al., 2013).

Exploitation

Exploitation is one of the characteristics of human trafficking and may be sexual or non-sexual.

Legal prostitution

The ban on brothels was repealed in the Netherlands on 1 October 2000. Prostitution is legal unless it is forbidden or requires a permit on the basis of an *Algemeen Plaatselijke Verordening* (APV or Code of Ordinances), the local municipal regulations. Prostitution for which no rules exist at the legal

level, i.e. for which no permit is required, cannot constitute a violation of the regulations and as such cannot be illegal. Prostitutes must be at least 18 years of age. As a result, the possibility remains that exploitation and human trafficking occur in legal prostitution.

Illegal prostitution

Illegal prostitution is prostitution that does not comply with the local regulations. As such, illegal prostitution does not necessarily equal exploitation or human trafficking.

Conditional intent

Conditional intent (Latin: *dolus eventualis*), also called *kansopzet* in Dutch, is intent with an awareness of the possibilities. The term comes from the Dutch Criminal Code and is a somewhat misleading term. In fact, there is nothing conditional about the intent. The perpetrator knows that their action *may* have certain consequences (awareness of the possibilities), but is willing to accept them. They are able to reduce the chances to zero, but refrain from doing so because they want to engage in the behaviour. Conditional intent is the lower limit of intent. Other forms of intent are awareness of necessity (*noodzakelijkheidbewustzijn*) and pure intent (*zuivere opzet*). (Wikipedia, n.d.).

Hotel risks

Jeurissen (2009, p. 117) says the following about reputation:

A company that misbehaves must be prepared for a consumer boycott and decreasing turnover due to loss of reputation. Many companies have experienced that there can be a public outcry if they do not, in the eyes of the public, honour their social responsibilities. And when that outcry results in a consumer boycott, it hits the company where it hurts: its sales. This is definitely the case for companies who use their name as their brand name.

This quote highlights three major risks for the hotel industry in relation to human trafficking. In the first place, when a hotel facilitates human trafficking, the public may see it as condemnable behaviour, and interpret it as failing to comply with its social responsibility. In the second place, this may lead to a consumer boycott that has a direct impact on the hotel’s turnover. And in the third place, there is an additional risk for hotels: many hotels are part of a hotel group and use the group’s name as their brand name. Loss of reputation suffered by a hotel that is part of a group can therefore cause loss of reputation for the entire chain.

In its report *De opmars van hotelketens: Nederlands ketenhotelaanbod in kaart gebracht* (“The rise of hotel groups: mapping the Dutch hotel group offering”), Horwath HTL (2013) states that the group percentage of Dutch hotels grew from 61 to 65% between 2011 and 2013. It is expected that hotel groups will continue to strengthen their grip on the Dutch market in the coming years. It can therefore be said that loss of reputation can lead to commercial damage for a hotel. However, an interesting question is whether condemnable behaviour on a company’s part does automatically lead to loss of reputation. A recent study (Reuber & Fischer, 2010) developed a model that demonstrates what factors cause condemnable behaviour to be translated to loss of reputation.

The study defines reputation as the general attractiveness of a company to its external stakeholders.

It mentions three determining factors in any loss of reputation. In the first place, these are “action-related factors”:

- Presumed control of the situation (the more control a company has over a situation, the greater the reputational damage)
- Presumed certainty (the more certain that a situation actually occurred, the greater the reputational damage)
- Presumed deviation from the common standards in the industry (the more the company deviates from what is considered normal in the industry, the greater the reputational damage)
- Presumed risk for stakeholders (the greater the risk to stakeholders, the greater the reputational damage)

The second is “stakeholder motivation”. The closer the relationship or dependency between company and stakeholder, the more it will reduce any loss of reputation in the eyes of the stakeholder. The third is “media attention”. Media attention must be primarily negative, and then even be repeated frequently, before it has a negative impact on the perception of external stakeholders.

When a hotel suffers loss of reputation, there is a commercial risk of losing revenue. And reputational damage is an even bigger risk for hotel groups. In view of the rising group percentage in the Netherlands, loss of reputation is a risk that is gaining weight. However, the Reuber and Fischer study (2010) shows that condemnable behaviour on the part of a company does not automatically lead to loss of reputation. If consciously or unconsciously facilitating human trafficking is seen as condemnable behaviour on the part of a hotel, it does not necessarily follow that this will lead to reputational damage. It seems that the conditions under which the behaviour occurred are determining, as well as the interests of the stakeholders in the hotel and the frequency and tone of voice in terms of media attention.

The legal perspective

Virtually all relevant Dutch literature refers to Article 273f of the Criminal Code as the basis for criminalisation of human trafficking. However, human trafficking is a broad term and the text of this Article seems rather general and can be interpreted in different ways. Beijer (2010, p. 8) describes this as “the complexity of the phenomenon of human trafficking is reflected in the long criminalisation of Article 273f Sr. This article criminalises different forms of human trafficking but is less than clear on some points”.

In order to find a clearer answer to the possible criminal liability of hotels in relation to human trafficking, I consulted with three experts from a public/private collaboration to prevent and combat human trafficking in the hotel industry. The first, at the PPS, was a senior public prosecutor formerly responsible for human trafficking at the National Public Prosecutor’s Office. The second, at the CID, was a criminal investigation expert in the field of human trafficking within the department. The third was a lawyer who frequently works on human trafficking-related cases. They answered the following questions to obtain a clear picture of the criminal liability of hotels in relation to human trafficking.

Criminal liability?

PPS: Criminal liability resides in providing accommodation for a woman you know to be exploited. It also resides in intentionally benefiting from the exploitation of another human being (receiving rent for the hotel room while one could have suspected that exploitation was involved). The difficulty lies in proving the intentionality of benefiting from the situation.

CID: Criminal liability resides in intentionally benefiting from the exploitation of another human being. However, the condition for criminal liability is that the person who benefits knows, or should reasonably suspect, that sexual exploitation is involved.

Criminal lawyer: Before talking about intentionality, it should first be rendered plausible that the observed prostitution was coerced. Clear signals of coercion cannot always be demonstrated in actual practice.

The PPS relies on the broadest definition of the offence in Article 273f. The CID considers a more limited cause for criminal liability. Both see difficulties in proving intentionality. The criminal lawyer’s precondition is that it must first be proven that the prostitution was coerced before intentionality can come into play. In summary, the experts are not unanimous in their interpretation of this part of Article 273f.

Criminal intent?

PPS: From a legal perspective, there is no dividing line between conscious or unconscious facilitation. The question is whether intentionality is involved in benefiting from exploitation of another human being.¹ There are different levels of intentionality. If intentionality cannot be demonstrated, the accused is acquitted. The gravity of the situation does not have any consequences for criminal liability, but it does have an impact on the judgement.²

CID: The line between conscious and unconscious facilitation relates to the legal interpretation of the concept of intentionality. Conditional intent must be proven, and the court will impose a higher sentence to the extent that more serious forms of intent can be demonstrated.

Criminal lawyer: There must be a part of consciousness in relation to the non-voluntary nature of the prostitution.³ The PPS and CID are univocal in their conclusion that at the very least, conditional intentionality must be proven. The sentence will increase to the extent that more serious forms of intentionality can be proven. The criminal lawyer refers to a precondition that it must first be established that the prostitution was involuntary. Only then can it be demonstrated that hotel personnel were aware of the fact.

Sexual exploitation?

PPS: No, although human trafficking is often associated with other offences. Prostitution is an industry that requires permits. Operating prostitution is allowed in a hotel only if the hotel has the relevant permit. Hotels do not have a permit. However, this is covered by administrative law, not criminal law.⁴

CID: Based on the APV (Code of Ordinances), illegal hotel prostitution can be an offence. It is not covered by the Criminal Code, however.

Criminal lawyer: Only if the prostitute is a minor, in which case criminal liability is automatic.⁵

The experts are partially unanimous on this question. Except Article 273f, the Criminal Code does not contain other

grounds on which a hotel can be held liable for facilitating human trafficking unless the prostitute is a minor. Operating prostitution in a hotel is an offence because there is no prostitution permit, however, this is covered by administrative law and not the Criminal Code.

Exploiting human trafficking?

PPS: A fine, and in the most serious of cases suspension of the company's operations. A prison or suspended prison sentence for a hotel manager, only in exceptional cases when the hotel collaborates actively with human traffickers. Under Article 51, legal entities can commit criminal offences as much as natural persons. As senior executives, board members can also be indicted.

CID: A fine or cessation or suspended cessation of operations.

Criminal lawyer: A fine or prison sentence in combination with deprivation if the manager is indicted on account of their own actions. If the manager is indicted as a senior executive, any combination of measures can be demanded.

The experts all agree that a hotel will, at the very least, be fined if found guilty of facilitating human trafficking. It also seems possible that a cessation or suspended cessation of operations may be ordered if the facts are considered serious enough. Whether the manager is indicted depends entirely on their role in the process. A prison or suspended prison sentence may even be demanded if their role was condemnable.

In conclusion, we can state that a hotel is criminally liable in relation to human trafficking if conditional intent to benefit from exploitation of another human being can be proven. The experts agree that demonstrating such minimal intentionality is difficult. The criminal lawyer also states that it must first be demonstrated that the prostitution was coerced. However, there are some aspects in relation to Article 273f with regard to which the experts use different interpretations. This confirms Beijer's (2010) statement that Article 273f is rather unclear on some points.

The ethical perspective

"Human trafficking is considered a grave violation of a person's physical integrity and a gross offence against his or her human rights" (Rijken et al., 2013, p. 5). Human trafficking is generally associated with a range of related criminal offences, such as illegal transportation of people, rape, sex with minors, child pornography, abuse, illegal labour, forgery, fraud, forced abortion, threats, obstruction of the freedom of expression, stalking, illegal deprivation of freedom, participation in a criminal organisation, money laundering and tax evasion (Ten Kate, 2013).

When taking Donaldson's (1989) ten basic moral rights as a starting point, it is easy to conclude that most victims of human trafficking are deprived of at least half of these basic moral rights. The clearest examples are the right to physical safety, the right to freedom of movement, the right not to be tortured, and the right to property. This creates an ethical duty for the hotel industry to participate actively in combating human trafficking and preventing facilitation of human trafficking.

When placing the hierarchical scale of ethical duty (Jeurissen, 2009) next to the hotel industry's ethical duty to prevent human trafficking, there are interfaces at each of the four levels. The first level is to "cause no harm". It does not seem likely that a

hotel would autonomously cause harm in relation to human trafficking unless it intentionally facilitates and participates in human trafficking. The second level is to "prevent or at least refrain from encouraging others to cause harm". Hotels should not rent rooms to victims of human trafficking and their exploiters if they suspect human trafficking is involved. The third level is to "combat existing harm". If a hotel suspects that a guest in one of its rooms is a victim of human trafficking, it has the duty to report this to the police so that they can intervene at that moment. The fourth level of the scale of ethical duty is to "encourage goodness". Hotels must provide frequent and adequate staff training in recognising signals of human trafficking.

However, things are often more grim in actual practice than simply following the aforementioned steps in the hierarchy of moral duties. In the first place, the basic attitude of hotel employees is hospitable and serviceable by nature. This may cause hotel employees to be insufficiently alert to professional human traffickers that misuse the hospitality and exploit their victims, using the hotel as a base. In the second place, victims of human trafficking are not always recognisable as such. "In many cases, particularly where sexual exploitation is involved, a complex relationship exists that may emerge from a romantic relationship or a romantic relationship feigned by the offender, dependency, having children together, and fear" (Rijken et al., 2013, p. 26). In the third place, the collaboration between police, justice and the hotel industry in combating human trafficking is recent. And finally, not all hotels provide adequate training for their employees and not all police control rooms respond equally adequately to hotel reports concerning suspected human trafficking.

Apart from these obstacles, the hotel industry has a clear moral duty to prevent human trafficking. In order to provide some kind of framework for a hotel's responsibility in relation to human trafficking, it can answer the following four questions. If a hotel does facilitate human trafficking, is it conscious or unconscious? Does a hotel provide adequate training for its personnel to identify signals of human trafficking? Is the situation so obvious that a hotel employee should reasonably suspect human trafficking? In case of a suspicion of human trafficking, does the hotel report it to the police immediately?

In conclusion, where the responsibility of hotels in relation to human trafficking begins is clear. This is the first level in the hierarchy of moral duty to refrain from causing harm. It is less obvious where that responsibility ends. The four questions discussed above could be answered to determine this. If a hotel does not consciously facilitate human trafficking, if it provides adequate training for its employees, if a situation of suspected human trafficking is clearly recognisable and the hotel immediately reports it to the police, one could say that this is where the hotel's responsibility reasonably ends. It has fulfilled its moral duty to prevent human trafficking.

How to prevent human trafficking?

In recent years, the hotel industry has developed a greater awareness of the damage caused by human trafficking and the industry's responsibility in this respect. The NRM (2013, p. 13) puts it as follows: "I am thinking of the collaboration between the police and hotel industry, and training provided

to hotel employees in identifying signals of illegal prostitution and possible signals of human trafficking”.

In the public/private collaboration between the CID, PPS and hotel industry as represented by the industry organisation KHN, many steps and actions have been taken in recent years. On 23 November 2009, the KHN presented a *Handreiking aanpak mensenhandel en illegale prostitutie in hotels* (“Guide to tackling human trafficking and illegal prostitution in hotels”) to the Dutch House of Representatives in response to the mainly legal uncertainties regarding human trafficking in hotels. Because this guide proved impractical in actual practice, the first collaboration between the CID and KHN emerged. They developed a practical signal chart for hotel employees to recognise signals of human trafficking more easily. In 2011, the CID offered workshops to some 300 hotel employees in Amsterdam aimed at facilitating use of the signal chart.

However, the PPS still believed that hotels were not sufficiently committed to tackling human trafficking. This resulted in the campaign with actresses posing as prostitutes as described earlier. The campaign led to an active discussion between the CID and PPS on the one hand, and the KHN and relevant hotels on the other. It became clear that there was mutual incomprehension with regard to the interpretation of the signals of human trafficking. This led to key figures in the CID and PPR doing a “traineeship” in hotels so that they could experience, from the hotel employee’s perspective, how complex it can be to recognise signals of human trafficking. For all parties these new experiences led to an update of the human trafficking signal chart based on the traineeship experiences. Another conclusion was that in addition to the signal chart, a more tangible tool was needed to inform hotel employees about their role in combating human trafficking in hotels. This evolved into an information movie created on the joint initiative and with joint funding from the aforementioned parties. In May 2013, the movie called *Please disturb* was presented to all chain partners in combating human trafficking, including political figures, the NRM, PPR, CID and KHN, individual hotel companies, hotel cleaning agencies, and hotel schools, at a symposium organised for the occasion.

Some 1 500 copies of the movie have since been distributed to hotels, recreational parks, hotel cleaning agencies, and hotel schools in the Netherlands. The movie was translated into four foreign languages because many hotel employees who clean rooms do not speak Dutch. The movie was presented at a European human trafficking platform in 2014 and is now being used in information sessions on human trafficking at Dutch hotel schools.

The risk mitigation measures of the hotel industry in the Netherlands have therefore been taken primarily in the past few years, and there seems to be growing attention to this issue in the hotel industry. The structure of a public/private collaboration selected for the purpose seems successful in this respect. The initiatives described were taken at the industry level, and the KHN industry organisation stimulates them at the hotel level. To be effective, it is important to know the extent to which these initiatives are used in actual practice at the micro level. Are hotel groups, owners, managers and schools aware of the signal chart and information movie, and do hotel employees, employees of hotel cleaning agencies, and hotel school students receive regular training or education on the topic? Much of the success of these risk mitigation measures

seems dependent on the quality of management of individual hotels and the time and energy invested in the training and awareness of the employees.

Conclusion

Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

This text comes from the preamble and Articles 1 and 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is obvious that human trafficking is a gross violation of human rights and causes a lot of harm in the world, permanently damaging the lives of the victims of human trafficking.

Human trafficking is a growing problem for the hotel industry in the Netherlands, partly because human trafficking as a form of organised crime is still growing on a large scale and in practice leads to sexual exploitation of the victims in the form of forced prostitution. Meanwhile, prostitution in the Netherlands is shifting from visible to less visible forms, such as prostitution based in hotels. Looking at the combined impact of these developments, it seems likely that the quantity of sexual exploitation cases of human trafficking victims in hotels will increase in years to come.

This development leads to serious risks for the hotel industry. The first risk is loss of revenue due to reputational damage when a hotel becomes embroiled in human trafficking. However, research has shown that condemnable behaviour of a company, such as ignoring signals of human trafficking, does not necessarily lead to reputational damage and therefore loss of revenue. It depends heavily on the circumstances. Hotel groups run an additional risk of reputational damage. The second risk is a fine, cessation or suspended cessation of operations of the company, and in extreme cases a prison sentence for the hotel manager if the hotel is found guilty of facilitating human trafficking. However, in this last case, conditional intent to benefit from exploitation of another human being must be proven, and this is not easy in actual practice. Being found guilty of facilitating human trafficking, however, may lead to further reputational damage.

In addition to the aforementioned risks for individual hotels and the industry’s reputation in general, it is obvious that the hotel industry has a moral duty to prevent human trafficking. To this end, a number of good risk mitigation measures have been implemented in recent years, such as the introduction of the signal chart, the *Please Disturb* information movie, and the information sessions for hotel employees and hotel school students. Clearly the success of these tools developed at the macro level to prevent and combat human trafficking in the hotel industry will remain dependent on the introduction, implementation and anchoring of the tools at the micro level within hotels, hotel cleaning agencies, and hotel schools. After the information movie was introduced and the signal chart was updated in 2013, follow-up research in the near future into the actual implementation of these tools and their effectiveness would be an important next step in preventing and combating the harm caused by human trafficking in the hotel industry. In

this way, the industry will be able not only to honour its moral duty, but also to mitigate the potential risks of loss of revenue and of legal consequences.

Notes

1. This can be interpreted in such a way that "conscious" suggests "intentional" and "unconscious" suggests a lack of intentionality.
2. This can be interpreted as meaning that conscious facilitation is worse than unconscious facilitation and may therefore lead to a higher sentence.
3. This can be interpreted as meaning that it must be demonstrated that the presumed victim of human trafficking involuntarily worked as a prostitute.
4. The permit referred to is a prostitution permit.
5. In the Netherlands, anyone under the age of 18 is a minor.

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Neo-liberalism and neo-slavery

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Low pay and other minimal benefits at work cause some people to be in a state of neo-slavery. They are nominally free individuals and are not the property of others, but their economic standing and power is so limited that they have to work for whatever they can get; and just put up with it. This state of neo-slavery is not accidental, it is the outcome of neo-liberalism, the economic orthodoxy that now dominates the globe. Deregulation of markets, the privatisation of publicly owned assets, the shift in the disproportionate share of income and wealth controlled by a ruling elite, together with burgeoning inequality are all advocated in the name of the free markets as a scientific reality. Neo-liberalism has such a powerful grip that it is rarely discussed by name. These are just the way things are. This paper argues that the supposed inevitability of the neo-liberal agenda is driven more by blind faith than scientific objectivity. As such it is a religion pretending to be a science. Indeed the rampant inequality resulting from the neo-liberal prayer book is counter-productive, because more egalitarian societies are more successful, and are happier places to live.

Keywords: hospitality pay rates, inequality, neo-liberalism, neo-slavery

Introduction

For much of the immediate post-1945 period, economic, social and political policy was informed by a desire not to make the mistakes of the past. The dominant view was that despite the many gains produced by capitalism, the tendency towards an economic boom followed by an economic slump had to be managed. High levels of unemployment and mass poverty were seen to be both morally undesirable and politically risky. Managed capitalism was the order of the day. But that all came to an end in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the election of politicians in both the USA and the UK who advocated a new common sense that suggested that governments should withdraw from economic management and leave the economy to the workings of the free market.

Although neo-liberalism was rarely called by this name at the time, the idea that government spending has to be kept within the limits of its income seemed to be common sense to most people. While this resulted in cuts in government spending, particularly in welfare and social benefits for the lowest income households, it also advocated tax cuts and the removal of legal obstructions for those deemed to be wealth creators. The result was an increase in inequality, the removal of state-level protections for the poorest, and a growing number of “neo-slaves” who were in effect enslaved by their low incomes and poverty.

This paper reports on a presentation made at the Academy of International Hospitality Research’s annual conference hosted by Stenden University in March 2018. While it was presented in a university in the Netherlands, many of the insights and observations quote actions and experiences in the UK. The author makes no apology for that, because the UK governments – New Labour, Coalition, and Conservative

– have with varying degrees of enthusiasm been adherents to the neo-liberal orthodoxy. My Netherlands hosts have a more egalitarian culture that has protected them, in part, from the rampant individualism of the neo-liberal mantra, but here too the nostrums of the ideology can increasingly be seen at play.

Historical background

To better understand the emergence of neo-liberalism, it is necessary to look back to events caused by financial speculation that took place in the 20th century. In the period after 1918, an economic boom created a period of high growth and almost full employment. However, the period also witnessed massive stock market speculation as individuals made money by investing in public company shares. Increasing demand for shares led to rising prices, and speculators made money by selling shares at prices higher than they themselves had originally paid for them. This “lottery capitalism” meant that speculators made money, not by investing in new production capacity to make more goods for society, but through the buying and selling of shares. Investors assumed that they would continue to make money in a market where share prices continued to rise.

Shares ultimately reach a price that way outstrips the value of the assets that they own, and a wave of share selling commences. Savvy shareowners may continue to make money via speculation on the downward spiral of prices. However, many investors lose money because the share prices fall and they sell them for less money than they originally paid. Interestingly, the “South Sea Bubble” in 1720 followed a similar path, as share values increased ten-fold in a few weeks, but subsequently collapsed with massive personal losses to many famous people, including the scientist Sir Isaac Newton. He presumably discovered that shares as well as apples can fall?

In the late 1920s, another speculative boom led to the famous “stock market” crash and the ensuing “slump” in the 1930s. Mass unemployment and reduced consumer spending was compounded by government policies based on “austerity” and seeking out “sound money”. “You can’t spend more than you have got”, makes sense on a personal level, indeed Charles Dickens has Mr Micawber making a similar point in *David Copperfield*, but this is a highly questionable philosophy when applied to the management of a whole economy.

After 1945, a new economic and political orthodoxy arose based on the work of John Maynard Keynes. Government intervention to control the more volatile tendencies within capitalist economies included investment in infrastructure to stimulate growth. The policy aims were informed by memories of the destructive and debilitating policies of the late 1920s and the 1930s. In the USA, President Roosevelt’s 1930s “New Deal” took steps to correct for the slump, and this became a post-1945 blueprint for others. High tax rates on upper income levels aimed at reducing inequality and job creation to stimulate the demand for labour via infrastructure investment created full employment and a period of economic growth up until the 1970s. Income that is shifted to the poorest households generates economic growth as these households spend on immediate needs. The Keynesian approach was unfortunately unable to cope with economic disturbance caused by the “oil price crisis” and the massive increase in oil prices, and fell victim to a new orthodoxy promoted by some key right-wing economists and politicians, and the vested interests of the ruling elite.

Neo-liberalism – The empire strikes back

In today’s world, “neo-liberalism” is rarely discussed by name, and this bears witness to its power to establish a view that it is seen as the norm, the way things are, common sense. Yet as has been observed, “Common sense is rarely common or sense”. Indeed neo-liberalism has established a worldview that seems to fly in the face of much human morality – giving to the rich and taking from the poor. Most religions, as custodians of human morals, argue the opposite, and promote charity by the wealthy to the less fortunate. In fact, the economic analysis and policies advocated by neo-liberalism represent a set of assumptions and choices that ultimately meet interests of powerful vested interests. Neo-liberal thinking reflects a push by the ruling elite to reverse the post-war consensus, and to advocate policies that systematically serve the elite’s values and priorities. The empire is striking back.

Although the term neo-liberalism was first used in 1938, the ideology that underpins the economic approach as anti-state and aggressively individualistic really became dominant in the 1980s under the influence of President Ronald Reagan in the USA, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the UK. But it was also picked up and promoted around the globe by right-wing economic think tanks, and pro-rich political parties. The “greed is good” credo argues that as the rich get richer there is a “trickle-down effect” that benefits the whole society. Gordan Gekko’s famous line in the 1988 film *Wall Street* articulates an enthusiastic part for the ruling elite’s behaviour. Greed is something to celebrate, and not condemn. In the neo-liberal scripture, greed stimulates growth and economic activity that benefits society as a whole.

The work of Fredrick Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (1944), and later, Milton Friedman’s *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962), argued that interventions by the state into the workings of the market stifled entrepreneurialism and growth. This in turn had a negative effect on the economy and on societies that followed the Keynesian interventionist model. As a result of the impact of Friedman and others, market regulation and legislation that interfered with the working of the “free market” were rescinded. Tax rates for the super-rich and large companies were slashed. In the UK, the top rate of tax for the rich moved from 90 per cent to 45 per cent; in the USA it fell to 37 per cent. At the same time, welfare benefits have been slashed, and rates of adult and child poverty have increased. Trade unions’ abilities to organise workers and resist impoverishing initiatives have been seriously restricted. Indeed, the 1983 miner’s strike in the UK was a hugely symbolic clash between the workforce and the pro-rich Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher. The full resources of the state were used to defeat the year-long strike by mineworkers.

While these ideas have been influential across the world, the UK has been more aggressively subject to these ideas under Conservative and “New Labour” governments. The USA has also been subject to the incantations of the neo-liberal prayer book. In the UK, the public ownership of many state assets such as energy, water, transport, and other public services were sold off to commercial firms because they were said to be more efficient. In reality, these “must have” services make ideal investment opportunities when public assets are privatised. Demand is maintained, as these services are essential to consumers, and suppliers have almost monopolistic power. The neo-liberal argument that privatisation would make public services more efficient have not been overwhelmingly confirmed over the last few decades. In many cases, consumer charges have risen above the level of inflation, while service quality levels have fallen, and profits levels for private investors have increased, along with bonus packages for CEOs (Equality Trust, 2017).

As levels of support for the poorest in society have dropped, and trade union influence has been restricted, living standards for low-income households have fallen. Cutting back on legislation to protect the most vulnerable in the name of freeing up the market has often hit those in secondary labour market positions the hardest – including many hospitality industry workers. Levels of inequality have risen. This in turn has led to the search for explanations and the need for someone to blame. The scapegoating of ethnic minorities, or migrants, or people of minority religious faiths, taps into the social psychology of “us and them”. Blaming those who appear to be different is a well-trodden path in human affairs. Indeed the recent UK “Brexit” vote, and the election of Donald Trump in the USA, echo the situation of late 1920s Germany leading to the election of the Nazi Party in 1933. In all these cases, the same sorts of people were pivotal to the result. Low-income households, under-educated, secondary labour market, non-unionised members of the workforce vote in ways that are looking for someone to blame for their stretched circumstances: the European Union, Mexicans, Jews, or whomsoever. They become an easy target for the simple message: “It is all their fault”, whomsoever the “them” is, and subsequently the victims vote against their own interests because they are distracted by the “blame the stranger/other” game.

Neo-liberalism has been accepted as the new orthodoxy around the world. Economic policies that argue a Mr-Micawber-echoing mantra that “economies must live within their means” have resulted in calls for “austerity” in public spending, particularly for social benefits spending. The payment of social security benefit rates that do not rise in line with inflation, and cutting back on public services in general have been undertaken in the name of making “hard decision during tough times”, because “there is no magic money tree”. At the same time, neo-liberalism has advocated reduced taxes for the super-rich and business corporations. Oxfam’s 2018 report suggests that 82 per cent of global productivity gains in the preceding year had gone to the top one per cent of income earners. It is interesting that the politicians reciting the austerity nostrum that there is “no magic money tree” seem to have an orchard available when it comes to defence spending, involvement in illegal wars, and awarding tax cuts to the richest.

A related and significant strand in the neo-liberal narrative draws together the criticism of the state, and the need to liberate the individual, and opposes high levels of corporate and individual taxation. As was seen earlier, the levels have dropped dramatically since the post-1945 period. Tax avoidance has become the established norm for many of the richest elite. A good example is the Panama Papers that were leaked from Mossack Fonseca, a global firm specialising in advising on tax avoidance. The use of offshore tax havens and various money laundering schemes allowed the world’s richest people to pay minimal levels of taxation in individual countries, and globally. Many members of the ruling elite were shown to be using an array of strategies to avoid paying taxes by nominally shifting their business ownership to tax havens where tax laws were advantageous to them.

In the UK, a vigorously neo-liberal agenda has informed much economic thinking since 2010, though the “New Labour” policy agenda followed much of the same thinking in the preceding thirteen years, because the neo-liberal orthodoxy was well established when they took office in 1997. The result of neo-liberal thinking has witnessed increasing inequality in both income and wealth. The Equality Trust (2018) suggests

that the bottom 10 per cent of households have an average post-tax income of £9 644 per year, the top 10 per cent of households have average income of £83 875 per year, the top 1 per cent of households have an average income of £253 927 per year, and top 0.1% of households have an average income £919 882 per year. The same report suggests that salaries of the chief executive officers of the largest companies reported on the UK stock exchange massively outstripped the pay of public sector workers. The report says the average FTSE 100 chief executive officer was paid 165 times more than a nurse, 140 times more than a teacher, 132 times more than a police office, and 312 times more than a care worker.

Wealth distribution is also unequal. Figure 1 is taken from the UK Office for National Statistics for 2017. According to the official statistics, the top 10 per cent of households have 43.8 per cent of total wealth, while bottom 50 per cent of households hold just 9.9 per cent of total wealth. Further digging into these statistics reveals that the top 1 per cent of households control 20 per cent of wealth, and the top 0.1 per cent of households own 9 per cent of wealth. One in 1 000 households owns therefore almost as much as the bottom 500 per 1 000 households.

The Wealth Tracker Report (Equality Trust, 2017) suggests that 1 000 people own as much 40 per cent of the UK population,¹ and is equivalent to 3 018 853 UK² homes at an average of £218 000 per dwelling. In the year preceding the report, their wealth grew by £82.476 billion, or by £2 615 per second. The top 100 individuals saw their income grow by 17.8 per cent or £157 million per day. The richest 10 people’s income grew £19.832 billion in the year preceding the 2017 report.

Neo-liberal policies have a harmful effect in that they increase inequality and thereby reduce the quality of life of those on low incomes and with limited wealth. Apart from reductions in the “real value” of wages of those on lowest incomes, the “austerity” agenda promoted a Micawber-like living “within your means” mantra that has resulted in a steady removal of spending on public services, together with a programme of privatisation of these services. The safety net that the public sector provided for those who are most vulnerable has become

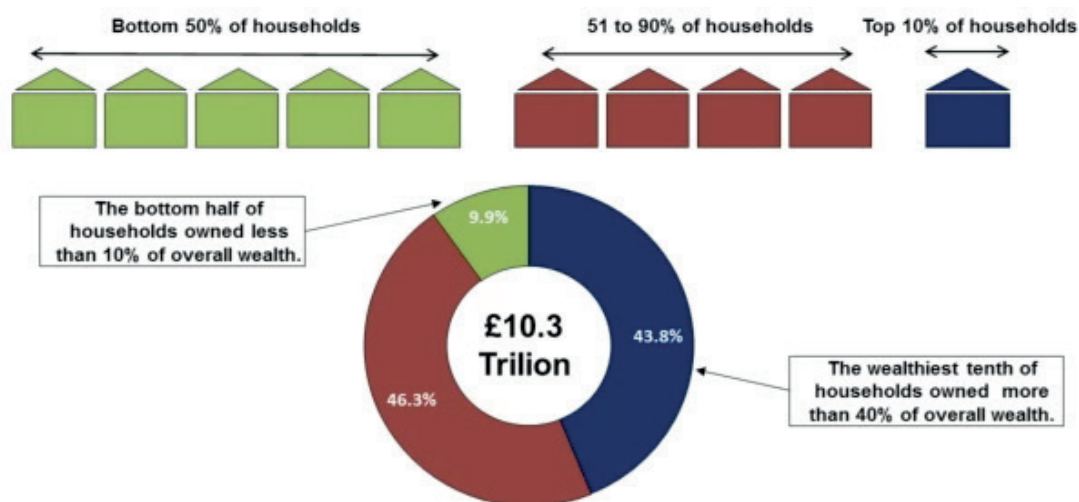


Figure 1: Distribution of total household income (Source: UK Office of National Statistics, 2017)

less secure, and more people are teetering between “just coping” and “not coping”.

Neo-liberalism has produced a state of neo-slavery for many in secondary labour market jobs, similar to those found in some parts of the hospitality industry. 25 per cent of jobs in the hospitality sector are paid at, or below, the minimum wage, and the sector has one of the highest proportions of employees receiving the national minimum wage (re-named the National Living Wage). Furthermore, an estimated four per cent of the workforce (60 000) are illegally being paid below even the level of the legal minimum wage. The full legal minimum pay rate only applies to those who are 25 years and older, yet employees in the sector tend to be younger. Fourth Analytics (Daly, 2017) suggests that 29 per cent of the workforce is under 21 years of age. As of April 2018, there are sliding rates of minimums as shown by Table 1. This states that for almost one in three workers, the legal minimum wage is £5.90 per hour, and for some the legal limit is even less.

The Living Wage Commission defines the rate at which a person can live to a socially agreed standard of living. This includes food, housing, and other essential needs such as clothing. The goal of a living wage is to allow a worker the ability to afford a basic but decent standard of living. The rate was suggested as being £8.75 per hour (Inman, 2016), though it was said to be £10.20 in London. For those workers who are under 21 years of age (29 per cent of the workforce), the legal minimum wage is £2.85 below the Living Wage Commission hourly rate. While industry apologists might argue that many are still residing with their parents, the pay rate allows young workers little freedom to set up on their own.

Neo-slavery, where a supposedly free workforce is weakened by in-work poverty pay rates, reduced trade union power, and secondary labour markets where replacement labour is plentiful for employers, creates a climate of stress and fear, and a culture of compliance and obedience. Technically free employees have few choices, and are forced to accept their lot. With limited income, there are limited savings, and so when emergencies occur, there are few, if any, savings on which to fall back. Traditional sources of finance through banks etc. are typically not available for those with the lowest incomes. Many have to rely on so-called “payday loans” where lenders make loans to the poorest employees, but at interest rates that are punitive. Although there have been some curbs on some of these worst excesses, it is not unusual for payday loans to be offered at over 1 200 per cent. A £100 loan would attract interest of £100 if kept for one month, and the borrower would need to find £200 to pay off both the loan and the interest.

For others, perhaps less on the margins of poverty, neo-liberalism has encouraged high levels of personal debt. Margaret Thatcher’s call for a “property-owning democracy”, and the sale of council housing to their tenants, is classic

neo-liberalism where there is a switch in ownership from the state to individuals. People are thereby liberated from the regulation and restrictions of the state. Everyone can aspire to be a homeowner, rather than a tenant. The local state is no longer obliged to provide affordable housing for rental. It all sounds like a win-win situation, but many former tenants who bought their council home found that the mortgage provider was less understanding than their former council when unemployment or other life emergencies occurred. Many subsequently lost their homes and were forced into the private, rental property market. In fact, by 2017, around 40 per cent of former council properties were owned by property companies (Booth & Clark, 2015; Collinson, 2017).

As a further indicator of the linkage between neo-liberalism and poverty, in 2018 there are estimated to be almost 5 000 people sleeping rough on the streets, and this has more than doubled since 2010. The extreme cold weather of the early months of 2018 led to several deaths of people forced to sleep on the streets in one of the richest countries in the world. As a result, 1 182 954 three-day food packs were issued by charities in the UK. The poverty and destitution experienced by many in the neo-slave position are not, as many pro-rich politicians suggest, a by-product of tough times and circumstances beyond control. They are a direct consequence of neo-liberalism and choices that prioritise the needs of the strongest and most powerful at the expense of the weakest and most vulnerable. Since 2010, the UK government has advocated “austerity” as an economic necessity, but in reality it is a weapon of oppression, used to further browbeat and disempower the most vulnerable.

The mantra of “austerity” is accompanied by a shift of income and wealth to the richest. According to Equality Trust (2017), the growth in wealth of the richest 1 000 individuals in the UK for the year preceding 2017 (£82.476 billion) was equivalent to paying 5 143 819 living wage jobs for one year (£82.476 billion),³ the grocery bills for food bank users for 56 years (£81.5 billion),⁴ the energy bills for two and a half years for 25.6 million households (£79.15 billion) and lift 2.38 million households out of fuel poverty (£882 million), buying a house for every rough sleeper (£901.2 million) and paying two years rent for 4.5 million households (£72.1 billion), or paying the full council tax bill for every UK household (£27.6 billion), or paying 68 per cent of the annual budget for the NHS (Equality Trust, 2017).

The removal of support for the poorest and most vulnerable is not just an economic/political choice, shifting income and wealth from the poorest to the richest. It is also motivated by a desire to enslave workers through poverty. Limiting the victims’ ability to fight back produces obedience and compliance in those affected, but it also allows employers to impose employment terms and conditions that suit them best. The hospitality sector, unlike some other sectors in the economy, has an uneven demand for labour. Variations in sales at different times of the day, and across the days of the week and seasons of the year, together with the difficulty of predicting variations in demand levels, have previously resulted in staff being employed but sometimes under-utilised. They were recruited to cover a shift but demand subsequently did not need so many staff members on duty. In more recent times and as a result of neo-liberalism and labour market liberalisation, the “zero-hour contract” has allowed employers

Table 1: Legal pay rates as at 2018 in the UK

Age	Legal minimum (£) per hour
Apprentice	3.70
Under 18	4.20
18–20	5.90
21–24	7.38
25 and over	7.83

to recruit employees without an obligation to give them work and pay. Neo-liberalism represents a considerable shift in power towards employers, and has resulted in growing inequality in the UK and the USA, in particular, and growing inequality is both damaging to social well-being and ultimately counter-productive.

Pickett and Wilkinson's (2009, p. 26) report suggest that more equal societies almost always out-perform those that are more unequal, "the pernicious effects that inequality has on societies: eroding trust, increasing anxiety and illness, and encouraging excessive consumption". It shows that for each of the eleven different health and social problems – i.e. physical health, mental health, drug abuse, education, imprisonment, obesity, social mobility, trust and community life, violence, teenage pregnancies, and child well-being – outcomes are significantly worse in more unequal rich countries. Figure 2 compares national levels of income inequality with levels of health and social problems.

The data shows that Japan plus a cluster of Nordic countries and the Netherlands are among the least unequal, and also have the lowest number health and social problems. The USA and the UK, together with Portugal, show higher levels of income inequality, lower life expectancy, lower maths and literacy levels, higher infant mortality rates, homicides, incarceration levels, teen birth rates, obesity levels, and mental illness, together with lower social mobility and trust.

Pickett and Wilkinson's (2009) report goes on to suggest that if the UK were more equal, the population would be better off. For example, the evidence suggests that if the UK halved inequality,

- murder rates could halve;
- mental illness could reduce by two thirds;
- obesity could halve;
- imprisonment could be reduced by 80%;
- teen births could be reduced by 80%; and
- levels of trust could increase by 85%.

It is interesting to note the shift in orthodoxy by referring back to a quotation from President Eisenhower, who after being the supreme allied commander on the Western front in World War II was the Republican president of the United States between 1952 and 1960. He said in a 1953 news conference, Corporate Tax 90%. Why? Because high corporation tax rates create incentives for big business to spend earning and expand (i.e. new locations, new hiring, new products, research and development) which are deducted from taxable earnings. Thus driving reported wealth into a lower tax bracket. Better spend earnings on expansion than to horde it and pay Uncle Sam 90%. It's not communism, it's responsible economics.

The last sentence is particularly insightful because under neo-liberalism such state intervention is stigmatised, because the state is said to be constraining the individual.

Conclusion

Neo-liberalism, as a set of beliefs about the nature of economic life and policies, has established a global orthodoxy, adopted with particular zeal in anglophone countries. Its prescriptions suggesting that the market knows best and that state economic interventions are inefficient and counter-productive have the



Figure 2: Comparing unequal income levels with health and social problems by country

appearance of a scientific theory. Although they have been criticised as a kind of pseudo-common sense, and “a religion posing as a science”. The narrative of neo-liberalism suggested that post-1945 attempts to maintain full employment, heavily tax the wealthy, create a welfare state, and manage capitalism’s tendency towards boom and slump, are ultimately counter-productive. Economic prosperity is dependent on enabling the wealthy to create wealth, and the benefits produced will trickle down to the rest of society.

The rituals of neo-liberalism have resulted in an implementation of policies withdrawing the state from economic intervention, and from owning assets that benefit the collective good. Policies of austerity and “living within your means” are reiterated with a religious fervour that demands compliance by the faithful. Tax cuts for the richest individuals and corporations, together with non-interventionist economic policies, and reductions in the real value of welfare benefits, have resulted in a growth in inequality. The gap between the richest and poorest in the UK, for example, is now approaching a level not seen since the eighteenth century (Equality Trust, 2018).

Many of the lowest paid members of society are in a state of neo-slavery. This means that people are free in name, but are in effect enslaved by poverty and their limited access to pay that affords a reasonable standard of living. Legally established minimum rates of pay have afforded some assistance but these are not at levels that allow a life that is beyond “just coping”. The hospitality sector has a well-deserved reputation for low pay. Indeed, one in four workers is paid rates that are at the legal minimum rate and many more are paid within a few pennies above the legal minimum. Neo-liberal scriptures have resulted in the pay of poorest to slide behind the costs of living (Equality Trust, 2018). In these circumstances, there is a need for more management of capitalism together with objectives that reduce inequality between the richest and the poorest. In the long run, increased inequality leads to undesirable consequences that increase the need for greater public spending caused by the consequences of inadequate pay rates and increased inequality.

Notes

1. ONS Wealth in Great Britain Wave 4: 2012 to 2014. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/personalandhouseholdfinances/incomeandwealth/compendium/wealthingreatbritainwave4/2012to2014/chapter2totalwealthwealthingreatbritain2012to2014>
2. House Price Index: Feb 2017: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/inflationandpriceindices/bulletins/housepriceindex/feb2017>
3. Salary of UK Living Wage worker on £8.45/hr, assuming a 37.5 hour week and zero pay for bank holidays: £16 034. <http://www.livingwage.org.uk/calculation>
4. Full time employees: average annual pay = £28 813. This does not include NI and pension contributions. ONS Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2016, median gross full-time annual earnings <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/datasets/allemployeesashetable1> ^THIS URL IS BROKEN^

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Between globalisation and Brexit: Migration, pay and the road to modern slavery in the UK hospitality industry

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Neo-liberal economic globalisation has promoted deregulation and a weakening of the role of the state in regulating the national economy. The perceived benefits of competition have been used to justify strategies to reduce operational costs and promote a “race to the bottom”. This has led to the development of casualisation strategies, supported by weak labour market regulation, that provide employers with increasing numerical, temporal and pay flexibility. In addition, migration can be utilised by employers to reinforce these strategies. The UK is a prime example of such a neo-liberal state, and labour market practices in the “migrant dense” UK hospitality sector highlight many characteristics of these casualisation strategies. It is argued that these exploitative practices to reduce labour costs also facilitate pathways into modern slavery, where exploitative labour is involuntary and forced. Despite a legal framework to monitor and tackle modern slavery, the problem of resources and political will to enforce this regulation limits the extent to which modern slavery can be challenged, and it is argued that Brexit may create political and economic conditions in which it could thrive.

Keywords: Brexit, casualisation, exploitative labour practices, hospitality sector, migration, modern slavery

Introduction

Since the Modern Slavery Act (England and Wales), the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Criminal Justice and Support for Victims) Act (Northern Ireland), and the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Act all entered into force in the UK in 2015, there have been more systematic attempts to identify and measure incidences of modern slavery. According to the 2017 Annual Report on Modern Slavery (Home Office, 2017), between 2014 and 2017 a total of 9 410 potential cases of modern slavery were identified through the National Referral Mechanism (NRM), of which 3 552 (38%) were identified primarily as victims of labour exploitation. In addition, between November 2015 and June 2017, a further 1 621 potential cases of modern slavery were identified through the legal “duty to notify” under the Act, of which 515 (32%) were identified primarily as victims of labour exploitation.¹

A striking feature of the official statistics on modern slavery is the high proportion of cases among those not born in the UK. According to the NRM data, in 2016 the vast majority of potential cases concerned migrants from 108 countries (only 8.9% concerned people of UK origin). Similarly, the “duty to notify” data indicate that only 3% concerned people of UK origin, while 46% of cases came from EEA countries and 50% from non-EEA countries.² Finally, in terms of decisions in relation to these potential cases of modern slavery, the annual report indicates that, of the 3 804 cases dealt with under NRM by June 2017, 907 (24%) had received a positive reasonable grounds decision followed by a positive conclusive grounds decision (and thus were confirmed cases), while a further 1 491 (39%) had received a positive reasonable grounds decision and were awaiting a conclusive grounds decision. Therefore, even

if all the unresolved cases were to be determined as modern slavery cases, less than two thirds (63%) of those referred under NRM would be classified as actual cases of modern slavery.

This brief overview of the data highlights four important issues about modern slavery in the UK, and beyond. In the first instance, the discrepancy between the potential and determined cases of modern slavery raises questions about how modern slavery should be defined and what distinguishes it from other exploitative forms of labour utilisation. This relates to a second issue, recognised in the annual report and reflected by the increased reporting of potential cases over time, namely the extent to which forms of modern slavery can be detected, and the extent to which this remains a hidden, and thus underestimated, phenomenon. Thirdly, the data indicate that the majority of those individuals potentially subject to modern slavery are migrants to the UK, which raises the wider question as to how forms of modern slavery are linked to migration and the wider process of economic globalisation. A final issue, raised through its omission from the reporting of modern slavery in the UK, is the extent to which cases are associated with specific industrial sectors, and whether sectors such as hospitality are more likely to be associated with the conditions that allow modern slavery to develop and “thrive”.

This paper tries to address these four issues, arguing that an understanding of modern slavery has to be rooted in the current process of neo-liberal globalisation and the increasing utilisation of migrant workers to achieve flexibility and labour cost savings. In the first section of the paper, the concept of modern slavery is outlined, and the difficult distinctions between modern slavery and increasingly exploitative working conditions are explored. The main section of the paper then

looks at how the process of economic globalisation has placed the pursuit of profit and the reduction of total labour costs as the focus of the management of labour and how this has been reflected in increased casualisation and precarious employment in the UK, as well as the utilisation of migrant workers. The subsequent section then considers the UK hospitality sector and outlines the reasons why, based upon its structure and labour-intensive nature, it is a sector where the conditions for labour exploitation and modern slavery exist. The final section then places this within the context of Brexit, where a possible future scenario is outlined, in which modern slavery will reflect the political economy of the UK.

The complexity of modern slavery

The complexity of defining modern slavery precisely is apparent from examining the 2015 Modern Slavery Act. While the coverage of the Act does include domestic servitude, sexual exploitation, and the removal of organs, the focus here will be that of labour exploitation. In this area, Section 1 of the Act refers to the Human Rights Convention and states:

A person commits an offence if:

- (a) the person holds another person in slavery or servitude and the circumstances are such that the person knows or ought to know that the other person is held in slavery or servitude; or
- (b) the person requires another person to perform forced or compulsory labour and the circumstances are such that the person knows or ought to know that the other person is being required to perform forced or compulsory labour.

In determining whether a person is being held in slavery or servitude or required to perform forced or compulsory labour, regard may be had to all the circumstances.

For example, regard may be had—

- (a) to any of the person's personal circumstances (such as the person being a child, the person's family relationships, and any mental or physical illness) which may make the person more vulnerable than other persons;
- (b) to any work or services provided by the person, including work or services provided in circumstances which constitute exploitation.

At this early point of the Act's definition of slavery, there is already scope for subjective interpretation of whether a "person knows", over "personal circumstances" and crucially, "circumstances which constitute exploitation". The issue of exploitation is subsequently addressed in Article 3 of the Act. Its interpretation is relatively clear when related to specific UK law in the areas of sexual exploitation (Protection of Children Act 1978, and the Sexual Offences Act 2003), and organ removal (Human Tissue Act 2004). However, the definition in terms of labour exploitation is, at best, limited, if not tautological:

Slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour

(2) The person is the victim of behaviour—

- (a) which involves the commission of an offence under section 1, or
- (b) which would involve the commission of an offence under that section if it took place in England and Wales.

A clearer understanding of labour exploitation in terms of modern slavery can, however, be found in the International Labour Organisation's Forced Labour Convention (ILO, 1930), which simply states that forced or compulsory work is "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the threat of a penalty and for which the person has not offered himself or herself voluntarily". This is further clarified in the ILO's (2014) Forced Labour Protocol, which identifies three elements which underpin this definition:

Work or service refers to all types of work occurring in any activity, industry or sector including in the informal economy;

Menace of any penalty refers to a wide range of penalties used to compel someone to work; and

Involuntariness: The terms "offered voluntarily" refer to the free and informed consent of a worker to take a job and his or her freedom to leave at any time. This is not the case, for example, when an employer or recruiter makes false promises so that a worker takes a job he or she would not otherwise have accepted.

This approach does make the important technical distinction between exploitative conditions that may affect any form of work and exploitative labour which, due to its *involuntary nature*, should be classed as forced labour (and thus qualify as a form of modern slavery). Nevertheless, this distinction which is rooted in the notion of the free (capitalist) employment relationship can be a difficult line to draw, given the inequality between employer and worker in the employment relationship (Wedderburn, 1986, p. 142), the prerogative the contract gives to management (Selznick, 1969, p. 135), and the ultimate dependency of the worker upon employment to meet (at least) subsistence levels of income. In this respect, it should be noted that unemployed workers in the UK can be "forced" to work unpaid for up to four weeks or lose entitlement to out-of-work benefits, in a scheme running since 2011 and used by over 534 companies in the first year, including many leading high street retailers and local councils (*The Independent*, 2016).

In this paper, it is argued that while this distinction is important legally, not least in terms of the 2015 Act, involuntary labour exploitation is closely related to exploitative working conditions and that organisational restructuring and the subsequent changes to the contractual status of workers, notably in the UK, have created the exploitative labour conditions from which forced labour can emerge. To understand this, it is necessary to examine the current process of neo-liberal globalisation and its approach to the management of labour, which focuses increasingly on the creation of "disposable people" (Bales, 2012).

Neo-liberal globalisation, migration and labour costs

In this section the development of globalisation, underpinned by a neo-liberal economic doctrine, is outlined to explain how a "race to the bottom" focused upon reducing labour costs has emerged and, following this, how the conditions for modern slavery are created. Most authors, such as Dicken (2011), trace the rise of globalisation to the 1980s, reflecting the key election victories of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the UK. Their governmental programmes, influenced by the economics of Hayek, Friedman and the Chicago Boys (Harvey, 2007), focused upon

dismantling Keynesian policies (notably the commitment to full employment) and drove forward the politics of privatisation, anti-unionism, labour market deregulation and, crucially, financial liberalisation.

With the fall of the Soviet Union, as the only alternative system to capitalism, neo-liberal ideology gained international dominance in the 1990s, reflected in the Washington Consensus and actively pursued through the policies of the international financial institutions (IFIs) – the IMF, World Bank and WTO – urging structural reforms in emerging markets to accommodate capital flows (Martens & Mitter, 1994, p. 203). The liberalisation of finance to allow the movement of capital across borders was key to the growth of transnational corporations (TNCs) and their direct investment strategies. This liberalisation was promoted because it was argued that removing barriers to trade and capital movements promoted competition, resulting in greater efficiency in the production of goods and provision of services and providing both greater choice and lower prices for consumers. This has now become embedded institutionally in the operation of the global economy through clauses within multi- and bilateral trade agreements that increasingly seek to open up public services, from post and telecommunications to health and education, to market forces and competition.

There are two important consequences of this process of globalisation and intensified competition. Firstly, as national governments agree to be bound by international agreements, covering structural adjustment programmes, debt relief agreements and trade, the role of the state in the regulation of capitalist economies is, voluntarily, weakened. Traditional policy responses to protect the economy from market failures are increasingly constrained by the powers given to TNCs within the international trading system to challenge any attempts to protect markets from competition. However, at the same time, the notion that a free competitive environment has been created also needs to be questioned. In order to attract foreign investment, preferential treatment is often given to TNCs by host governments, such as the public financing of required infrastructure and exemptions from legal regulation of environmental protection and wages. At the same time, TNCs can usually escape corporation taxes and repatriate profits (or relocate these to tax havens). This scope for making super profits, along with the structural power that the neo-liberal globalisation provides TNCs, creates massive incentives for extending business operations across borders and sectors. However, underpinning this approach is the narrative of competitive pressures, used effectively to emphasise the requirement to weaken labour market regulation and, crucially its enforcement, as well as reducing the labour costs associated with production and service delivery. This potent cocktail results in what is frequently referred to as a “race to the bottom” (Davies & Vadlamannati, 2013).

The policies of TNC managements, facilitated by the development of information and communication technologies (ICT) and cheaper and speedier forms of transportation, have increasingly been to relocate production and (some) services overseas to cheaper production areas, decentralising and spatially dispersing the labour process on a global scale (Kalleberg, 2009, p. 5). This process, first identified as part of a new international division of labour by Frobel et al. (1980, p. 9), has intensified as neo-liberal globalisation has advanced,

and foments the “race to the bottom” as host countries compete to attract investment or jobs, reducing labour standards, exempting TNCs from existing labour standards or “neglecting” to enforce applicable labour regulations. This race to the bottom is facilitated by TNCs increasingly subcontracting activities down supply chains where contracts for services replace direct foreign investment and direct employment by the TNC. This is epitomised by the expansion of Export Processing Zones in developing market economies, where labour standards are frequently not applied (Klein, 2000) and which have a “record of facilitating exploitation and making a very limited contribution to the overall development of the countries in which they are located” (Madeley, 2008, p. 153).

While relocation (social dumping or offshoring) is frequently identified as a key strategy that promotes the race to the bottom, distinctive casualisation strategies are also pursued, either arm-in-arm with relocation, or separately where, for example, the relocation of a service cannot be operationalised, notably in the hospitality sector. In this respect, it is important to stress that casualisation strategies are not simply a response to fluctuations in demand for labour, reflecting the seasonality of many sectors, but rather a deliberate attempt, driven by TNCs, to remove the direct cost of employment or to reduce the “burden” of full-time permanent contracts. The starting point for this is the process of sub-contracting as large corporations seek to shed their role as direct employers, outsourcing work to (small) companies that are meant to compete with one another, creating the “fissured workplace” (Weil, 2014). The ultimate objective is to erode wages, erode employment rights and the costs of workplace regulation to secure additional profit.

In the UK there are three main examples of this process of casualisation. In the first instance, employers increasingly adopt a core-periphery (dual) labour market within their organisations, using employment agencies to supply and employ an increasing proportion of the periphery labour market to achieve numerical flexibility and cost reductions. Despite attempts to regulate this form of work, notably through the EU Agency Workers Directive (2011), temporary work continues to expand. According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2017b), the number of temporary agency workers had increased by 14.4% in the three months ending June 2017 compared with the same period in 2000, while research by the Resolution Foundation estimates that there has been a 40% increase in agency workers in the last 10 years in the UK, with the total number reaching 800 000 (*The Independent*, 2018).

Of greater concern have been developments aimed at changing the legal status of employment, using self-employment. Again, the ONS (2017b) reports that the number of self-employed increased by 47.6% in the three months ending July 2017 compared with the same period in 2000, with the total number of self-employed reaching 4.8 million (15.1% of the labour force) in 2017. Crucially, within those classed as self-employed are a proportion who, it is argued, are false (“bogus”) self-employed, where the firm disguises employment of their workers as self-employment. In these cases, firms establish a contract for services with individuals who are subsequently classed as self-employed, with the result that they lose entitlement to employment rights as employees (or workers) in UK law, notably holiday pay, sick pay and the right to the National Minimum Wage

(NMW), while the employer (and self-employed) may evade paying income tax and social insurance contributions. This is often achieved through the use of employment intermediaries, so called umbrella companies, who encourage the workers to become self-employed. Having been used extensively in the construction sector, this strategy has been extended to other sectors. According to research undertaken by Citizens Advice (2015), it is estimated that one in ten people are bogusly self-employed, with each of these people losing on average £1 288 a year in holiday pay, while the government is losing, on average, over £300 in tax revenue for each person who is wrongly categorised as self-employed. If scaled up, this could mean the government is losing as much as £314 million annually. Crucially, Citizens Advice argue that firms which seek to do the right thing and employ their staff legitimately are placed at a competitive disadvantage by other companies which hire bogusly self-employed staff.

Finally, the UK has also seen the expansion of flexible employment contracts, most notoriously the zero-hour contract (ZHC), a contract between an employer and a worker where the employer is not obliged to provide any minimum working hours and the worker is not obliged to accept any work offered (ACAS, undated). As ONS (2017b) note, in the three months to June 2017, there were 883 000 people employed on zero-hour contracts, four times more than in the three months to December 2000. While the ZHC contract will usually provide the legal status of “worker” rather than self-employed (but not employee status) under the law, and thus provide entitlement to holiday leave, holiday pay, and the appropriate NMW rate, the flexibility provided to employees is significant as hours can be met as required without the costs of meeting a fixed number of employment hours. Research conducted by the Resolution Foundation has highlighted the damaging impact of these contracts, where those employed on ZHC receive lower gross-weekly pay (an average of £236 per week) and work fewer hours on average (21 hours per week) than those who are not (31 hours per work). They estimate 8 per cent of all workplaces now use zero-hours contracts, with 20 per cent of those employed on ZHCs found in health and social work, 19 per cent in hospitality, 12 per cent in administration, 11 per cent in retail and 8 per cent in arts, entertainment and leisure (Pennycook et al., 2013). Similar forms of flexible hour contracts have also been used by employers to contractually extend the normal working day of those on contracts with specified hours, providing additional hours when required, but without incurring fixed costs and avoiding the payment of additional overtime premia.

These examples of casualised working patterns through contract manipulation provide scope for employers to gain significant numerical flexibility over the utilisation of labour, and financial flexibility by removing the direct costs of employment or reducing the fixed costs of standard hours employment. Further, as noted by Citizens Advice, having been used by large TNCs, it becomes harder for other companies to avoid casualisation if they are to maintain competitiveness while, in turn, there is a growth in companies using these contracts to secure profit from the contracts they compete for (on price) in the process of sub-contracting.

A final ingredient of the race to the bottom are migrant workers, notably since the eastern enlargement of the European Union (EU) and the early decision by the UK

government to allow A8³ nationals unrestricted access to the labour market under the EU’s freedom of movement (mobility) principle for citizens of member states. Employers have utilised A8, and more recently A2, migrants to fill labour market shortages or areas of preference mismatch, where there is a mismatch between jobs available and the willingness of unemployed UK nationals to take on these jobs. Jayaweera and Anderson (2008, p. 20) highlight that A8 migrants were disproportionately concentrated in low wage and low skilled sections of the labour market. They found the largest numbers of registrations were as process operatives, followed by warehouse operatives, packers, and kitchen and catering assistants. In this respect, there was a significant mismatch between the education and skills of many A8 migrant workers and the work they undertook (Bettin, 2012, p. 59). These workers were also disproportionately employed on temporary contracts and through employment agencies (MacKenzie & Forde, 2009). Finally, the use of A8 migrant workers was also associated with lower pay and even the undercutting of the NMW. Notwithstanding the limitations of data sources in relation to identifying pay rates, Jayaweera and Anderson (2008, p. 39) identified that in the period January to September 2007, 5 655 A8 migrants (3.6%) reported being paid below the NMW, and when considered with other data, this leads them to argue that

[t]he likelihood of getting paid less than the minimum wage was greater for younger migrants, those from A8 and A2 countries, those with lower levels of English proficiency, women and those in more ‘migrant dense’ sectors such as hospitality, agriculture and construction. Given that large proportions of migrant workers fall into these categories, these patterns reinforce their vulnerability in employment (ibid., p. 40).

Further Pennycook et al. (2013) also note that the employment of non-UK nationals is higher among workplaces utilising zero-hours contracts (48%) than those who do not (25%).

It is argued, therefore, that the utilisation of migrant labour can be an important element in the casualisation strategies employed by firms to reduce labour costs, and while evidence suggests that the impact of this additional supply of labour to the market has not driven down wages, migrant workers have been deployed as part of other strategies to reduce costs, especially where due to higher qualification and skill levels, they can deliver higher productivity for the same cost (French, 2014).

While citizens of EU member states have, pre-Brexit, the right to live and work in the UK, this has not exempted them from inclusion in the modern slavery cases identified in the introduction to this article. However, the scope for forced labour exploitation is greater among non-EU migrants whose documented status (visa) in the UK is linked to their employment, or those without status or who lose this status and are undocumented migrants. Here the UK context is important. Since 2010 the now infamous “hostile environment” (*The Guardian*, 2017) was forged by the Coalition government through a tightening of immigration pathways into the UK. As Portes (2016) notes, these included: a cap on the numbers coming through Tier 2 skilled migrants route of 20 700; closure of the Highly Skilled Migrant Programme; significant changes to the regulation of student migration; and an increase to earnings threshold for spouses wishing family reunion. The 2016 Immigration Act, passed by the current Conservative

administration, builds on previous Acts dating back to 1997 in providing sanctions on employers who employ undocumented workers, but also includes a new criminal offence of illegal working which can be applied against workers. Under the 2016 Act, there have been around 5 000 raids in each of the first two years of its application. Between October and December 2016, 703 raids were conducted, leading to 974 workers found working “illegally” and £1.6m penalties being issued (McKay, 2018). As Bales (2017) argues, raids are frequently targeted at ethnic businesses, such as Indian, Bengali or Chinese restaurants or takeaways, and heighten the vulnerability of undocumented workers. It is under these conditions, where documented status is under threat, that the scope for labour exploitation is created.

The UK hospitality sector: meeting the conditions for modern slavery

Against this background to the race to the bottom, it is argued that the UK hospitality sector is one that is susceptible to modern slavery. This is reflected in the structure and geography of the sector; its labour intensity and the importance of pay costs; weak unionisation and the lack of formal human resource management; and comparatively high levels of migrant employment.

The breadth, ownership and workplace structures, and geographical spread of the hospitality sector offer some of the important pre-conditions for forced labour. Within the hotel sector, large TNCs operate hotel chains across the UK and beyond, and have increasingly sub-contracted many of the services provided within hotels. As Sachdev (cited in Armstrong, 2016, pp. 72–73) observes,

[h]otels regularly subcontract recruitment to agencies, who in turn may use other recruiters. Often hotel management is totally unaware of their staff’s terms

of employment because their due diligence process only extends as far as the first tier of the recruitment process, which to them, appears reputable.

The powerful market position of such TNCs within the industry, and their use of subcontracting to reduce costs, creates a competitive environment in which other hotels have to pursue cost reduction strategies to compete. However, the scale and size of the sector overall also contributes to the potential scope for poor working practices. As Table 1 shows, the sheer breadth of activities and the differentiated size and location of workplaces, along with seasonal patterns of employment, combine to create a complex and problematic sector to regulate.

Crucially, the sector has always been labour intensive, with labour costs constituting a significant proportion of total costs. Issues around compliance with the NMW can be traced back to its introduction in the UK (Gilman et al., 2002). In the most recent “name and shame” list produced by the UK government in relation to non-compliance with the NMW, 43 out of the 179 named companies were from the hospitality sector, underpaying 5 726 workers a total of £460 459. In fact, the three largest underpaying companies came from the sector: Wagamama Limited failed to pay £133 212.42 to 2 630 workers; Marriott Hotels Limited failed to pay £71 722.93 to 279 workers and TGI Friday’s failed to pay £59 347.64 to 2 302 workers (BEIS, 2018a). In relation to this, Figure 1, based upon ONS (2016) data, compares the low pay in the sector with other sectors, noting both the high numbers (almost 60 000) and high proportion (4%) of jobs paid below minimum wage levels.

Despite recent attempts, especially in London, by the trade union Unite to organise hotels (*The Observer*, 2015) and by Unite and the baker’s union (BAFWU) to organise restaurant chains such as TGI Friday’s and McDonalds, the sector has the lowest level of union membership, currently at 2.9% (BEIS, 2018b) and few collective agreements to regulate pay and

Table 1: Direct employment in the UK hospitality sector 2010–2014

	2010 (thousands)	2014 (thousands)	2010 (%)	2014 (%)	Net change 2010–2014 (thousands)
Hotel and related	420	512	16	18	92
Hotels and similar accommodation	318	382	2	2	13
Holiday and other short-stay accommodation	46	59	2	2	13
Camping grounds, recreational vehicle parks and trailer parks	33	42	1	1	9
Other accommodation	8	9	0	0	2
Temporary agency employment (estimate)	16	20	1	1	4
Restaurant and related	1 320	1 493	51	51	173
Licensed and unlicensed restaurants and cafes	573	731	22	25	158
Takeaway food shops	153	199	6	7	46
Licensed clubs	111	93	4	3	–19
Public houses and bars	432	411	17	14	–21
Temporary agency employment (estimate)	51	60	2	2	8
Catering	825	887	32	30	62
Event catering activities	232	139	9	5	–93
Other food service activities	23	129	1	4	106
In-house catering	470	505	18	17	36
Temporary agency employment (estimate)	100	113	4	4	13
Event management	23	28	1	1	4
Convention and trade show organisers	22	27	1	1	4
Temporary agency employment (estimate)	1	1	0	0	0
Hospitality total	2 588	2 919	100	100	331

Source: Oxford Economics (2015, p. 15)

conditions. At the same time, many authors identify a lack of sophisticated HR management in the sector (e.g. Head & Lucas, 2004). This provides plenty of scope for employers to use casualisation strategies to secure further labour cost savings, with Warhurst et al. (2008) identifying, among cleaning attendants in mid-market budget hotels in the south, the use of temporary agency workers and a piece rate pay system, where pay was based on a rate per room cleaned. If occupancy rates were low (reducing the number of rooms to be cleaned) or if targets of rooms per hour were set too high, so that rooms took longer to clean than the time prescribed by management, the cleaning assistants could be paid lower than the NMW. The ONS (2017a) also reports that the sector has the highest level (22%) of employment on zero-hour contracts (ZHCs). Leading figures in the hospitality industry have stressed how such contracts are vitally important to the industry, emphasising significant seasonal and event-based fluctuations in demand, and how the flexibility is required to allow the sector to continue growing. However, the arguments that these are both necessary and that workers want such flexibility themselves is less convincing, given the relative success of Unite in mobilising around the end of ZHCs in the London hotel sector, and the successful campaign by the union to end ZHCs for 5 000 staff working for leading hospitality and housekeeping firm, WGC, which employs housekeepers, room attendants and porters in hotels across the UK (ETI, 2017).

Finally, the sector has the highest concentrations of migrant workers in the UK. Based upon analysis of the Labour Force

Survey (LFS), People 1st (2016) estimate that 24% of the hospitality and tourism sectors' workforce are migrant workers, with 45% of these being EU nationals and 55% coming from outside the EU. Table 2 provides an overview of the utilisation of migrant workers across the sector by different hospitality occupations based on their analysis. It highlights the significant migrant employment among chefs, housekeepers, restaurant and catering managers and proprietors, cooks, kitchen assistants, waiting staff and other elementary occupations in the industry. In addition to this analysis, KMPG (2017) have argued that LFS data underestimate the number of migrant workers in the hospitality sector and they estimate that EU nationals (alone) may constitute as much as 23.7% of the workforce.

As argued above, the significant employment of migrant workers in the sector, particularly those from outside the EU where documented status can easily be threatened, provides scope for greater flexibility and cost reductions and has, in turn, created conditions for potential modern slavery cases in the sector. As the CORE Coalition (2017, p. 51) note in relation to hotels and accommodation:

Much of the workforce recruited into the industry by agencies is made up of migrant workers who are vulnerable to exploitation in both recruitment and employment practices. Lack of knowledge about employment rights, limited language skills and little or no access to training and support networks can place migrant workers at particular risk of abuse. Debt

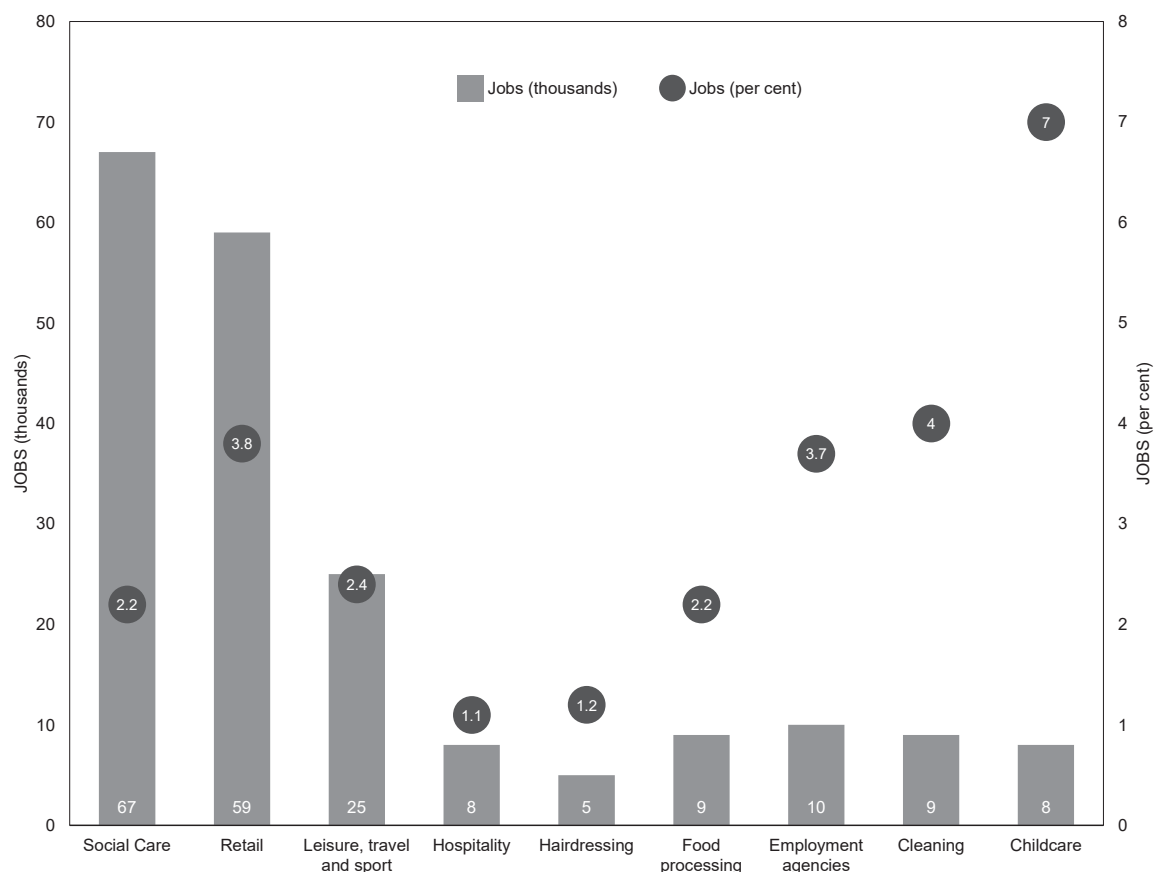


Figure 1: Jobs paid below the minimum wage by low-paid industry groups in the UK, April 2016 (Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings, Office for National Statistics. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/bulletins/lowpay/apr2016>)

Table 2: The utilisation of migrant workers across hospitality occupations (2011 to 2015)

Occupation	2011			2015			Difference in migrant workers between 2011 and 2015 (n)
	Migrant workers (n)	Migrant workers in occupation %	Migrant workers from EU countries %	Migrant workers (n)	Migrant workers in occupation %	Migrant workers from EU countries %	
Hotel and accommodation managers and proprietors	7 528	19	3	4 138	9	1	–3 390
Restaurant and catering establishment managers and proprietors	47 196	43	15	41 647	35	7	–5 549
Publicans and managers of licensed premises	3 590	8	2	3 676	8	1	86
Conference and exhibition managers and organisers	3 794	18	2	4 400	14	2	606
Chefs	53 439	37	15	81 484	42	18	28 045
Cooks	14 525	38	3	14 179	31	2	–346
Catering and bar managers	6 685	15	1	7 038	15	3	353
Leisure and travel service occupations	517	6	0.5	843	9	0	326
Housekeepers and related occupations	2 385	25	2	2 177	35	1	–208
Kitchen and catering assistants	68 209	27	18	85 481	29	27	17 272
Waiting staff	63 776	28	29	73 159	29	24	9 383
Bar staff	14 908	8	8	23 734	13	11	8 826
Leisure and theme park attendants	0	0	0	164	1	0	164
Other elementary service occupations	1 741	12	1	5 613	35	2	3 872

Source: People 1st (2016)

bondage arising from excessive recruitment fees, debt servicing and wage deductions can entrap migrant workers within circles of abuse. These factors mean that migrants, along with other vulnerable workers, frequently lack the leverage or knowledge that would allow them to assert their basic rights.

This quote is taken from research conducted by the CORE Coalition (2017) which examined how companies in high-risk sectors were addressing modern slavery risks in their Slavery and Human Trafficking Statements, which they had to produce by 30 September 2017 to comply with the 2015 Modern Slavery Act. Examining the statements of the Hilton, Intercontinental (IHG), Hyatt and Marriott hotels, it noted that they

provide only vague information on how franchisees' adherence to human rights standards is ensured. IHG is the only company to provide details on identified risks, while the other companies simply report that they have conducted human rights impact assessments or risk assessments, without disclosing the findings (CORE Coalition, 2017, pp. 51–52).

Given the dominant neo-liberal perspective within UK business community, it is perhaps not surprising that the overall conclusion to the research across sectors was that

[i]n general, we find that many of these statements are not compliant with the basic requirements of the legislation and that the majority do not address in substantive detail the six topic areas listed in the Act... Many companies are not reporting on human rights due diligence and are not considering how their own business models can create risks of severe labour rights abuses (ibid., p. 8).

The shadow of Brexit and the road to modern slavery?

While it is still impossible to predict the outcome of Brexit, the process may produce conditions in which modern slavery could thrive. In its report for the British Hospitality Association over Brexit, KPMG (2017) highlight the potential problems in supply labour to the sector if EU migrants are no longer able to migrate to the UK. They report that the sector has the highest number of vacancies as a share of its total employment and the number of vacancies has grown by 79% in the last five years. At the same time, low unemployment rates in the UK mean there would be an insufficient supply of UK-born labour to fill the recruitment needs of the sector if the supply of EU migrants were to be cut off.

Yet, as Clarke (2016) argues, it is probable that the post-Brexit immigration regime, if it were to follow the hostile environment approach adopted by the UK government since 2010, will focus primarily upon offering documented employment to (highly) skilled workers. If the routes to securing documented migrants in the sector are curtailed or significantly reduced, then the labour supply issue will be acute, other than ending service provision (companies closing), there is limited scope in such a labour-intensive industry to substitute labour through automation or off-shoring.

These political and economic developments could, therefore, create conditions for modern slavery with the trafficking of vulnerable undocumented workers to work in the sector. It is also the case that Brexit could reduce the scope for modern slavery to be monitored and tackled. In a report by the Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (ATMG), a coalition of thirteen UK anti-trafficking organisations that monitors the UK's progress in the fight against modern slavery, it is argued that

[t]he UK Government's stated intention is to end the free movement of labour and introduce new immigration legislation to control and curb immigration

to the UK. The risk post-Brexit is the introduction of overly restrictive immigration policies which increase the vulnerability of migrant workers to exploitation, as exemplified in the case of Overseas Domestic Workers. These risks are exacerbated when coupled with a labour market that favours deregulation and flexibility; in practice, this has resulted in an erosion of workers' rights (ATMG, 2017, p. 2).

Two further potentially negative developments are also identified in the report. First, that attempts to weaken or remove EU employment law directives (for example over working time) will weaken the regulatory scope to identify and tackle modern slavery. Second, it is argued that if relationships with EU bodies are not maintained post-Brexit, then not only will funding streams which provide important resources for those tackling modern slavery be lost, but the UK could exclude itself from EU-level networks co-ordinating anti-trafficking activity, such as the EU Civil Society Platform against Trafficking in Human Beings (ibid., pp. 2–3).

Conclusion

This paper has argued that neo-liberal globalisation has created an economic environment that promotes deregulation and the weakening of the role of the state in regulating a national economy. The perceived benefits of competition have been used to create a political and economic framework in which the promise of choice and cheaper consumer goods and services has been used to justify strategies to reduce operational costs and promote super profits. This has led to the development of casualisation strategies, supported by weak labour market regulation, that provide employers with increasing numerical, temporal and pay flexibility. The UK is a prime example of such a neo-liberal state, with the growth of agency working, (bogus) self-employment and ZHCs, and one which had supported the EU's freedom of movement, and immigration from outside of the EU, to secure a supply of migrant workers to fit into this fragmented and deregulated labour market.

The UK hospitality sector, while exhibiting the largest rates of growth, demonstrates many of the characteristics of casualisation strategies. These labour market conditions, based upon exploitative practices to reduce labour costs, are also argued to facilitate pathways into modern slavery, where exploitative labour is involuntary. Again, as a sector that has followed deregulatory and exploitative labour market practices, there is scope for these developments to occur within hospitality. Indeed, the economic and political framework that may emerge from Brexit is likely to exacerbate the conditions upon which modern slavery can thrive.

While such a prognosis is depressing, it should be noted that there is scope to challenge trafficking and modern slavery. The Modern Slavery Act in England, and Wales and its counterparts in Northern Ireland and Scotland, do provide an important legal framework. Regulatory state-supported bodies, such as the Health and Safety Executive, Gangmasters' Licensing Agency, Equality and Human Rights Commission and Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs (HMRC) do have powers to investigate workplaces and tackle modern slavery practices. However, enforcement through such agencies is increasingly problematic as government austerity policies cut funding to these bodies. And the danger is that, post-Brexit, when the UK has the

"opportunity" to escape from aspects of regulation provided by EU Directives, this minimalist, deregulatory position will be reinforced, and modern slavery practices, in high risk sectors such as hospitality, will thrive.

Notes

1. National Referral Mechanism (NRM) is a framework for identifying and referring potential victims of modern slavery and ensuring they receive the appropriate support. Under the Modern Slavery Act, only designated first responders can refer cases to the NRM. The Act also creates the duty to notify, where specified public authorities are required to notify the Home Office about any potential victims of modern slavery they encounter in England and Wales. However, if the potential victim does not want to be referred using the NRM system, then a separate anonymous notification is made. This creates two sets of data, which may contain duplicated cases.
2. The European Economic Area (EEA) includes EU countries and Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. The latter countries are, under this arrangement, part of the EU single market and freedom of movement arrangements apply to them.
3. An A8 migrant refers to a citizen of the following eight countries that joined the EU in May 2004: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. These were identified separately from citizens of Malta and Cyprus, who joined at the same time. An A2 migrant refers to a citizen of Bulgaria and Romania that joined the EU in January 2007. Unlike A8 countries, the UK imposed restrictions on the access to labour markets of A2 citizens in 2007 which were lifted in January 2014.

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Together we stand stronger

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This is an action research case study investigating social participation roadblocks and opportunities through leisure-related factors for Eritrean refugee status holders in the city of Nijmegen, the Netherlands. The intent of this paper is to report on challenges and opportunities for refugees as “citizens in transition” within a specific northern European urban neighbourhood. The research project has a key focus on urban leisure with a participatory, action-oriented epistemological and activist intent. This multidisciplinary mix was designed for consulting purposes. The paper describes the situation during the period 2015 to 2016, and future challenges triggered by the migration crisis in the last decade in the European context, with specific attention devoted to the impact on the Dutch context. From such continental and national scope, the paper will shift to the outcome of a specific consulting project pertaining to 98 Eritrean refugees, aged 19 to 24 years old, temporarily hosted by the city of Nijmegen. Here, empirical research based on design thinking principles have enabled the identification of potential solutions and strategies aimed at achieving a more effective process for the inclusion of those residence holders with refugee status into the social and cultural life of their neighbourhood, with the final ambition of future integration into the city. Being a case study grounded in constructivism, the paper will firstly provide an overview of facts, figures and findings to detail the research performed, and then conclude with reflexive considerations based on bibliographic references and methodological reflections.

Keywords: design thinking, inclusion, participatory action research, refugee crisis, social innovation, urban futures, urban leisure

Introduction

The methods of social science are akin to literary criticism, deciphering codes and translating languages (Jacobsen, 2013, p. 4).

In the context of contemporary European cities, the city and its local communities through acts of civility might welcome refugees who have survived violence, war and life-threatening experiences. These acts range from institutional support, delegated by the municipality to not-for-profit organizations, to charity or volunteering initiatives by civic engagement groups or individual local citizens. At the same time, these “legal aliens” might be perceived by specific groups, or described by extremist political parties or economic agents, as dystonic, dysfunctional and ultimately distressing the prior socio-symbolic balance within the city. One might say, refugees remain “silent voices” being granted or denied access to urban spaces, places and activities.

This paper¹ proposes that the temporary status of refugees from non-EU countries in European cities is de facto that of “citizens in transition”. This during the time they spend as “asylum seekers” as well as the time of any temporary residence permit, e.g. in their first five years in the Netherlands for some specific nationalities. The term “transition” pertains to both the spatial dimension of their accommodation as well as the timing of their integration in the new social context. Consideration must be given to their inclusion as active members in society, equal rights and duties as locals. Even before being accepted

as “refugees with status” they are much less “temporary” and much more “citizens” than commercial tourists or business destination travellers. However, in the shared “semiosphere” (Fry, 2011) of European cities hosting them, refugees suffer from less care and attention than tourists or expats. Their midterm condition might be that of being “lost in translation”. In their integration process, they are excluded (by law) from the means of production within financial, commercial and socio-economic systems. As well as being isolated from most of those cultural co-creation processes of meaning that require proficiency in the interpretation and production of signs and symbols.

The researcher, Anique Gerrits, had the goal to consult on leisure opportunities for further integration of a group of these “citizens in transition”, namely 98 refugees, originally from Eritrea, in Nijmegen North. During such a transition, political refugees and asylum seekers are formal beneficiaries of the 1961 Geneva Convention. Ultimately, the underlying intent of the researcher was that of giving a voice to refugees, and therefore enabling them to express themselves beyond their alienating condition of silence. This resulted in a specifically designed framework, capturing insights into the integration and participation process of Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits from an insider’s point of view. A completely different culture, one from another continent, is temporarily concentrated in a small neighbourhood in the Netherlands. Participatory action research based on design thinking has been the selected approach to tackle such challenges and ambitions. The consulting goal was to achieve short-term results.

Context of research

To contextualise the factors that influence this leisure consulting project, a structure of macro, meso and micro levels is adopted. The macro level explains the global reason for the incoming stream of Eritrean refugees. The meso level addresses the situation in the Netherlands. Finally, the micro level focuses on the Eritrean status holders with temporary residence permits and inhabitants of Nijmegen North. Partly elaborated in retrospect, these combined levels structure the specific framework for this paper.

Macro level

Throughout their entire history, humans have been migrating, seeking better conditions for life for themselves and a better future outlook for their children. The Field Information and Coordination Section of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) reports 65.6 million forcibly displaced people worldwide in 2016 (UNHCR, 2016). Of which, 22.5 million were formally accounted as refugees. Daily, 28 300 people are forced to flee because of conflict. Whereas, in the whole of 2016, only 189 300 refugees were actually resettled. UNHCR also report that displaced people are accommodated, for the most, in Africa (30%) and the Middle East (26%), with Europe, hosting a mere 17%. Ethiopia is included among the top hosting countries, with 791 600 refugees. Turkey is the most engaged with 2.9 million refugees (UNHCR, 2018). At the time of the original research project, 399 165 global refugees entered Europe in the first half of 2015 (Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland, 2015a). This was an increase of two thirds compared to 2014. EUROSTAT (2015) states that annually the non-EU immigrants into EU countries were mostly hosted in Germany (967 500), the UK (278 600) and Italy (186 500). Whereas, 60 100 non-EU immigrants entered the Netherlands, out of a total amount of immigrants into the kingdom – including EU and stateless citizens – reaching 166 900. This is an equivalent amount to Austria (166 300), and a slightly higher amount than neighbouring Belgium (146 600).

The journey of forcibly displaced migrants travelling to safe harbour in Europe is not easy and not without danger. On the contrary, Amnesty International reported 5 098 dead or missing migrants in 2016 (with a total of 387 739 recorded) and 3 119 dead or missing migrants in 2017 (with a total of 172 301 recorded). The percentage of human life lost has, therefore, been rising year-on-year from 0.013% to 0.018%. Yet conditions in the countries of origin might imply such levels of danger or economic deprivation that masses of millions are still prepared to move.

Acceptance of prospective refugees onto the soil of the European Union is structured by the Dublin Regulation:

The Dublin Regulation establishes the Member State responsible for the examination of the asylum application. The criteria for establishing responsibility run, in hierarchical order, from family considerations, to recent possession of a visa or residence permit in a Member State, to whether the applicant has entered EU irregularly, or regularly (European Commission, Migration and Home Affairs, 2018).

Upon arrival in a European country, asylum seekers might, however, face deportation, discrimination or denial of their rights. As such, according to NGO organisations like Open

Migration, the international community has not taken enough responsibility to manage this challenge. Among others, Professor Axel Hagedorn (2015) anticipated that the influx of refugees could increase to 50 million in 2020. This has caused tension and turmoil among European national leaders as there is an ongoing conflict about the number of refugees that should be taken in by each country, including the Netherlands.

Meso level

In the kingdom of the Netherlands, the responsible agency for all discretionary choices regarding immigration is the IND (Immigration and Naturalisation Services), under the Ministry of Justice and Security. Besides the Dublin treaty, the Netherlands recognises the Geneva Convention on Refugees and the European Convention of Human Rights (Government of the Netherlands, 2008a). Asylum procedures start upon arrival, mostly by plane, by applicants reporting to the Royal Dutch Customs Police. The latest 2017 data concerning asylum seekers in the Netherlands indicate the stability of the situation:

The total volume of asylum seekers – consisting of first-time and repeat applications and family reunifications – registered by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) in 2017 was virtually identical to that of the previous year. This was the conclusion of the 2017 Immigration Services Report. If relocation and resettlement figures are included, the number of applicants increases to 35 030, as compared to 33 570 in 2016. The number of family members joining refugees and asylum seekers rose from 11 810 in 2016 to 14 490 in 2017. The increase in the number of family reunification applicants is the result of the increased influx of asylum seekers, particularly in 2015 (Government of the Netherlands, 2018b).

From all refugees worldwide only 8 695 refugees had entered the Netherlands at the time of the original research presented in this paper in the first half of 2015 (2 810 of them have an Eritrean nationality) (Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland, 2015b). This is only 2% of the total refugees that entered Europe. In practical terms, the Netherlands did and will experience hardly any direct influx of migrants and prospective refugees. This is because of a specific geopolitical position where borders with the UK and with EU countries naturally prevent access to the national soil, unless regulated and accepted by the Dutch government and authorities, or done illegally; e.g. by smuggling. The Netherlands have, however, been no exception to the rise of populism and recent xenophobic episodes as a sociocultural manifestation of such sentiment. In practical terms, this topic has already raised a lot of media attention and different responses among the locals in the Netherlands. This immigration phenomenon has already triggered demonstrations and protests. At the same time, there are Dutch inhabitants who actively want to volunteer or start initiatives to support refugees. All in all, at the time of data collection for this specific research (2016), extreme groups of xenophobic activists might still be described as a minority compared to the people who are neutral or positive about refugees, including those from Eritrea.

Micro level

In spite of recent support by the European Development Fund and economic collaborations with China, Saudi Arabia

and Italy, the Eritrean economy appears as yet insufficient to offer opportunities for dignity or even survival to its citizens (Government of the Netherlands, 2017). Only 10% of rural Eritrea has electricity (*ibid.*, p. 9, n. 35). Since 1998, migration from Eritrea has existed as a direct consequence of a border war with Ethiopia. Young male citizens flee Eritrea because of the mandatory military service, life-threatening violence and inhumane conditions, resulting in almost half a million Eritreans refugees worldwide (Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland, 2015b). In particular, the relatively affluent youth and political opposition members have fled the country. This has left no concrete possibility to challenge or simply to monitor the policies and actions of President Afwerki's People's Front for Democracy and Justice, the sole ruling party and absolute power (Government of the Netherlands, 2017). Even at the basic level of fact finding and fact checking, the situation in the country is far from democratic standards:

There is no independent civil society in Eritrea and no free press. Information will continue to be incomplete while no independent observers are allowed into the country. Sources do not always have the latest information, and sometimes have an interest in adding their own bias to the facts (*ibid.*).

Under these conditions in their country of origin, the approval of asylum applications submitted by Eritrean citizens in The Netherlands is "virtually automatic" (*ibid.*).

Eritrean refugees are often traumatised by their past experiences. A lot of them travelled in the worst conditions, such as unsafe refugee boats and through human traffickers. Furthermore, their present existence as members of the "diaspora" (*ibid.*) is uncertain due to the political strategies by the Eritrean government. Their intelligence and secret services seemingly channel a stream of "fake news", stating that this is purely economic migration. For example:

Some supporters of the current regime in the diaspora hold positions on local committees, the Young People's Front for Democracy and Justice (YFPDJ) and associations such as the Eritrean Association in Amsterdam and Environment (EVAO). One of them, the former chairman of the YFPD in the Netherlands, Meseret Bahlbi, initiated legal proceedings against Prof. M.E.H. van Reisen, who had stated that some interpreters of the Dutch Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) had ties with the intelligence services of the regime in Asmara (*ibid.*, p. 12).

This specific example provides appropriate context to the challenges of everyday translation and communication arising for volunteer organisations, including the consulting client of this project: Tandem, Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

Background: consulting client

Since 1992, the non-profit welfare organisation Tandem has been socially active for the benefit of all neighbourhoods that are part of the municipality of Nijmegen. This means that by creating activities, concepts and products, Tandem aims to bring people closer together and form a community. Tandem is part of a network of organisations that plays an important role in the daily lives of citizens. The links vary from local politics and healthcare providers to resident organisations and sport

clubs, without being motivated by profit. The organisation is supported by the municipality of Nijmegen, which is also their greatest source of income (Tandem, 2015). Their portfolio can be divided into three main areas of competence:

- Parenting support
- Youth work
- Participation and liveability

Tandem organises these activities with the one-liner: "We are and stay in the neighbourhood". Most neighbourhoods have therefore their own district team that executes and implements several activities and projects. Alongside this, there are six physical workplaces. They can be used for activities or meetings between employees of Tandem and local residents. Participation applies to everybody and Tandem stands for stimulating, connecting, supporting, innovating and engaging people. A few examples of services are as follows:

- Ambulatory youth work: Special places and activities for teenagers (± 12 to ± 15 years old);
- Green Games: Project for children between the ages 9 to 12 to learn about nature in their own environment; and
- Parental guidance: Parents can request guidance for the development or education of their children. A Tandem coach can help with advice and information.

With the upsurge of the migrant crisis in Europe, Tandem has been delegated by the Municipality of Nijmegen a fourth task within their portfolio of services:

- Refugee status holders: Social integration and participation of residence permit holders in the area (e.g. sport activities and introduction to the area).

At the end of 2015, Tandem started a new project involving 98 Eritrean status holders with temporary residence permits in Nijmegen North.

Reason for research and background information

In early 2016, the municipality of Nijmegen decided to house 98 male Eritrean status holders in one large residence (a disused student building). This community is in Nijmegen North, which are the districts Lent, Ressen and Oosterhout. According to the city index, Oozo (2016), Nijmegen North consists of 13 795 registered inhabitants. The largest population group, at 35%, is aged between 25 to 44 years. Followed by children aged between 0 to 14 years (29%), and people aged between 45 and 64 years (20%) (Oozo, 2016). Only 9% of all inhabitants are aged between 15 to 24 (Oozo, 2016). These 98 male Eritrean refugee status holders were granted temporary refugee status from the Dutch IND for five years. After those five years, the status can be extended to a permanent residence, if the country of origin is still not safe enough to return, converting this group of refugee status holders with temporary residence permits into "refugees with status" with permanent residence permits for an undefined time. Such a conversion appears practically automatic for Eritreans, according to immigration expert and journalist, Massimiliano Sfregola (digital communication, May 2018).

Refugees in any Dutch city differ in the extreme to local inhabitants. Tandem and Vluchtelingenwerk researched the background of this group before the housing process started and they concluded that all 98 are men between the ages of 18 to 24 have possible traumatic experiences. It was assessed that around half of the Eritrean status holders

are moderately educated, while the other half are poorly educated. The self-reliance of this group is very limited because they barely speak English and have limited access to Dutch language classes. They are unfamiliar with their surroundings in Nijmegen North and Nijmegen. They are also unfamiliar with Dutch culture. Several Eritrean status holders requested to be placed with other family members or friends. However, this was not feasible. This means that most Eritrean refugees are alone and need to get to know new people (Reuling, 2015). Each and every refugee status holder among these 98 Eritreans receives approximately 50 euros per week from the Dutch welfare agencies to freely spend on food or other consumables. Furthermore, they have no financial reserves, and sometimes even debts with human traffickers.

Starting from this difficult situation, in order to achieve mission-critical progress towards social integration, the Municipality of Nijmegen identified three strategic pillars:

- Adequate housing and management;
- Integration and inclusion; and
- Participation in the neighbourhood and chances for the neighbourhood.

Tandem plays an important role with the last pillar. The goal of Tandem is to empower all inhabitants, including the Eritrean refugee status holders, in terms of social participation in the neighbourhoods (Reuling, 2015). The goal is to:

- create activities focused on connecting the refugee status holders with temporary residence permits with initiatives and activities of the district, and vice versa;
- stimulate and support new neighbourhood initiatives;
- communicate activities and initiatives to status holders and local inhabitants; and
- organise meetings between stakeholders and inhabitants related to signalling and monitoring integration and safety.

Ultimately, Eritrean status holders should be enabled to develop their self-reliance and independence in the Netherlands. This is a necessity for the dual motivation of improving their quality of life in this transition phase, as well as working towards their individual 24th birthday. At that point, each of them will be automatically transferred to individual support programmes run by the city welfare agencies. They leave their temporary housing to seek permanent accommodation if their five-year residence permit is converted into a permanent one. If this is not the case, then the refugee will lose their “temporary” resident status and must leave the European Union.

Overall, it can be stated that the whole integration and participation process is an extreme challenge with limited resources. Leisure activities might be seen as a natural enabler of inclusion. In terms of leisure interests, soccer and especially cycling are among the preferences of Eritrean refugees. The reason for the latter is that an Eritrean man named Teklehaimanot captured the dot jersey as the first man with an African background during the Tour de France in 2015. Tandem decided to investigate new leisure strategies to enhance social participation within the community. During this process there had to be continuous evaluation on what kind of new input would be feasible and useful. Simultaneously, any outcome had to be feasible and meaningful in the long term, as well as remembering that most of the status holders will live in these conditions for three years or longer. It was also noted that other ethnic groups will be housed in the same way.

Ultimately, the resulting strategy should be easily applicable to the 98 Eritreans in real time, as well as to future refugees.

Management problem and research objectives

Tandem commissioned a consulting project on leisure programming with the specific consulting goal of addressing the following management problem: the support from the neighbourhood to the Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits as well as the social participation of such Eritrean status holders in neighbourhood civic life needs to be researched, according to Tandem. There is a need for connections that can support the community as a whole. Ultimately, the Eritrean refugee status holders need to be self-reliant and participate independently in the community of Nijmegen North.

The ambition was to define a research-based set of opportunities to reframe the mutual perception of citizens and refugees, for the specific benefit of improving the integration dynamics of refugees, with the problem definition formulated as follows: What are leisure-related factors that improve the social participation of Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits within the community of Nijmegen North?

Research objective

Our research goal was to obtain insight into the social network of Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits in Nijmegen North, in order to understand how the social structure affects participation of Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits through detailed research that results in recommendations that enhance the social participation of Eritrean status holders through leisure-related factors.

The problem definition and research objective generated four research questions to articulate the research into a logical structure:

1. What are the relations among social actors?
2. How do the relationships among social actors support the Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits?
3. How do social actors affect the participation of Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits within the community?
4. What are the interests of Eritrean status holders with regard to leisure activities?

This consulting and research project presented multiple challenges at the levels of feasibility, validity and ethics. The next paragraphs of this paper will document all such challenges and select key findings from the process, with the ultimate objective of contributing to reflexive methodological reflection.

Research approach

Research activities focused on social cooperation, without any economic perspective. Therefore, the term “social actors” was adopted rather than the term “stakeholders”. This was because a social structure had to be revealed at the deeper level of emotions and perceptions, reaching beyond the transactional nature of business networks and similar variations of societal

interactions. The identified social actors could be categorised and their relationships described. This resulted in insights and provided an overview of the dynamics of the network of the Eritrean status holders. Both the perceptions of citizens of Nijmegen North and the leisure interests of Eritrean refugee status holders were investigated in order to identify any demand that could potentially stimulate their social participation.

These are the project details, including an overview of research activities as planned and executed:

- Project start: February 2016
- Project end: June 2016
- Data collection touch points: Griftdijk, Jan Lindens, selected nightclub venues in Nijmegen, NL
- Epistemological approach: constructivism
- Methodological approach: participatory action research
- Processing data method: individual analysis until verified saturation
- Consulting approach: design thinking

The method entailed a multidisciplinary mix of research and consulting tools. For the purpose of this paper, the sole tool selection pertaining to action research will be further specified as adopted and experienced by the researcher in operationalisation terms. Additional consulting tools and methods beyond action research exceed the scope and purpose of this paper.

This research was designed to investigate the support and participation dynamics between Dutch citizens and residence permit holders in the specific neighbourhood of Nijmegen North, where status holders live in a shared building. Participant observation was adopted as the primary technique of operationalisation for data collection, therefore enabling both immersion in the field as well as direct exposure to micro-interactions and dynamics in the everyday. The main goal was to achieve “saturation” in data collection (Creswell, 2013) by means of a general approach (participant observation) and two specific design thinking tools (graffiti wall and picture cards).

Participant observation

This method was chosen to ensure that every interaction of the researcher within the formal or informal context of this research was tracked, analysed and converted into verified data. The social actors were observed during their activities and meetings. The observations were organised according to the AEIOU method (Martin & Hanington, 2012). Each letter represents an item to be observed:

- Activities: Specific actions;
- Environments: Entire area in which activity takes place;
- Interactions: Between a person and someone or something else;
- Objects: What objects and devices do people have and use?; and
- Users: Who is present and what are their roles and relationships?

The results of the AEIOU-based observation provided detailed qualitative data. The most striking results were used to complement the collected data of the other methods, as based on the observations of the researcher.

Graffiti wall (local citizens/local inhabitants input)

In order to collect free opinions from respondents, the Graffiti

Wall tool (Martin & Hanington, 2012) was selected because it enables non-attributed, anonymous input. This appeared particularly desirable in the light of the social and cultural sensitivity of the subject at hand. Such a technique entails a big sheet of paper with one question on it, e.g. regarding the housing of Eritrean status holders in the community. Participants were allowed to give a direct answer without peer influence or social pressure. The sheet was placed in the local supermarket (“Jan Linders” retail brand) to collect anonymous opinions and to record citizenship initiatives in Nijmegen North. This location was chosen since most inhabitants of Nijmegen North do their grocery shopping there. In order to ensure that the people who write something down are solely inhabitants from Nijmegen North, their place of residence was explicitly requested and confirmed. No additional filter was applied, enabling anyone entering the supermarket and living in Nijmegen North to contribute, with the aim of including as many and as diverse opinions as possible, with a minimum target set at 15 participants. A simple question was written on the sheet of paper: “Describe in one word or sentence how you feel about the new inhabitants on the Griftdijk?”. The specific expression: “new inhabitants on the Griftdijk” locally refers to the Eritrean status holders as this is the identifier local citizens use to refer to them. The same sheet was placed at the same location for two hours on two different days, which were randomly selected. Because of the socially and politically sensitive nature of this subject, the researcher stood near the sheet of paper to support participants while writing down their thoughts, without looking at what they wrote down, hence guaranteeing privacy and mitigating any bias or impact derived from her presence in person. Participants were given two markers, red and green, where green stands for a more hospitable perception, and red for a less hospitable perception. Overall, the thoughts of locals regarding the status holders were collected by analysing the answers to the question. These answers were analysed by clustering them into the categories “welcoming” and “less welcoming”. These results were processed, analysed and leveraged to understand the perception of inhabitants towards the Eritrean status holders.

Picture cards (citizens in transition/new inhabitants: status holders input)

The leisure interests of Eritrean status holders required research validation. However, as anticipated above, oral communication was difficult, if not impossible, for most of the Eritrean status holders. Most of them do not or hardly speak Dutch or English. There are a few authorised interpreters in the Netherlands, however, they are extremely busy with the formal aspects of the integration process of Eritrean refugees and status holders. Therefore, it was decided to conduct short interviews through pictures. This technique entails a sheet of paper with several selected pictures. Participants were requested to point out certain pictures through simplified questions. Hence, the technique was great to use for this research and it could be executed without any interpreter (Martin & Hanington, 2012). This was done during weekly activities regularly on Sundays for the duration of the research project. Approximately 20 participants were invited to give input, which was sufficient to reach the point of observed saturation. Different leisure activities were offered and chosen. The activities were visualised on a sheet of paper in order to enable the Eritrean

status holders to easily point out their interests. A maximum of three interests were offered for possible selection to each participant. The leisure activities were chosen according to the possibilities of Eritrean status holders, based on their existing circumstances, in order to keep the research within the tracks of feasible, future consulting advice. Activities that are relatively expensive or were likely to be unknown to Eritrean status holders were not taken into consideration. Unusual leisure categories like adult entertainment or drug consumption were edited out of the portfolio of possible choices. The leisure activity categories that raised the most interest among participants determined the research findings and then the consulting recommendations.

Selected key findings

The following conclusions of the original primary research project structured according to the order of the original questions were defined and reported on:

Finding 1: What are the relations among social actors?

- The research field was described as being based on the existence of diverse groups of social actors in terms of voluntary and professional social actors, mutually related.

Finding 2: How do the relationships among social actors support the Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits?

- Communication between such social actors was assessed as inefficient, which influenced the quality of support of social actors towards Eritrean status holders.

Finding 3: How do social actors affect the participation of Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits within the community?

- Many inhabitants of Nijmegen North displayed a hospitable attitude towards Eritrean status holders.
- However, a small group did not, and expressed such disagreement both vocally as well as by means of ancillary practices that might go unnoticed.
- Social actors were assessed as having a limited ability to trigger, stimulate or act on any social participation of Eritrean status holders.
- Eritrean status holders were assessed as being excluded from leisure activities because of their budget, sometimes because of the post-traumatic symptoms or past experiences, and because of ethnic diversity and cultural differences with the lifestyle of inhabitants in Nijmegen North.

Finding 4: What are the interests of Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits with regard to leisure activities?

- The leisure activities of soccer, fitness, and clubbing were identified as mostly preferred by the Eritrean status holders.
- Social actors did organise sports activities for Eritrean status holders.
- Eritrean status holders were denied entry, and therefore discriminated against, at bars and clubs, preventing them from leveraging night-time leisure opportunities towards integration.

Concerning this last point, one might only notice how, in any narrative about post-war Europe, nightlife entertainment is a structural element of popular culture and a pivotal moment in the construction of the "self" as identity, as in the case of "Ravers" (Polhemus, 1994) as just one example. It must be pointed out that nightclubbing, as a leisure pastime, separates the "daily everyday" from the world of symbols and signs that, even beyond café culture in the above examples, embodies the common semiotic level where youth forms their own communities. The relevance of nightclubs for societal integration also emerged from design research explorations conducted in other European countries and at other times by one of the authors, with a strong indication that such dimensions of leisure might help in achieving a more liveable city (Bevolo & Rosenius, 2014). Considering the age bracket of the resident holders, providing them food, shelter and "sustainment" in isolation might be sufficient for them to physically survive, but suboptimal to integrate them. Limiting their access to night-time entertainment (although by legally viable forms of discrimination) might be considered a form of deprivation of a fundamental opportunity for self-expression, co-creation and therefore inclusion.

Selected recommendations

The following consulting recommendations were elaborated on, as based on research findings, and should be considered an integral part of the action research project as an extension of field work into proactive propositions to improve the context, starting from enabling conditions for the *internal settings* of Tandem.

Social actor communication platform

- The essence of this recommendation is to improve communication in meetings.
- Meetings run short of time because social actors are unaware of each other's activities.
- A key benefit: the problem-solving process speeds up, which leaves more time for discussing activities that enhance the social participation of Eritrean status holders.

Professional versus volunteer

- Voluntary social actors need more support from professional social actors to optimise community initiatives.
- There are many initiatives from the neighbourhood, however, an efficient cooperation with relevant professional social actors fails to happen.
- People behind the community initiatives feel supported by professionals, which reinforces the willingness of people to voluntarily organise leisure activities that enhance the social participation of Eritrean status holders.

The recommendations below concentrate on the improvement of *external conditions* that Tandem encompasses:

Sense of community

- The results of the graffiti wall showed that several inhabitants feel uninformed by the authorities about the Eritrean status holders.
- It is therefore recommended to inform inhabitants of Nijmegen North about the developments around the Eritrean status holders through different channels.

- Ultimately, the benefit of informing inhabitants is that they will experience support from an authorised source that might develop a more positive view, resulting in more people who are willing to partake in leisure activities with Eritrean status holders, thus enhancing the social participation of the whole community.

Equal treatment in leisure activities

- The final recommendation is that Eritrean status holders should be able to go clubbing, which is one of their most preferred leisure activities.
- Through participant observations, it became clear that the Eritrean status holders are turned away at the doors of clubs and bars.
- When the Eritrean status holders are informed about clubbing possibilities that are more open-minded in Nijmegen, they might feel more welcome and their participation in leisure activities might be stimulated, which is in line with the objective of this study.

Leveraging the time between the execution of the consulting project (2016) and the writing of this paper (2018), the impact of the above recommendations might be sketched, in order to report on the action research intention of achieving an impact on the field under participatory observation:

The final professional product, as based on a dedicated interpretation of a generic business model canvas, is executed with the apparent improvement of communication among stakeholders. This has been obtained by increasing the transparency of single documents and aligning to a stronger communication process.

Concerning the Eritrean refugees, some of them have started their relocation because they have reached the age of 24, while new ones are coming in. Their general situation has greatly improved, and normalised in some cases. However, the overall sense of community might be described as still weak. In particular, all leisure activities that refugees partake in are especially set up for them and not part of the natural flow of local communities. In spite of concrete efforts, there is therefore space for improving the conditions of inclusion towards integration.

Reflexive considerations

As summarised above, an action research approach was specifically developed to address specific and mission-critical roadblocks of organisational, cultural and linguistic natures, with the intent of improving the real-life conditions of a given group of refugees. In accordance with the semiotic standards of social sciences for academic journals, all the above was described in neutral terms. On the contrary, an “activist” viewpoint is, by its own nature, polarised and polarising. In this view, as articulated by Fusaro (2017), “dissent” is a pre-political notion where activism will find its roots. This might be described as the individual perception that an intervention on any field of reality is needed to restore justice or fairness according to a personal ethical imperative. An activist’s intent will necessarily translate into desired intervention and concrete impact on societal issues.

In such a shift from mirroring reality to future-making, social sciences and social research are challenged in terms of

productivity and impact aiming at “a significant transformation in the conception of knowledge and the practice of social research” (Gergen, 2014, p. 303). As Giddens (1979) noted, “action” and “structure” are often perceived as being positioned at the opposite ends of the epistemological spectrum of social sciences. One might argue that “action research” is intrinsically participatory with the purpose of enabling “emancipation”. This ethical constituent is intrinsic to the definition of action research, as an ontological necessity thereof. Of course, action research tools and methods might be misused for unethical purposes, like any tool might be abused, or any definition of “common good” or “welfare” might be ambiguous, as any constructed concept. However, with full awareness of these limiting conditions, the above expansion in epistemological modalities of research historically enabled

abandoning all theories which explicitly or implicitly treat practice as a mechanical reaction, directly determined by the antecedent conditions and entirely reducible to the mechanical functioning of pre-established...models (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72).

The aim is impacting reality well beyond the impact factor of scientific journal, as per standard positivist practices, to expand the reach of research from theories and models to concrete change in society.

What might be challenging is any reflection on the research design and its operationalisation versus the constructivist ambition of enacting research as a “democratic process”. On the one hand, the researcher took all measures available to enable a culturally neutral data collection, specifically by choosing the Graffiti Wall as a tool and by constantly self-monitoring her own performance as participant observer. On the other hand, it must also be highlighted that the researcher stood by the poster, providing instructions, however, in the careful attempt not to bias the subject contributing to the data collection at that specific moment in time. One might reflect on how the presence of the researcher, however friendly, constituted a form of authority, based on expertise and leadership in the process, and that participants might have been biased in providing their input. The very choice of two different colour markers to provide input might have signified a roadblock to those who wanted to express opinions that were non-conforming to the general social expectation. The colour choice determined an immediately recognisable element at the moment of providing input, however, making the process more efficient and effective by automatically supporting the self-segmentation of participants according to their intuitive sentiment. At every advantage, in terms of activating participants, an equivalent disadvantage might emerge. Therefore, the ethos and trained judgement of the researcher were pivotal in the data set collection.

Similarly, the data collection concerning picture cards stimulated input by the Eritrean refugee status holders with temporary residence permits and it was selected as a procedure in order to cope primarily with the linguistic gap. As such, it made it possible to collect data through an alternative formal procedure rather than qualitative interviews, which were impossible in this part of the project. On the one hand, in the context, this tool enabled input that captured preferences and priorities of otherwise “silent voices”. Hence, it reinforced the democratic nature of the research project. On the other hand, it cannot be guaranteed that any cultural difference pertaining to the interpretation of single images did not bias

any response. In addition, participants were selected for their (minimal) ability to speak English or Dutch. That might have biased the sample but did enable minimal communication and connection at all times during the data collection. By connecting with the respondents, it could be evaluated if they understood English or Dutch and if so they would be asked to participate in an interview. Furthermore, selecting specific images for the Picture Cards already determined a “leisure universe” that Eritrean status holders could relate to, e.g. excluding unusual leisure practices like soft drug use or alcohol consumption, however responsible, as means of socialisation. Of course, from a business consulting point of view and perhaps even from a general civic perspective, it might appear non-ethical to advise against such leisure practices. However, as these activities are legal in the Netherlands, they might be culturally functional (or dysfunctional) to bridge any gap with the culture of origin of status holders. After all, at least at the scholarly and research levels, it might be stated that “leisure itself does not include ethics of any kind” (Blackshaw, 2010, p. 47). The researcher pragmatically chose not to operationalise and investigate this complementary domain of “dark leisure”, that might instead offer data sets, mission-critical insights and perhaps even shed new light on lifestyle priorities and everyday practices of meaning-making among status holders. A future extension of this project appears unlikely at this moment, however, it might be concluded that the inclusion of these additional domains would be necessary in order to construct a more complete research outcome and therefore even more actionable consulting advice.

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Note

- ¹. This article is presented as a spin-off and a reflection on a research project for the purpose of awarding a Bachelor of Arts in Leisure Management at NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences where Marco Bevolo was the supervisor and Anique Gerrits the researcher.

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Behaviours and attitudes towards sustainable food provision on the part of Dutch restaurateurs

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Though there is some evidence that consumers are becoming increasingly concerned about the effects of their own “unsustainable” behaviour, this is not widely reflected in changes to such behaviour. This article reports a small-scale study into the “supply side” of this issue, focusing on the attitudes and behaviour of Dutch chefs with regard to their perceptions, understanding and potential role in encouraging sustainable public eating behaviours. A qualitative investigative approach was employed in which primary data was collected via semi-structured interviews with chefs of nine independent restaurants in a Dutch city. The issues explored pertained to chefs’ understanding of general sustainability issues, their views of the opportunities and constraints for changing their current business practices towards more sustainable behaviours, and the actions already taken (or intended to be taken) to implement these behaviours. In such a small-scale study, the findings are limited but suggestive. All respondents paid at least lip-service to the importance of sustainability and all had at least a vague knowledge of what this might imply for their provision of food. However, this was not reflected in their menus, in part because it was not perceived to be an issue with consumers, and in part because respondents were uncertain as to how they might successfully effect change (i.e. translate beliefs pro-actively into sustainable business practices).

Keywords: food, independent restaurant sector, sustainability

Introduction

Famously defined by the Brundtland Commission as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), sustainable development includes attention to matters pertaining to food production and consumption; it being suggested that the food system accounts for a large proportion of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (for example, estimated at 20% in the UK) and could thus be interpreted as one of the largest contributors to climate change (Macdiarmid et al., 2012). Food consumption behaviours also contribute to farmland erosion and excess waste (Tobler et al., 2011), and soil and water pollution (Hoek et al., 2004). The Netherlands has one of the highest carbon emissions per capita in the European Union (EU) and is falling well short of Kyoto Protocol targets to reduce emissions (United Nations, 1997). Almost half of Dutch people consider claims made for the seriousness of climate change to be an exaggeration (Coates, 2015). This contrasts with their attitudes to animal welfare, with a recent EU survey (Hakkenes, 2016) suggesting that 85% of respondents would be willing to spend more on animal-friendly products (the Dutch Party for the Animals has five seats in the lower house of parliament). Assertions have been made as to the desirability of a switch to organic farming to reduce food system emissions (Nederlandse Omroep Stichting [NOS], 2015). In October 2015, Friends of the Earth Netherlands claimed that the Dutch government seemed

reluctant to initiate changes to the national food system by, for example, introducing a meat tax (Schupp, 2015).

The objective of the research reported in this article was to explore behaviours and attitudes towards sustainable food provision on the part of Dutch chefs in independent restaurants. It is unclear as to the scale of the contribution to food system emissions made by the restaurant and foodservice sectors, but limited research on the “hospitality” industry acknowledges the potential for substantial contributions to sustainable behaviours in hotels (Melissen, 2013) and restaurants (Moskwa et al., 2015). Some commentators have gone so far as to suggest that if restaurants would operate more sustainably, this would positively influence the buying behaviour of consumers in the direction of sustainable behaviours (e.g. Withiam, 2013), perhaps ultimately leading to radical change in the system of public food provision in the hospitality sector (Hall, 2013).

Theoretical and evidential background to the study

The theoretical background to the study reported in this article acknowledges that many of those who engage in sustainability advocacy work from a position of ethical idealism (Dunham et al., 2011), qualified to varying degrees by elements of both moral consequentialism (Holbrook, 2009; Hiller et al., 2014) and pragmatism (Bacon, 2013). In essence this means that behaving sustainably is seen as morally desirable and, it is argued, if the reasons for such behaviour can be effectively explained to those at present unpersuaded by such values, it may lead to behavioural change and alignment. As an example,

Campbell-Arvai et al. (2014) argue that people want to do what is good and what is right and only require information as to how to achieve pro-environmental behaviour. "Doing what is right" targets people's intrinsic values, and if people act in accordance with these values, it gives a good feeling about their pro-environmental behaviour (see also Melissen & Koens, 2016).

Consumer behaviour with respect to questions of sustainability is undoubtedly complex (Verain et al., 2015), but there is certainly *some* evidence that the possession of knowledge of pro-environmental and sustainable behaviours leads to the practice of the same. This has been noted in respect of sustainable food choices when eating out (Curry et al., 2015). Withiam (2013) found that the behaviour of drive-through customers changed towards eating less and/or more healthily once they were informed that the restaurant was using sustainable packaging. The suspicion remains, however, that for many restaurant goers, dining represents a largely hedonic experience that equates in attitudinal terms to expressing variable degrees of personal freedom from conventional consumption behaviour (Ashley et al., 2004). In this respect, beliefs pertaining to the environmental systems of restaurants, and the desire to conform to these (hedonistic) beliefs, work against the practice of alternative behaviours on the part of consumers (Finkelstein, 1989).

The actual and potential roles of purveyors and suppliers in encouraging sustainable food choices in dining out is arguably critical (Belasco, 2006; 2008). In the sphere of public dining, there are certain barriers to effecting such change, beginning with chefs' culinary training which in the commercial hospitality industry – almost globally – remains largely predicated on a late nineteenth and early twentieth century "aristocratic" model of food preparation and consumption that emphasises quantity, quality and hedonistic excess in both (Mennell, 1985). Sustainability is thus not often seen by chefs as a key business concern, one reason being that "being sustainable" is not a particular draw for customers, another that sustainability practices are often perceived as inimical to cost control and revenue generation, because of the perceived lack of availability/reliability of supply of sustainable products (Revell & Blackburn, 2007; Ricaurte, 2012). Previous research has also demonstrated that restaurant business owner/managers have low levels of knowledge in terms of sustainable development or sustainable business practices, and consider their environmental impact to be negligible, often feeling that there is little scope to reduce this impact (Revell & Blackburn, 2007).

All this said, there are a small number of reports that suggest some restaurants are creating new menus for so-called Generation Y consumers who are presumed to be more disposed to values of sustainability (Jang et al., 2011). In addition, in the US, the Green Restaurants Association (<http://www.dinegreen.com/>) is encouraging restaurants to engage in green practices, including the promotion of sustainable food products. In the UK, the Sustainable Restaurant Association (<http://www.thesra.org/>) is providing similar advice and support. In the Netherlands, the Ministry of Economic Affairs (Ministerie van Economische Zaken, 2015) has made agreements with the catering industry to make it easier for customers to make both green and healthier food choices. Restaurants are also able to communicate their commitment to sustainability

through use of the commercial review website www.iens.nl, a TripAdvisor company (iens.nl, 2016a). Restaurateurs can opt to fill out a sustainability profile according to fourteen criteria classified in three streams (iens.nl, 2016b, see Table 1). There is no official check on these criteria; it is all self-regulated, but iens.nl established its criteria in collaboration with a Dutch environmental NGO and a consultancy company for sustainable development (de Vre, 2012).

Methodology

The investigation reported here was designed to explore the understanding, attitudes and behaviours towards the sustainable food provision of Dutch chefs in independent restaurants. More specifically, the investigative approach was framed in such a way as to explore subjects' (a) understanding, perceptions of, and attitudes towards the phenomenon of sustainability in general; (b) beliefs about the possibilities of change in their businesses towards more sustainable behaviours; and (c) actions already taken in respect of such change and/or behavioural intent with respect to future actions.

Methodological reflexivity was an important element in both constructing and executing the research. The principal investigator has a strong academic interest in sustainability as a research area, particularly as it applies in service businesses. This interest is complemented by (a) a passion for food and preparing food, as well as dining out; (b) substantial early-life experience of working in restaurants in the Netherlands and other countries; and (c) a strong personal commitment to advancing the causes of sustainability from a position of pragmatic consequentialism as described in the previous section of this article.

A qualitative research approach employing semi-structured interviews was chosen as a flexible and expeditious means of obtaining "rich" data. The content and structure of the interview schedule comprised a series of headings designed to explore the issues listed at the beginning of this section. The schedule was developed and "tested" on a colleague (a former chef-restaurateur) and then refined, re-tested and adjusted, and finalised before being used in the field. Interviewing permitted a clear planning of conversations with respondents

Table 1: Restaurant sustainability criteria according to iens.nl (2016b)

Criteria		
<i>Menu</i>		
100% vegetarian	Offers multiple vegetarian options	Takes animal welfare into account
Tap water is served as an alternative for mineral water	Makes use of organic products	Makes use of fair trade products
Makes use of fair trade products	Makes use of seasonal products	Makes use of local products
<i>Buying sustainable fish</i>		
<i>Avoiding food waste</i>		
Guest determines number of side dishes	Different portion sizes available	Doggy bag available
<i>Communication</i>		
Guests are actively informed about sustainable choices	Menu contains information on aforementioned criteria	

while facilitating flexibility in the detection of any nuance in conversations with respondents, and its further investigation in situ. The main researcher's own experience of the industry could also be leveraged to advantage. Thus, for example, in interview encounters the opening approach to questioning was deliberately oblique in an effort to gain and secure respondents' confidence and achieve empathy through demonstration of the principal researcher's own knowledge and experience of the industry, an application of what has become known as "participant comprehension" (Collins, 1984).

The population chosen for the research consisted of all restaurants, some 300 in all, located in or around Breda, a city of 200 000 people in the south of the Netherlands (City of Breda, 2011). The restaurant industry is, like other industries, often highly segmented, in this case by such variables as price level, style of cookery and ease of accessibility. However, the sample selected for this study was not so stratified. For reasons of expedience, a convenience sampling approach was adopted in which the principal researcher employed her own knowledge as well as that of three past and present "informants" (i.e. personal contacts in the restaurant profession) to identify possible subjects. In this way, it was hoped to reduce negative responses to interview requests by explaining, in an initial contact, that subjects were being approached on the basis of someone else's recommendation. The means of this initial contact was an introductory email followed by a telephone call to schedule the interview, while simultaneously verifying that the interviewee was the organisational decision maker. All potential respondents were guaranteed anonymity.

It almost goes without saying that a small sample such as that described here has limitations in terms of the inferences that might be drawn from the data gathered. There is considerable discussion in the social scientific research literature on what constitutes an appropriate sample size for qualitative research of the kind described here (see for example Guest et al., 2006; Baker & Edwards, 2013). In approaching this question, consideration was given to the likely point at which "saturation" of the data would occur (i.e. the point where after "x" interviews, the likelihood of additional information being gleaned would diminish or end). This was set against the resource and time constraints imposed upon the researcher. Though there is no golden rule in this respect, given the locus of the fieldwork it was decided to aim for an initial twelve respondents, a number which has been indicated as the potential saturation point for this style of investigation (Guest et al., 2006). If this did not appear to achieve the required outcomes, further interviews would have been conducted.

In the event, it proved more difficult than anticipated to secure the agreement of putative participants for interview. In the end, nine willing subjects, all male and aged between 30 and 50 years old, were identified and interviewed. Interviews lasted from around 45 to 90 minutes, were conducted in Dutch, and audio-recorded in agreement with the participants. These were subsequently translated and transcribed into English by the principal researcher. All recorded interviews and transcripts were audit trailed in the order in which the interviews were conducted and allocated simple identifiers (e.g. I2 for interview 2). Two-stage analysis and coding of interview transcripts was undertaken. Initial coding started with a careful reading of transcripts, highlighting significant phrases and passages in each relative to the questions posed

during interviews. Subsequently, transcripts were compared and contrasted in terms of both content elicited as a result of posing the interview questions (which were intended to operationalise the three main themes identified in this section's opening paragraph), and in terms of identifying commonalities in the frequency and content of remarks by interviewees that had been unanticipated.

Results

As indicated at the beginning of the previous section, in the light of the limited previous research into the role of those involved in providing public dining with respect to sustainability, the present investigation was designed to explore three areas. The outcomes are considered here.

Subjects' understanding, perceptions of, and attitudes towards the phenomenon of sustainability in general

When defining sustainability, most chefs acknowledged the environmental dimension by using terms such as "healthy earth" (I1), "thinking about the environment" (I8) and "greenhouse gas effect" (I4). Others employed a more literal definition, as in to sustain things for a longer period of time. All of the interviewees professed to have respect (and desire a better quality of life) for future generations, but beyond this, even general knowledge of the outline of debates about sustainability was vague. This was reflected in the fact that when asked about the implications of sustainability for their business, while all chefs mentioned that guests are more aware of sustainability issues, further probing suggested that respondents labelled three distinct – and not in themselves necessarily related to sustainability issues – types of consumer disposition as evidence of this, namely (a) a manifested desire to eat healthily; (b) an interest in the origin of foodstuffs (consistent with the findings of Revell & Blackburn, 2007); and (c) some "knowledgeability" of food production-related practices rendered in the media as desirable. With respect to the last, respondents particularly cited television cookery shows as influential on customer behaviour, and one explicitly commented that the popular media had a negative influence on restaurant customers because it made them anxious over their food choices as a result of offering only partial insights into questions of food production.

Interestingly, discussion revealed that for many of the interviewees, sustainability did not play a role in their personal lives, with very few owning to exercising care in the selection of sustainable products or engaging in activities like domestic recycling of waste. What has been termed an anthropocentric view of sustainability (for example, Reynolds, 2009) was very evident and moreover carried into respondents' public lives. All interviewees suggested that they were willing to consider a more sustainable focus for their restaurants, but only four had actively done so.

Beliefs about the possibilities of change in subjects' businesses towards more sustainable behaviours

All but one of the interviewees said that customer desires were extremely important in determining restaurant operation and menu choices, and that guests were not really demanding more sustainable foods (despite, as noted above, equating certain facets of consumer behaviour with heightened

awareness of sustainability issues). Indeed, there was a perceived unwillingness on the part of consumers to pay more for sustainable dining experiences. One chef who had clearly made the effort, with mixed results, to act differently averred that a move towards sustainable behaviours was not difficult to choose and implement as a business strategy. However, he did acknowledge that there were certain circumstances in which such a strategy could be easier. Like most business people, he said:

I always listen to the guest. It depends also on the location, because here they think more about sustainability than in other neighbourhoods...It was a conscious choice for me to open the restaurant here. If I had done so in another area, I would have cooked differently. However, this is what I prefer (I8).

The majority of interviewees were of the view that if demand did increase, the price of sustainable foods would decrease, making respondents more likely to buy, cook and serve such foods. It was interesting to hear respondents articulate this classic perspective on supply and demand. Not only was it consistent with the general tone of contributions that if only society would change, then so would restaurateurs change their behaviour, but it also further revealed limitations of knowledge concerning sustainability in this field. Interviewees had not considered that “being sustainable” does not have to cost more – for example, dishes containing meat or fish can be reduced in size and replaced by larger portions of vegetables. Indeed, within the culinary field more generally there has been a long-standing, frequently satirised, trend in areas such as nouvelle cuisine and molecular gastronomy towards small(er) portions.

Actions already taken by subjects and/or behavioural intent with respect to future actions, in enacting changes towards sustainability behaviours

Vermeir and Verbeke (2006) define sustainable products as products that contribute – through their attributes and consequences – to one or a combination of people, planet and profit. In line with the above definition, most interviewees demonstrated some theoretical awareness of what might be regarded as potential sustainable food choices (though, as noted earlier, were less “sound” on matters of portion economy), for example the purchase and service of organic and fair trade foods, the use of locally sourced and seasonal foods to support the local economy and reduce the carbon footprint associated with food transportation, responsible cultivation (this covered a range of issues from avoidance of overfishing to animal rearing and welfare including the avoidance of foie gras), and the minimisation and/or recycling of food waste. Indeed, five of the nine respondents had self-audited themselves on iens.nl, the website referred to earlier (see Table 2 for their scores).

Beyond this, however, there was little evidence that this theoretical knowledge was practically and systematically converted to behaviour in terms of business practices, despite the confidence of those who completed an iens.nl self-audit. Further probing suggested that respondents’ theoretical knowledge tended to be gleaned from general and/or comparatively distant sources – for example the internet, news and social media, the Dutch trade association for the hotel and catering industry, and, to a lesser degree, suppliers (considering

Table 2: Self-evaluated scores on iens.nl of sample restaurants

1 = n	Score
11	95% sustainable
12	85% sustainable
13	No score
14	77% sustainable
15	No score
16	No score
17	No score
18	46% sustainable
19	62% sustainable

that, as indicated earlier, media sources were seen to be confusing consumers, there is a small irony here). Knowledge of how to develop this awareness in their business context was less in evidence, and nearly all respondents articulated at least some displacement of personal responsibility for pursuing sustainability strategies. Suppliers were particularly singled out in this regard, typical comments included: “*I think my suppliers have to inform me about it*” (I3); and “*It would be helpful to see options on how to make your menu more sustainable*” (I4). Only one respondent saw the application of knowledge as a personal responsibility:

I think that there is quite some information and I believe it is up to the chef to follow through...you will automatically end up at sustainability. It is up to the chef to develop himself in that (I4).

Just as few respondents appeared to have a coherent strategy for developing sustainable behaviours, in current practice there was also room for doubt as to whether what knowledge they did possess was being applied beyond minor adaptations to their menus, adaptations that can be found in many public eating places, for example, the provision of seasonal items of fish, meat, vegetables and fruit, and of vegetarian dishes, care with the sourcing of tuna, the avoidance of such products as foie gras. In one restaurant, guests could opt for smaller portions (I8), and in another vegetables were the main component in meat and fish dishes (I1). One restaurateur claimed, somewhat implausibly by dint of observation, that his whole menu was sustainable (I6). All menus included dishes with beef coming from continents such as Australia or South America, because, as one respondent noted, “*quality cannot be found locally for the amount we use*” (I2).

Conclusions

The findings of the research reported in this article are limited by the small size of the sample employed, but the results are suggestive and offer qualitative insights that can be explored further in future investigations. A general observation to flow from the research is that interviewees attached a positive, but vague and general, commitment to the idea of culinary sustainability. However, this rarely, if ever, translated into systematic and extensive action to improve the sustainability of their restaurant operations, including changes to menus. Despite this, many interviewees felt that they were to some degree “sustainable” and several claimed the same on the national website iens.nl. Perceptions of consumer wants was a major inhibitor to change. Another inhibitor of change was the

absence of systematic knowledge on how to engage with and implement sustainability strategies, including a fairly limited and limiting reflection on the economics of supply and demand in respondents' businesses. There was some small evidence of chefs displacing the responsibility for personal action, justified on the basis of perceived customer resistance to change, the expense of introducing sustainable cuisines and on the grounds that change was not simply the responsibility of chefs alone. Within this broad envelope, however, one theme – that of the wider supply chain in aiding sustainable development – was appreciated by respondents who identified the role of their suppliers as being of present and future importance in any likely decisions to engage with sustainability issues.

In the main, the study reported here confirms many of the tropes identified in related literature, not least a growing, if abstract, awareness of the dimensions to sustainability. Further research in this and perhaps other industries could usefully examine the attachment of operators to their existing business models and explore further whether "resistance" to changing these models is largely owing to a lack of knowledge and awareness of the business and wider benefits of sustainable behaviours, or to wider ideologies regarding business and enterprise. While it is undoubtedly reassuring that sustainability appears to be on the agenda of the restaurant sector, considerably more understanding of this business sector is required if further progress is to be made.

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Networking dimensions and performance of event management ventures in Kenya

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The role of networking in the sharing of knowledge and information is well documented. What is not clear, however, are the facets of networks that best drive firm performance, and whether or not the nature of business is a factor. The purpose of this study was to examine the effect of networking dimensions on the performance of event management ventures in Kenya. The researcher conceptualised that performance of ventures was a function of networking dimensions such as network capability, network structure and network dynamics. The study adopted a covariance-based confirmatory research design that sought to confirm indicators of the four variables under study, and also to establish the causal link between networking dimensions and venture performance. A population of 313 ventures was targeted, from which a sample of 288 proprietors was drawn. Using Structural Equation Modelling as the principal analysis approach, the study established that networking dimensions positively and significantly predict events venture performance. Moreover, the measurement model confirmed that the customer and learning and growth perspectives were the main indicators of events venture performance.

Keywords: event management, network capability, network dynamics, network structures, structural model, venture performance

Introduction

The event management business continues to gain more attention among scholars owing to the exponential growth witnessed in the events industry in the recent past (Duncan et al., 2013). It is argued that the dynamic nature of the events sector requires good relationships that are often the outcomes of thriving networks among entrepreneurs offering complementary products or services. Evidence does suggest that entrepreneurs' ability to start and grow businesses is a function of embeddedness in social networks (Ostgaard & Birley, 1996, as cited in Stam, 2010, p. 625). The argument is that besides exposing entrepreneurs to business opportunities (Ozgen & Baron, 2007), networks also enable them to source financial and human resources (Shane & Cable, 2002, as cited in Stam, 2010, p. 625).

Event management is a business that is attracting a lot of interest among entrepreneurs in Kenya. According to the Kenya directory, Soft Kenya, a total of 111 events companies, covering diverse fields, had been registered by 2013. This expanded interest in events management has resulted in suspicion and heightened competition for customers among entrepreneurs. Such competition therefore requires that indicators for measuring the performance of these ventures should factor in customers' preferences. The present study therefore takes cognisance of the networks theory to argue that the direction events venture performance takes is dependant on the robustness that individual entrepreneurs' show in terms of network structures, capability and dynamism. The goal of this study was therefore to establish the causal link between the three network dimensions of capability, structure, and dynamics, and the performance of events management ventures.

Literature review

Events and events management

Silvers (2004), defines event management as a process through which the planning, preparation, and production of an event is realised. Event management in Silvers' views therefore broadly focuses on activities such as concept, planning, economics, communication, sponsorship, human resources, promotion, marketing, monitoring and evaluation, logistics, and design, among others. Silvers (2004), however, observes that event management in contemporary society focuses mainly on experience delivery, irrespective of the size and type of the event. The present study, therefore, argues that event management ventures ought to turn to networks in order to facilitate the realisation of their goals and objectives and fulfil guest's needs and expectations.

Networking is viewed in extant literature as a reciprocal "grant and receive" situation aimed at leaving all concerned partners contented (Burg, 1998). Brüderl and Preisendörfer (1998) concur that entrepreneurs who are able to make reference to a diversity of social networks and those who receive support from such networks are bound to be more successful. Johanson and Mattsson (1987) support the views of Brüderl and Preisendörfer in arguing that ventures rely on networks with other players to enjoy resources that they would have not been able to enjoy so easily.

In line with the arguments made with references to the potency of networks in the realisation of events management ventures' goals, the present study identified network capability, network structure, and network dynamics (Clegg et al., 2016) as the dimensions of networks that could be used to explain the robustness required by events management ventures to deal with the rigours of event management and, by extension, lead to improved performance.

Events venture performance

Measurement of the success and performance of events management ventures remains a matter of concern among scholars (Langen & Garcia, 2009; Talwar et al., 2010). Taking cognisance of the concerns of Witt (2004) regarding the lack of consistency in variable definition, and bearing in mind that events management ventures are mainly socially oriented, the present study postulates that the performance of these ventures could best be measured using the balanced scorecard. The balanced scorecard, as cited in Margarita (2008), was developed by Robert Kaplan and David Norton in 1992, ostensibly to measure performance on more than just financial statements. The balanced scorecard theory noted by Margarita (2008) envisages that financial performance measures are ineffective for the requirements of modern business enterprises. Consequently, the recognition by Kaplan and Norton that besides focusing on financial performance, business entities need to consider other performance perspectives such as customer satisfaction, internal processes of business processes, and growth (Margarita, 2008), becomes ever more important.

Accordingly, the study argues that the performance of events management ventures should seek to measure: 1) learning and growth, captured through job satisfaction, employee turnover, levels of specialist knowledge, and training opportunities; 2) internal business processes focusing on activities undertaken per function, process alignment, and process automation; 3) customer satisfaction, customer retention, event delivery and event quality; and 4) the financial performance captured via return on investment (ROI), cash flow, and financial results.

Network capability and events management venture performance

Network capability is grounded in the competency-based theory advanced by Hunt and Lambe (2000). According to Hunt and Lambe (as cited in Human & Naude, 2009, p. 3), the competence-based theory is an internal factors theory that strives to explain resource exploitation strategy development with a view to gaining competitive advantage. Walter et al. (2006) argue that as a higher order construct, network capability is more important than just having networks. Dyer and Singh (1998) define network capability as the skill used in applying appropriate control mechanisms, common procedures, and spearheading any required changes with a view to creating and handling numerous connections.

Walter et al. (2006), on the other hand, conceptualise network capability as a venture's ability to create and make use of external and internal relationships. They therefore identify four constructs that may be used to measure network capability. The first construct, *coordination*, connects ventures with common interests for purposes of mutually supportive interactions. The second construct, *relational skills*, focuses on the management of relationships among businesses. *Partner knowledge*, the third construct identified by Walter and colleagues, brings stability to a firm's position within a network. The fourth construct, *internal communication*, concentrates on the assimilation and dissemination of more current information regarding partnerships, resources, as well as mutual agreements between partners.

Previous studies have given inconclusive findings regarding the effect of network capability on venture performance.

Human and Naude (2009) established that network capability as a latent variable relates positively and significantly with firm performance, but they failed to identify the particular firms under consideration. Besides, the finding by the two scholars that network capability explains a mere 22.9% of the variation in firm performance calls for more scrutiny of this variable in other contexts. Mitrega et al. (2017) provide evidence that network capability has a positive influence on a firm's product innovation, as well as on overall firm performance through an improved supplier relationship. Such findings are, however, inconclusive because the study conducted by Mitrega et al. (2017) focuses on only one setting (the automotive parts industry). The heterogeneity experienced in events management ventures, coupled with the inconclusive findings leads to the postulation that

H_01 : Events management venture performance is independent of network capability.

Network structure and events management venture performance

The network structure variable is founded in the social network theory (Barnes, 1954), and posits that the structure of the relationship has the potential to affect beliefs or behaviours of an individual, group of individuals, or organisation. Hoang and Antoncic (2003, as cited in Maina et al., 2016) define network structure as the pattern of ties that binds different actors. Such ties have been noted in literature to be important in a firm's acquisition of external resources and competitive capabilities necessary for their operations (McEvily & Marcus, 2005; Zaheer & Bell, 2005). It is argued that due to the need for accountability to partner business ethics, firms ought to have network structures in place commensurate with expected company culture (Smelser & Baltes, 2001).

The success of network structure is reportedly pegged on resources within the network, ties between network partners, partner characteristics and type, and the amount of trust manifesting in partner relationships (Marsden & Campbell, 2012). Consequently, the present study conceptualised that network structure could be aptly measured using the following constructs: 1) type of partners drawn from among relatives, friends, institutions, and service providers; 2) resources held by partners; 3) strength of ties; and 4) trust among partners.

Although several studies have been conducted and show evidence of positive effects of network structure on firm performance, most of them focus on supply network structure. Bellamy et al. (2014), for instance, examined the influence of supply network structure on firm innovation and reported that structural network characteristics tended to impact positively on firm innovation. Moreover, though networks remain powerful metaphors in an endeavour to explain social realities, critiques continue to decry the destruction of prior tightly woven communities that were hitherto location specific at the expense of individual connectedness (Wellman, 2002). It is argued that networks in their present structure tend to undermine productive forms of sociality (Mejias, 2006).

According to Mejias (2006), current social networks concentrate more on the connecting nodes at the expense of the space between the nodes. In the event management industry, it is prudent to analogously view the proprietors as the nodes and employees as the space between the nodes. The question arising therefore is whether event management

venture entrepreneurs in Kenya take cognisance of the space between the key nodes in their networks and whether this impacts on eventual venture performance. I think that this may not be so and postulate as follows:

H_02 : Events management venture performance is independent of network structure.

Network dynamics and events management venture performance

Network dynamics is embedded in the dynamic network theory perspective. Westaby et al. (2014) contend that the dynamics theory perspective seeks to explain the influence that social networks may be having on business outcomes such as goal achievement, learning, performance, and emotional attachment. Håkansson and Waluszewski (2004) argue that dynamics are the agents of change in business-oriented networks. As a consequence, dynamics contribute to observed changes in relationships within the network. Larson and Starr (as cited in Hoang & Antoncic, 2003, p. 175) posit that through network dynamics, networks can be viewed from the organisational formation, structural, and network evolution perspectives.

Although network dynamics has been credited with transformative impacts in terms of knowledge exchange and innovation (Clegg et al., 2016), evidence suggests that challenges exist in decoding network dynamics. Easton (1992, as cited in Chou & Zolkiewski, 2012, p. 247) notes that decoding network dynamics is made difficult by the challenge of delimiting the network boundary for purposes of research. Moreover, it is also argued that the embeddedness and connectedness of networks make it difficult to understand the context within which to situate network dynamics and its causal effects (Ford & Håkansson, 2006).

Network dynamics have also been found to be limited by topological effects such as rainfall, time variability, social rank, network density, and triadic closure (Ilany et al., 2015). In Kenya, time variability is a major factor to network dynamics in events venture networks. Most events management ventures do booming businesses during festive seasons, and others often fold soon after. Triadic closure, where events management entrepreneurs form associations with friends, and friends of friends, is another limitation to network dynamics in the event management industry in Kenya. Such limitations and challenges to the delimitation of network dynamics beg the question “has network dynamics as a dimension of networking any impact on events management venture performance?” To this end, the study postulates that:

H_03 : Events management venture performance is independent of network dynamics.

Research approach

The study focused on establishing the effect dimensions of events management venture networks have on eventual venture performance. Consequently, I assumed the positivism paradigm that advocates for organised methods to discover and confirm a set of probabilistic causal laws useful in predicting patterns of human activity through precise empirical observations of individual behaviour (Neuman, 2007). In view of this positivist position, the study adopted the confirmatory research design that is covariance based and focuses on the explanation of relationships among variables (Butler, 2014).

The study targeted proprietors of events management ventures specialising in catering, cake baking, floral arrangements, event planning, and hiring tents, chairs, furniture and public address systems. The study population comprised 313 events ventures drawn from Kisumu, Nairobi, and Uasin Gishu counties of Kenya. Bearing in mind the number of parameters under study, and the need to avoid overcorrection of standard errors (Yu & Muthén, 2002), a total of 288 ventures were sampled. Study units were first stratified according to the genre of events they specialised in, thereafter simple random sampling using the random number approach was used to select the required units from each genre.

A self-administered proprietors' questionnaire comprising four sections consistent with the four latent variables under study was developed and used to collect the required information. Data were analysed using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM), which Chin (1998) argues is a second generation multivariate method that allows analysis of all variables in the model simultaneously as opposed to holding some variables constant while examining the influence of one, like in the case of multiple regression. The choice of SEM for the present study was therefore informed by the need to establish how well the conceptualised indicators measured the four latent variables (confirmatory), as well as to establish the causal link between the network dimensions and venture performance (structural). Evidence shows that SEM has previously been used for both confirmatory and causal modelling (Amir et al., 2012). Variables were operationalised and measured as indicated in Table 1.

The structural model

Structural equation modelling (SEM) was conducted on the structural model to test the formulated hypotheses (Figure 1). The SEM path model was conceptualised to show that network dimensions impact directly on events management venture performance.

The criterion for model evaluation was the “goodness of fit” idea. The essence was to find out how the hypothesised structural model fitted the sample data. Consequently, three categories of fit indices, namely absolute, incremental, and parsimony were employed to test the model fit. The overall fit was achieved by

Table 1: Variables – definitions and measurement

Variable	Nature	Indicator	Measurement
Venture performance (VP)	Endogenous (latent)	Financial performance (FP) Customer performance (CP) Learning and growth (LG) Internal business process (IB)	Ordinal scale
Network capability (NC)	Exogenous (Latent)	Open communication (OPC) Partners knowledge (PAK) Initiating relationships (INR) Developing relationships (DER)	Ordinal scale
Network structure (NS)	Exogenous (Latent)	Strong partners (STP) Weak partners (WEP) Resource-based partners (RBP) Ethnic partners (ETP)	Ordinal scale
Network dynamics (ND)	Exogenous (Latent)	Respect (RES) Support (SUP) Trust (TRU) Cooperation (COO)	Ordinal scale

comparing the default fit indices with the recommended indices shown in Table 2 (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002).

The model was then modified as suggested by the modification indices, if needed. The path estimates (standardised regression weights) in the structural model and variance explained (R^2 value) in the endogenous variable was examined for causation and power.

Analysis and findings

Construct and model validation

Results of the Cronbach's alpha reliability test presented in Table 3 indicate that all the questionnaire items developed for measuring

Table 2: Fit indices recommended

$\chi^2/\text{sig.}$	χ^2/df	GFI	AGFI	NFI	RFI	CFI	RMSEA
$p \leq 0.05$	<5.0	>0.90	>0.90	>0.90	0.90	0.90	0.05

Chi-square (χ^2); Degrees of Freedom (df); Goodness of Fit Index (GFI); Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI); Normed Fit Index (NFI); Relative Fit Index (RFI); Comparative Fit Index (CFI); Root Mean Square Error Approximation (RMSEA)

Table 3: Construct reliability

Constructs	Cases	Items	Cronbach's alpha
Network capability	271	18	0.862
Network structure	271	17	0.855
Network dynamics	271	13	0.834
Social capital	271	10	0.834
Venture performance	271	12	0.935

the constructs in question had reliability coefficients above the recommended value of 0.7 (Butler, 2014). This indicates that the items were consistent in measuring the constructs.

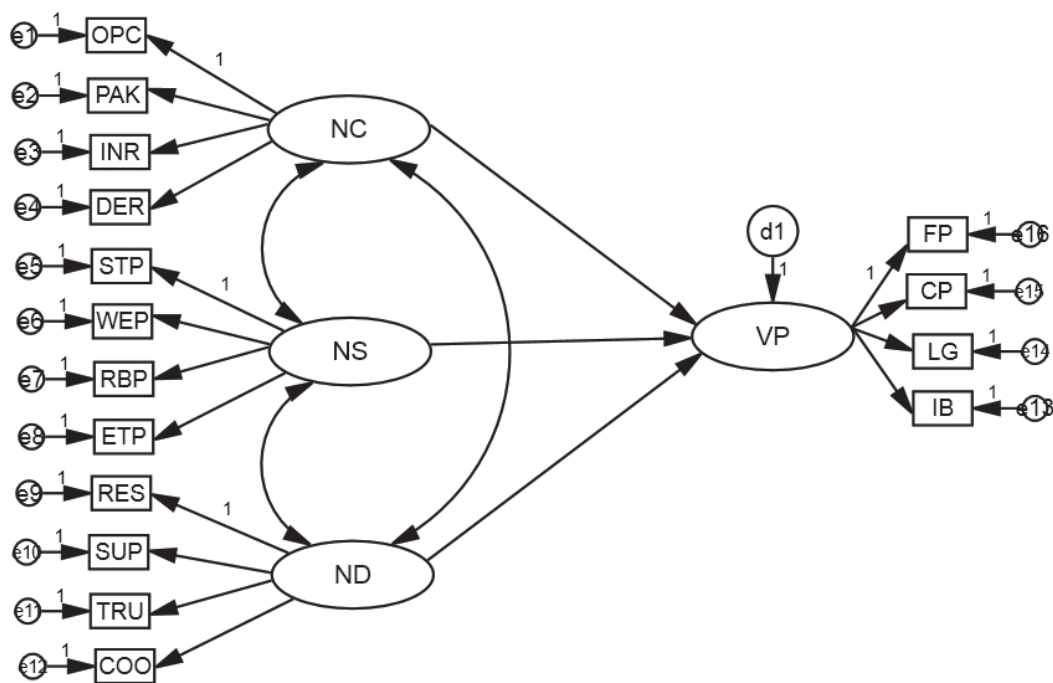
Validation structural model

After establishing and confirming the measurement model, the next step involved validating the hypothesised structural model. Figure 2 presents the results of the validation of the initial structural model.

Fit indices of the initial structural model revealed that the chi-square p -value was below 0.05. However, the other fit indexes contravened the recommended values ($\chi^2/\text{df} = 4.140$; GFI = 0.848; AGFI = 0.793; NFI = 0.590; CFI = 0.647; TLI = 0.582; RMSEA = 0.108) indicating a poor fit in the initial model.

In order to achieve a better model fit, the post-hoc modification indices suggested that the model could be improved further. The model was therefore modified by correlating error terms as suggested by the modification indices (Figure 3). Results of the first modified structural model indicated that $\chi^2/\text{df} = 2.645$ was within the acceptable limits, however, the other fit indices (GFI = 0.894; AGFI = 0.851; NFI = 0.746; CFI = 0.821; RMSEA = 0.078) were not within the acceptable limits. Overall, the fit statistics still indicated a poor fit between the data and the modified model.

The second and final modified structural model (Figure 4) was developed by allowing the suggested error terms to be correlated. The results yielded an excellent fit of the model to the data. Fit indices of this final modified structural model were as follows: chi-square statistic value of 131.099 with 82 degrees



Abbreviations: COO: Coordination; CP: Customer; DER: Developing relationships; ETP: Ethnic partners; FP: Financial performance; IB: Internal business; INR: Initiating relationships; LG: Learning and growth; NC: Network capability; ND: Network dynamics; NS: Network structure; OPC: Open communication; PAK: Partner knowledge; RBP: Resource-based partners; RES: Respect; STP: Strong partners; SUP: Support; TRU: Trust; VP: Venture performance; WEP: Weak partners

Figure 1: Proposed structural model

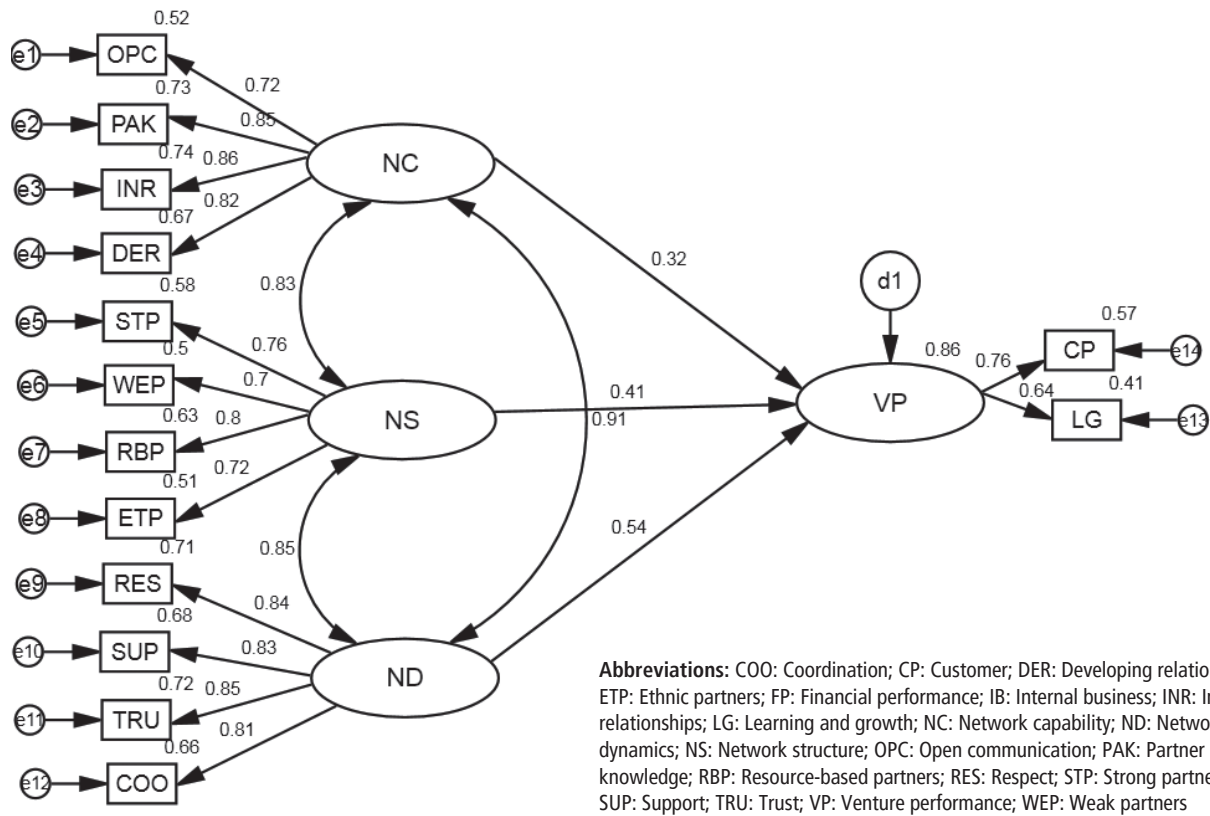


Figure 2: Initial structural model

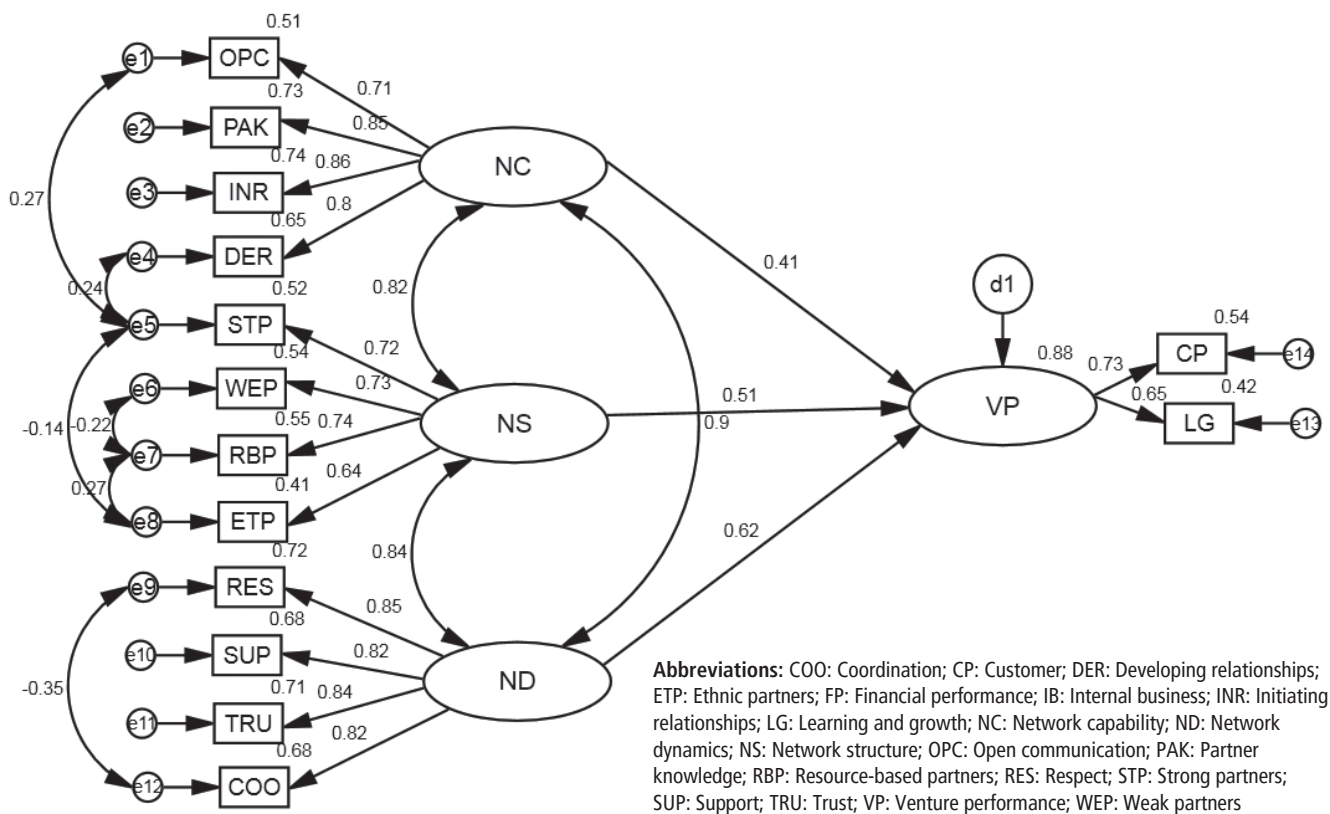


Figure 3: First modified structural model

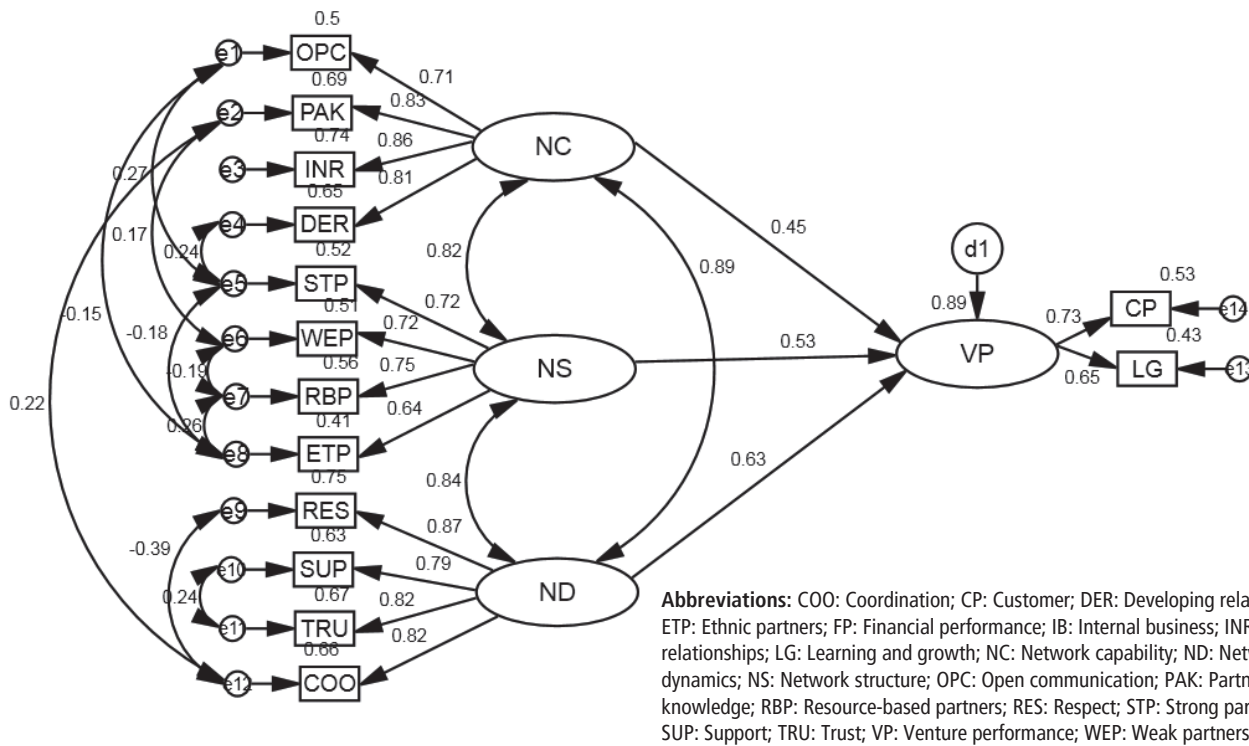


Figure 4: Final structural model

of freedom was statistically significant. The other fit indices were as follows: $\chi^2/df = 1.599$; GFI = 0.946; AGFI = 0.910; NFI = 0.870; CFI = 0.945; RMSEA = 0.047. This indicated a good fit between the data and the final modified structural model. This model was considered to be the final model since there were no further modification indices suggested.

Results of hypotheses testing

Hypothesis H_01 postulated independence between events venture performance and network capability. Regression weights shown in Table 4 indicate that network capability is a positive and significant predictor of venture performance ($\beta = 0.451$, $p < 0.05$). The postulation was therefore not supported by the data. The standardised regression weight suggests that an increase of 1 standard deviation in network capability is likely to result in an increase of 0.451 standard deviations in venture performance.

Hypothesis H_02 postulated independence between events venture performance and network structure. The regression weights revealed that network structure was a positive and significant predictor of events management venture performance ($\beta = 0.533$, $p < 0.05$). Consequently, the postulation that events venture performance is independent of network structure was not supported. An increase of 1 standard deviation in network structure is likely to lead to a corresponding increase of 0.533 standard deviations in venture performance.

Hypothesis H_03 postulated independence between events venture performance and network dynamics. The regression weights shown in Table 4 reveal that network dynamics positively and significantly predicts the performance of events management ventures ($\beta = 0.630$, $p < 0.05$). The postulation that events venture performance is independent of network dynamics was not supported and the researcher concluded that an increase of 1 standard deviation in network dynamics was likely to occasion an increase of 0.630 standard deviations in events venture performance.

Discussion

The study findings show that the network dimensions of capability, structure and dynamics influences performance of events management ventures directly and in a positive way. The findings reflect and support other findings reported in extant literature. For instance, the finding that network structure is a positive and significant predictor of venture performance is consistent with findings showing that network structure is a crucial competitive strategy that can be adopted by firms to enhance flow of resources (Goce, 2009; Yan & Liu, 2012). This in essence implies that events management ventures stand to be more competitive if they invest in trust, and partnership with potential competitors with a view to sharing resources.

The finding in the present study showing that network structure has a positive effect on venture performance, however, contradicts findings by Teng (2007) that partnerships are often complicated by a lack of suitable partners and complexities in decision-making. The contradiction could, however, be due to a difference in study contexts or a difference in approaches, and warrants further research in the area. Partner type also emerges as a potential source of

Table 4: Regression weights (default model)

Estimate	SE	CR	p
0.451	0.159	6.138	0.027
0.533	0.169	6.454	$p < 0.001$
0.630	0.158	7.469	$p < 0.001$

contradiction in study findings. Oviatt and McDougall (2005) argue that establishing strong ties with friends has the potential to improve venture performance. However, they caution that ties with relatives may not be beneficial since they often hang around entrepreneurs and may not provide innovative ideas.

Salaff et al. (2003) argue that strong ties among ventures with similar ethnicity provide the advantage of ease of access to business networks. Indeed, ethnic affiliation has become a common feature in Kenya with entrepreneurs hoping to capitalise on the ethnic network. The implication then is that despite network structure having a positive and significant impact on venture performance the type of partnership and the strength of the ties will no doubt define the structure of the network and its eventual effectiveness. It is therefore incumbent upon events management entrepreneurs to interrogate such considerations when forming networks.

The finding alluding to network capability as having a positive and significant effect on events management ventures lends support to others (Walter et al., 2006; Human & Naude 2009). The finding in the present study therefore underscores the need for events management proprietors to focus more on network capabilities in order to enhance their performance. It has been documented that network capability at company level promotes behaviour geared towards networks orientations and can support performance of a superior nature (Kale et al., 2002; Walter et al., 2006).

Implications drawn from the finding regarding network capability is that events management ventures in Kenya should look to draw upon their ability to develop and use inter-venture relationships for the purpose of gaining a competitive advantage. This can further be enhanced when ventures display open communication, hone their skills in coordination and relationships, and also increase their partner knowledge. Indeed, it has been argued that good partner knowledge and relationships enhance venture pro-activity (Kim & Aldrich, 2005).

The positive and significant relationship between network dynamics and venture performance provides a new front for looking at network dynamics in relation to company performance. It is imperative to note that little or no evidence exists extolling the impacts of network dynamics as a network dimension on performance. On the contrary, existing studies have tended to address network dynamics in the realm of the dynamic interplay between network structures and rules of engagement (Dagnino et al., 2016). I contend that dynamic networks targeting associations, interactions and individuals or corporate responsibility have the potential to maintain their network position and in consequence, increase information acquisition and access to complementary resources.

On the basis of the findings made, it can be concluded that events management ventures represent occasions for entrepreneurs to join hands and form networks through which they can interact among themselves. The heterogeneity in events ventures is such that the performance of such ventures is mainly hinged on the customer and the learning and growth perspectives of performance. The study therefore confirms that events venture entrepreneurs stand to see improved performance in their ventures if they exploit opportunities for sharing knowledge by forming alliances. Alliances so formed should focus more on structures, partner capability and dynamism, which are crucial dimensions in networks, and impact positively on the performance of these ventures.

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The impact of internal service quality on job satisfaction in the hotel industry

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Service quality is a key factor for success in any hotel. Many researchers have conducted studies on service quality, but only a few studies have been conducted on internal service quality (ISQ) in general, and in the hotel industry in particular. Since there is no general agreement among researchers on the measurement of ISQ, many studies have used SERVQUAL instrument to measure the employees' perceptions of ISQ. The purpose of this study is to explore the influence of ISQ on employee's job satisfaction in five-star hotels in Jordan. The current study was carried out by measuring the data gathered through a seven-point Likert scale. The quantitative survey method was applied, and therefore the SERVQUAL instrument was used to measure ISQ, and the Job Satisfaction Survey (JSS) was used to measure job satisfaction. Data obtained from a sample of 238 respondents drawn from 14 five-star hotels in Jordan were analysed with the SPSS software based on descriptive statistics. The study's findings indicated that the ISQ of five-star hotels in Jordan has a significantly positive influence on an employee's job satisfaction. These findings support the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between ISQ in the hotel industry and industry employees' job satisfaction.

Keywords: hotels, internal service quality, job satisfaction

Introduction

Competition is increasing among hotels, and therefore hotel managers are focusing on improving service quality to put them at a competitive advantage (Min & Min, 1997). In the hotel industry, service becomes one of the most important factors for gaining a sustainable competitive advantage and customers' confidence in the highly competitive marketplace (Markovic & Raspor, 2010; Naseem et al., 2011). A hotel cannot survive in this competitive environment until it satisfies its customers with good quality service (Narangajavana & Hu, 2008). However, service quality is a core of service management (Chen, 2008), and it is substantial when it comes to defining organisational success (Naseem et al., 2011). A successful hotel delivers excellent quality service to customers, and therefore service quality is considered the life of the hotel (Min & Min, 1997). Service quality is a way to manage any hotel in order to satisfy its internal and external customers with good quality service, and to survive in the competitive environment (Gržinić, 2007; Narangajavana & Hu, 2008).

The concept of the internal customer emerged during the mid-1980s, suggesting that every employee or department within a company has customers, both internal and external, and that employees (internal suppliers) should provide services that meet the expectations of all their customers (Nagel & Cilliers, 1990). Internal customer can be defined as any employee who is receiving services or products by [from] other members within the organisation (Nagel & Cilliers, 1990; Zeithaml & Bitner, 1996). This means that meeting the requirements exactly as customers' needs are the quality resources for many organisations. Employees are internal customers of the organisation because they receive services and products from other members of the organisation to

carry out their jobs (Zeithaml & Bitner, 1996), and therefore employees view themselves as customers (Farner et al., 2001). Furthermore, employees are one of a sightseeing hotel's major assets, and the factor that most affects a hotel's operating performance is its employees' ability to provide services that generate a "sense of value" approved by customers, and therefore hotel employees offering customers excellent quality services is a vital part of a hotel's survival (Tsaur & Wang, 2001).

According to Heskett et al.'s model (1994), the "Service-Profit Chain" links an organisation's internal service quality with employee satisfaction. Internal service quality is the perceived level of satisfaction an employee experiences with services offered by internal service providers. In addition, internal service quality refers to employees' perception of the quality of service they receive from or offer their colleagues (Hallowell et al., 1996). Thus, a hotel hopes to make external customers satisfied with the services, but it must first satisfy the internal customers (employees), because high quality internal services improve an employee's job satisfaction, which in turn encourages employees to render services with an aggressive and enthusiastic work attitude. This bolsters the satisfaction of external customers, and eventually enhances hotel performance (Wang, 2012). Nowadays, service quality is considered a common concept in business literature and plays a significant role in employee satisfaction.

The purpose of this study was to verify and understand whether the internal service quality (ISQ) of Jordanian five-star hotels has an influence on an employee's job satisfaction. The objectives of the study were to better understand: (1) the level of ISQ as perceived by employees in hotels; (2) the level of job satisfaction among employees in hotels; and (3) whether or not the ISQ has a positive effect on employee's job satisfaction.

Literature review

Internal service quality (ISQ)

The notion of internal service quality (ISQ) was first proposed by Sasser and Arbeit (1976) who considered employees as the internal customers. But, the management of ISQ can be traced back to Ishikawa's (1985) concept of the voice of the customer (Brandon-Jones & Silvestro, 2010). The ISQ is defined as the perceived quality of service provided by distinctive organisational units, or the people working in these, to other units or employees within the organisation (Stauss, 1995; Back et al., 2011). It can be defined as the service provided between different organisational departments (Kang et al., 2002). Thus, Hallowell et al. (1998) believed that an organisation or business wishing to deliver good quality external services must first offer satisfying internal services to meet the needs of employees.

In the "Service-Profit Chain" conceptual pattern, Heskett et al. (1994) noted that the quality of internal services involves the design of the workplace and content, the recruitment/development/rewards/recognition of employees, and the tools for customer services. Improvement in the quality of internal customer service leads to improvement in the quality of external customer service. The concept establishes the relationship between internal customer service quality and employee satisfaction. Thus, many researchers argue that providing a better service to the internal customers will lead to a higher quality service provided to external customers (Bouranta et al., 2005). Furthermore, ISQ is the satisfaction an employee shows for the services obtained from internal service providers (Hallowell et al., 1996).

Attempts to measure ISQ follow two common approaches. The first is to adopt a gap-based measure of ISQ, usually through the application of the SERVQUAL scale (Parasuraman et al., 1988). The second approach has been for researchers to develop perceptions-only measures of ISQ, usually from scratch. Although there is disagreement among researchers about the measurement of ISQ, several instruments have been developed to measure the ISQ, such as SERVQUAL, SERVPERF, INTSERVQUAL and INSQPLUS.

Due to the specificities of services in the hotel industry (i.e. impalpability, inseparability from provider and receiver of service, impossibility of storage), a specific concept called SERVQUAL (SERVices QUALity Model) was created by Parasuraman et al. (1985; 1988), and has become the most popular instrument for measuring service quality. The model has been applied in various service industries, including tourism and hospitality. In the original SERVQUAL instrument, Parasuraman et al. (1985) define service quality through ten dimensions, which they later summarise to five (1988), namely:

- *Tangibility* (physical facilities, equipment and personnel appearance): consists of the pleasantness of the companies' physical facilities, equipment, personnel, and communication materials. Tangibility includes the external appearance of the customer staff;
- *Reliability* (ability to perform the promised service dependably and accurately): means that the service company offers accurate and flawless service to customers' directly from the first time on, and does so in the promised time;
- *Responsiveness* (willingness to help customers and provide prompt service): means the willingness of the employees in the service companies to help customers, answer their

requests, tell customers when the service is provided, and provide prompt service;

- *Assurance* (knowledge and courtesy of employees and their ability to gain trust and confidence): means that the behaviour of the employees makes the customers trust the company and feel safe. In addition, employees have the ability to answer the customers' questions and are always polite; and
- *Empathy* (providing individualised attention to the customers): means the employees' ability to understand customers' problems, acting for their benefit and treating them as individuals. Empathy includes that the opening times of the company are suitable.

The SERVQUAL model offers a suitable conceptual frame for the research and service quality measurement in the service sector. It is based on the customer's evaluation of service quality. The described concept is based on the gap between the expectations and the perceptions of customers. Service quality represents a multidimensional construct. Each dimension of SERVQUAL has different features. The five dimensions are described by 22 items for assessing customer perceptions and expectations regarding the quality of service, and the respondents used a seven-point scale (1 = fully agree; 7 = fully disagree) to indicate what they expected of the service and how they perceived it. The level of service quality is represented by the gap between perceived and expected service.

Compared with external service quality research, there is relatively limited research focused on ISQ measurement. This is partly a consequence of the marketing background of many service quality academics (Iacobucci et al., 1994) and the multidisciplinary nature of internal service (Hallowell et al., 1996; Farner et al., 2001). However, there are differences between external and internal customers which have led some academics to call into question the transferability of external service quality measurement approaches to internal services. Thus, there is debate concerning alternative approaches to ISQ measurement.

Internal customers are professional consumers of internal services. They are far more knowledgeable than most external customers with regard to service provision (Marshall et al., 1998), and they may be in a stronger position to assess credence properties such as the competence of service providers. This view was confirmed by a number of internal SERVQUAL applications that have dropped the tangibles dimension when measuring ISQ (Heskett et al., 1997; Kuei, 1999; Large & König, 2009).

Frost and Kumar (2001) modified the items of the SERVQUAL scale in order to measure employee perceptions toward service quality. They called it INTSERVQUAL. Their study was conducted at a major international airline and measured internal customers' expectations and perceptions. The results indicated that the scales – front-line staff (customer-contact personnel) expectations of support services and their perceptions of the support staff's performance – can be successfully used to assess the gap between front-line staff perceptions and expectations. While SERVPERF uses the same 22 perception items as SERVQUAL, it does not include the set of expectation statements.

Some researchers stress the need for a new instrument that is positioned more closely to internal customer needs and expectations, and they attempt to investigate the dimensions

of internal quality. Others suggest that it is appropriate to measure internal service quality by using instruments developed to measure external service quality, taking into consideration the differences between internal and external customers. Kang et al. (2002) described another undertaking using the SERVQUAL instrument as a tool for measuring internal service quality. In any case, SERVQUAL's usefulness for measuring ISQ is almost universally accepted (Edvardsson et al., 1997; Kang et al., 2002).

The SERVQUAL instrument has been the predominant method used to measure customer's perception of service quality. However, Reynoso and Moores (1995) were the first to attempt to utilise the SERVQUAL instrument as a measure of ISQ, and justified the transferability of this instrument from external to internal customers. Since there is no general agreement on a specific measurement tool for the ISQ concept, most of the studies have used the SERVQUAL to measure it. Furthermore, Kang et al. (2002) concluded that the SERVQUAL items can be modified to measure the employees' perceptions of ISQ and assess the quality of internal service provided to employees of different departments within the same organisation.

As can be seen from the previous studies, the SERVQUAL instrument has been the predominant method used to measure internal customers' perceptions of service quality. The present study can also be considered an attempt to use SERVQUAL for measuring internal service quality.

Employees' job satisfaction

The concept of "employee's job satisfaction" was first put forth by Hoppock (1935) as the subjective reactions or satisfaction displayed by employees physically and mentally with regard to the working environment. Job satisfaction is defined by Locke (1976, p. 1300) as "a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from one's job or job experiences", or an employee's feelings and attitudes toward his/her job (Schlesinger & Zornitsky, 1994; Armstrong, 2003). Furthermore, Armstrong (2003) mentions that if people have favourable and positive attitudes towards their job, this means job satisfaction, but if they have unfavourable and negative attitudes towards their job, this means job dissatisfaction. The above explanations show that job satisfaction represents the positive attitudes of people and their feelings about their job, because they like their job.

Job satisfaction is the result of a worker explaining the distinctive nature of his/her job based on a particular referential dimension, and whether a specific work situation affects job satisfaction involves many other factors, such as the comparison of good/bad jobs, comparison with colleagues, how competent an individual is, and the previous work experience of a worker (Smith et al., 1969). Moreover, Spector (1997) stated that the antecedents of job satisfaction are categorised into two groups. The first group includes the job environment itself and some factors related to the job. The second includes individual factors related to the person who will bring these factors to the job, including previous experience and personality. Often both groups of antecedents work together to influence job satisfaction, and therefore job satisfaction is determined by a combination of both individual characteristics and job environment characteristics.

Herzberg et al.'s (1959) theory argued that when the level of hygiene factors (i.e. working conditions, interpersonal relations, supervision, job security, benefits, company policies and management, and salary) was unacceptable for employees, job dissatisfaction occurred, but an acceptable level did not lead automatically to job satisfaction and prevented dissatisfaction. Motivating factors which included recognition, advancement, achievement, autonomy, work itself and responsibility led to job satisfaction. Clearly the theory argued that satisfaction factors and dissatisfaction factors are distinct and separate, so that the opposite of "satisfaction" is not "no satisfaction" and the opposite of "dissatisfaction" is not "no dissatisfaction", and therefore removing dissatisfaction factors did not lead to job satisfaction. On the other hand, the theory of Smith et al. (1969) proposed five dimensions of job satisfaction, namely the job itself, job promotions, salary, supervisors, and co-workers.

Job satisfaction is widely known as an employees' feelings toward their jobs, or the group of attitudes about different facets that relate to the job. The global feeling approach is used when the bottom line or overall results are of interest. But the facets approach is employed in order to determine which job items provide job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction. This approach was concerned with any item that related to the job of assessing job satisfaction (Spector, 1997). With reference to Locke (1976) and Spector (1997), the facets of job satisfaction were classified into four groups: rewards, such as fringe benefits or pay; other people, such as supervisors or co-workers; the organisation itself; and the nature of the work itself.

Spector's (1985) Job Satisfaction Survey measured the level of job satisfaction based on job facets by using a six-point Likert-type scale, including varying degrees of agreement and disagreement with the statements. Therefore, each statement had six response options starting from "disagree very much" (1) to "agree very much" (6). The survey was designed to measure job satisfaction based on nine job facets including: pay (salaries and raises); promotion (promotion chances at work); supervision (supervision relations); fringe benefits (organisation's benefits); contingent rewards (organisation's rewards); operating conditions (conditions of work); co-workers (relationships among employees); the nature of the work (the job itself); and communication (communication among employees). This survey contained 36 statements that describe nine job facets, four statements for each one. Job satisfaction was measured by calculating the total score for each job facet, and for all job facets together (Spector, 1997). Spector (1985) indicated that the respondents were different in their job facets of satisfaction. This meant that people had different feelings toward their job facets.

Internal service quality (ISQ) and employee's job satisfaction

Heskett et al. (1994) noted from the "Service-Profit Chain" conceptual pattern that a good ISQ will help enhance employee satisfaction. Thus, many scholars believe that an organisation must first improve the ISQ in order to render good quality external services, and it is imperative that the organisation provides satisfying tools, policies and procedures, teamwork, management, goal-oriented cooperation and training, and further increases employees' job satisfaction (Hallowell et al., 1996). Furthermore, Heskett et al. (1994) argued that the quality of internal work affects employee's job satisfaction. Hallowell et al. (1996) considered the ISQ extremely important

as a satisfying internal service that helps improve the service-rendering competency and job satisfaction of employees, which in turn affects the quality of external services. They also mentioned the strong relationship between ISQ and job satisfaction, and how that relationship is more important than the employee's satisfaction with remuneration and benefits.

According to the "Service-Profit Chain" concept, the internal customer service quality dimensions are workplace design, job design, employee selection and development, employee rewards and recognition, and tools for serving customers (Heskett et al., 1994). These dimensions are similar to the four managerial processes that are linked to employee satisfaction and retention (supervision, benefits, work design, and work conditions), and are known as the drivers of employee satisfaction (Rust et al., 1996).

Several studies have been conducted to explore the link between ISQ and employee job satisfaction. For example, Khan et al. (2011) studied the link between perceived human resources internal service quality practices with employee job satisfaction in public and privatised banks. The study found that employee selection, employee training and development, work design, job definition, employee rewards and compensation reported high, positive and significant dimensionality to internal service quality in human resource management. The study further found that internal service quality in human resources has a positive and significant effect on employee job satisfaction. The employees' selection and their rewards and recognitions, their training and development, work design and job definition are the most important human resource management areas for enhancing the employees' job satisfaction. Another study, conducted by Pantouvakis (2011), indicated that internal customers' job satisfaction depends on the soft (interactive and physical) ISQ dimensions, as well as the hard ISQ dimensions. Managers of service firms should focus on both soft and hard dimensions of internal service quality, as they influence job satisfaction.

In the tourism and hotel industry, Seyyedi et al. (2012) carried out a study to determine the industry's most important service attribute, as well as investigate the strength of the relationship between the internal customer service quality and employee satisfaction. The respondents consisted of 151 frontline employees of tourism companies from a sample of 157. The results showed that "Interpersonal Relationship" is the most important dimension of the internal customer service quality, and "Rewards and Recognitions" the least important. There was a positive and significant relationship between employee satisfaction and internal customer service quality. Similarly, Wang (2012) investigated the influence of a good internal service quality on employee job satisfaction in international tourist hotels in Taiwan. A sample was entry-level workers and section chiefs (or employees at higher levels) in the room service and catering departments. Findings from this study showed that at international tourist hotels in Taiwan a satisfying internal service quality has a significant interactive influence on employee job satisfaction.

A recent study was conducted by Pasebani et al. (2012), and investigated the relationship between internal service quality and job satisfaction in sport organisations in Iran. 371 managers and sport organisation experts were selected using random sampling. The results of a correlation test and regression analysis showed that there is a significant positive relationship

between internal service quality and job satisfaction. Dhurup (2012) explored internal service quality and the relationship with internal customer satisfaction. The survey method, with a sample of 229 randomly selected employees, was used to collect data from different departments in a petrochemical company. The internal service quality dimensions comprise five dimensions, namely: credibility; accessibility/tangibility; preparedness; reliability; and competence. In terms of the regression analysis, the dimensions of accessibility and tangibility, reliability and competence exerted the strongest influence on internal customer satisfaction. Recently, Naser et al. (2013) investigated the relationship between internal service quality and faculty members' job satisfaction at Islamic Azad University in Iran. The findings showed that between internal service quality and job satisfaction there is significant positive correlation. Also among internal service quality levels, a positive relationship between internal service quality at organisational level and job satisfaction was significant. Other studies have found similar results. For example, Nazeer et al. (2014) investigated that the internal service quality has a significant positive effect on job satisfaction among faculty members in universities in Pakistan, and Sharma et al. (2016) also found that the internal service quality has a significant positive effect on employee job satisfaction in a manufacturing unit in Guangdong Province in China.

The proposed model of this study is to explore the impact of ISQ on job satisfaction of employees working in five-star hotels. ISQ is an independent variable and job satisfaction is a dependent variable, as shown in Figure 1. Based on the proposed model, one hypothesis was developed to identify the impact of ISQ on employee's job satisfaction, as follows:

H1: The internal service quality has a positively significant influence on employee's job satisfaction.

Figure 1 reflects the fact that employee job satisfaction, as measured in terms of pay, promotion, supervision, fringe benefits, contingent rewards, operating procedure, co-workers, nature of the work and communication can be influenced by ISQ.

Research approach

This study was conducted by using the questionnaire method. Hotel employees' perceptions were measured with a self-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed on the basis of multidimensional measurement of ISQ and job satisfaction from employees' perspectives. The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first part measured employees' perceptions of hotel attributes using a modified SERVQUAL model. The second part measured employees' job satisfaction. Internal service quality perceptions and job satisfaction were measured on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 "strongly disagree" to 7 "strongly agree". The third part was designed to capture the respondents' demographic characteristics of age, gender, educational level, years of experience, level of employment, and the department they worked in.

The ISQ section was mainly measured by using a modified SERVQUAL, developed by Parasuraman et al. (1985) to measure service quality through five service quality dimensions, namely: tangibility; reliability; responsiveness; assurance; and empathy. The original items were slightly modified to suit the hospitality

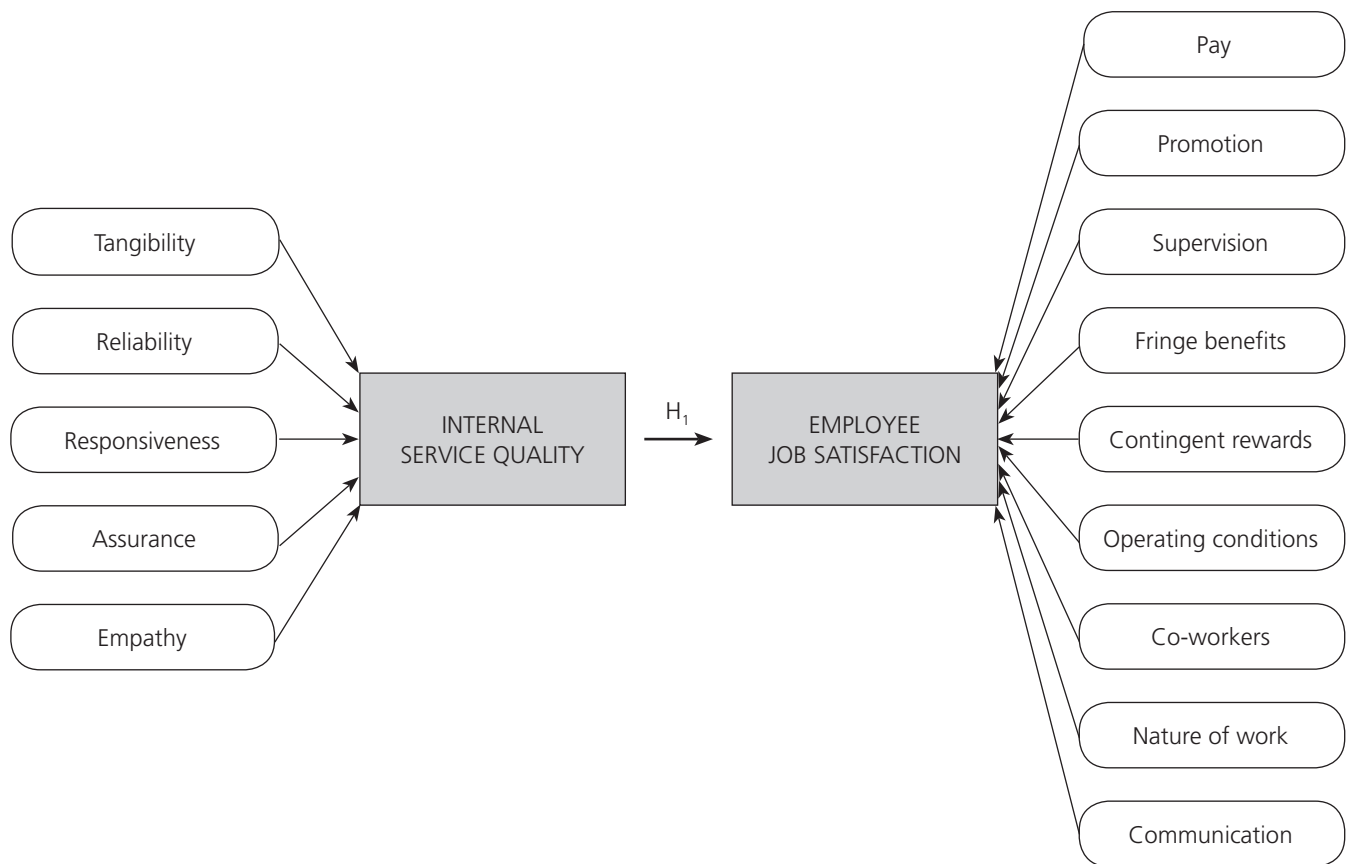


Figure 1: The hypothesised model of this study

setting. The ISQ section contained 22 items in total, and the job satisfaction section contained 36 items based on nine job facets adapted from the Job Satisfaction Survey developed by Spector (1985) to measure job satisfaction (i.e. employee's job satisfaction is a combination of "satisfactions": "pay"; "promotion"; "supervision"; "fringe benefits"; "contingent rewards"; "operating conditions"; "co-workers"; "nature of work"; and "communication"). This section contained 36 items in total.

Sampling and data collection

The target population of the survey were employees in five-star hotels in Jordan during mid-2013. Questionnaires were distributed in 14 five-star hotels after the hotel managers agreed to participate in the study. Human resource managers were asked to administer the questionnaires to their employees, and to collect them after completion. In each hotel, questionnaires were randomly distributed to the employees. Of 247 returned questionnaires, nine were not included in the analysis because of incompleteness. Thus, the data analysis is based on a sample of 238 valid questionnaires. The response rate was 58 per cent. SPSS was used to analyse the data. Descriptive statistical analysis was used to describe respondents' demographic characteristics and to evaluate service quality perceptions of employees. Furthermore, a reliability analysis was performed to test the reliability of the scale and the inner consistency of extracted factors. For this purpose, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were calculated.

Findings

The questionnaires were personally delivered to 425 employees working in five-star hotels, of which 238 were usable for analysis. The demographic characteristics of the respondents are presented as follows: The studied sample was 89.5% males and 10.5% females. 42% of the respondents were between 26 and 35 years old. A majority (55%) of the respondents held bachelor degrees, while 4% were Masters degree holders. 35% of the respondents had work experience ranging between 2 and 4 years, and 27% had 5 to 7 years of experience.

Data analysis

The Cronbach's alpha coefficient was calculated for each scale to test the reliability and the degree to which the items are tapping the same concept as shown in Table 1. Results show the Cronbach's alpha for job satisfaction scale: pay is 0.762; promotion is 0.819; supervision is 0.786; fringe benefits is 0.743; contingent rewards is 0.684; operating conditions is 0.837; co-workers is 0.776; nature of work is 0.842; and communication is 0.762. Moreover, Cronbach's alpha for the ISQ scale shows that tangibility is 0.752, reliability is 0.647, responsiveness is 0.843, assurance is 0.812, and empathy is 0.786. It is noticeable that the Cronbach's alpha values for the scales were between 0.647 and 0.843. That is well above the minimum value of 0.60, which is considered acceptable as an indication of scale reliability (Hair et al., 2006). Thus, these values suggest good internal consistency of the factors. Finally,

Cronbach's alpha value for the overall job satisfaction is 0.962, and for the overall ISQ, it is 0.847. These values represent a high consistency and reliability among statements in each variable.

The results of the descriptive statistical analysis of employees' perceptions in the hotel industry are shown in Table 2. The range of ISQ perception items and job satisfaction items were from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 7 ("strongly agree"). The overall mean score for job satisfaction items was 5.875; while

the overall mean score for ISQ items was 5.420. These scores indicate rather high perceptions of hotel employees regarding job satisfaction and ISQ.

The mean scores for all dimensions of job satisfaction ranged from 5.252 to 5.621, and therefore all employees were moderately satisfied with their jobs and all the dimensions of job satisfaction. It also found that the highest satisfaction among employees was for co-workers, operating conditions, and fringe benefits respectively, but the lowest satisfaction was for communication and nature of work. The mean scores for all dimensions of ISQ ranged from 5.670 to 6.020. This indicates that ISQ in five-star hotels is very good. Furthermore, the results reported that "Assurance" had the highest mean (6.020) that reflects employees' behaviour that makes customers trust the hotel and make them feel safe, and the ability of employees to answer customers' questions and always be polite. The lowest mean (5.670) was for "Tangibility", as shown in Table 2.

Table 1: The results of internal consistency test of the instrument

Variable	Number of items	Cronbach's alpha
Construct 1: Job satisfaction		
Factor 1: Pay	4	0.762
Factor 2: Promotion	4	0.819
Factor 3: Supervision	4	0.786
Factor 4: Fringe benefits	4	0.743
Factor 5: Contingent rewards	4	0.684
Factor 6: Operating conditions	4	0.837
Factor 7: Co-workers	4	0.776
Factor 8: Nature of work	4	0.842
Factor 9: Communication	4	0.762
Overall job satisfaction	36	0.962
Construct 2: ISQ		
Factor 1: Tangibility (ISQT)	6	0.752
Factor 2: Reliability (ISQRL)	3	0.647
Factor 3: Responsiveness (ISQRS)	5	0.843
Factor 4: Assurance (ISQA)	4	0.812
Factor 5: Empathy (ISQE)	4	0.786
Overall ISQ	22	0.847

Table 2: Description of job satisfaction and internal service quality

Statistic variable	Mean	Std. deviation
Job satisfaction	5.420	0.882
Factor 1: Pay	5.510	0.953
Factor 2: Promotion	5.328	0.921
Factor 3: Supervision	5.421	0.954
Factor 4: Fringe benefits	5.524	0.842
Factor 5: Contingent rewards	5.422	0.986
Factor 6: Operating conditions	5.532	0.973
Factor 7: Co-workers	5.621	0.982
Factor 8: Nature of work	5.252	0.964
Factor 9: Communication	5.219	0.938
Internal Service Quality	5.850	0.621
Factor 1: Tangibility (ISQT)	5.670	0.632
Factor 2: Reliability (ISQRL)	5.992	0.487
Factor 3: Responsiveness (ISQRS)	5.954	0.510
Factor 4: Assurance (ISQA)	6.020	0.463
Factor 5: Empathy (ISQE)	5.724	0.602

Note: All items used a 7-point Likert scale with (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree)

Table 3: Correlations between internal service quality and job satisfaction

Factor	Tangibility (F1)	Reliability (F2)	Responsiveness (F3)	Assurance (F4)	Empathy (F5)	Total ISQ	Job satisfaction
F1: Tangibility	1						
F2: Reliability	0.627**	1					
F3: Responsiveness	0.643**	0.610**	1				
F4: Assurance	0.682**	0.625**	0.676**	1			
F5: Empathy	0.675**	0.586**	0.629**	0.583**	1		
Total ISQ	0.667**	0.631**	0.646**	0.644**	0.622**	1	
Job satisfaction	0.552**	0.526**	0.531**	0.539**	0.517**	0.582**	1

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Measurement model

In examining the relationship between the ISQ and job satisfaction, since the data show a normal distribution, the Pearson correlation test was run to analyse the data. The level of relationship between ISQ and employees' job satisfaction is reported in Table 3.

As illustrated in Table 3, the results of correlation analysis showed a significant positive relationship between ISQ and job satisfaction from the viewpoint of employees ($r = 0.582$, $p < 0.001$). In other words, there is a significant positive correlation between increased ISQ and job satisfaction of employees. The results, however, explored the relationships between the ISQ dimensions and job satisfaction. It was found that there were significant relationships between ISQ dimensions and employees' job satisfaction. The correlations between tangibility ($r = 0.552$), reliability ($r = 0.526$), responsiveness ($r = 0.531$), assurance ($r = 0.539$), and empathy ($r = 0.517$) are positive at $p < 0.01$, indicating that ISQ is significantly correlated to employee's job satisfaction.

Correlation, however, only measures a linear relationship and does not necessarily infer a causal relationship between variables. The study proceeded to predict causal relationship between ISQ and employee's job satisfaction with the use of linear regression analysis. Table 4 reports on the results of the linear regression analysis in order to establish the predictive power of ISQ on employee job satisfaction. The ISQ was used as the independent variable, and job satisfaction was used as the dependent variable. In terms of the relationship between the ISQ and job satisfaction, the $R^2 = 0.338$ suggests that the ISQ explained 33.8% of the variance in the employees' overall job satisfaction. The ISQ was statistically significant

Table 4: Regression analysis between internal service quality and job satisfaction

Independent variable	Dependent variable: Job satisfaction						
	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	<i>F</i>	β	<i>t</i>	Sig.
Internal service quality	0.582	0.338	0.326	180.787	0.582	13.226**	0.000

at $p < 0.000$, and depicted a positive relationship with employee's job satisfaction. The beta coefficient ($\beta = 0.582$) in Table 4 indicates that ISQ makes a significant contribution to employee's job satisfaction.

As can be seen from Table 4, ISQ is considered a moderately significant predictor of employees' job satisfaction. The regression results indicate that ISQ is positively related to employee's job satisfaction ($\beta = 0.582$, $p < 0.01$). More specifically, ISQ explains 33.8% of the variance in employee's job satisfaction. Consequently, the overall statistical results indicate that ISQ is associated with employee's job satisfaction positively and significantly, thus the study's hypothesis (H1) is accepted.

Discussion and conclusions

The issue of quality is one of the major challenges that organisations, especially hotels, encounter. Although there is a large amount of literature on service quality, there is limited empirical evidence of the employees' perceptions of ISQ on employees' job satisfaction generally and specifically in the Jordanian hotels. The quality of services is typically investigated in terms of the viewpoint of external customers. ISQ is assumed as one of the important factors in the efficiency of modern dynamic organisations and particularly hotels, because focusing on that leads to employee's job satisfaction of an organisation. The importance of ISQ has been recognised in industrial and business sectors, and only recently in the hotel industry. Therefore, the present study set to investigate the impact of ISQ on employees' job satisfaction from the viewpoint of employees working at five-star Jordanian hotels.

The study's results show a significant positive correlation between ISQ and employee's job satisfaction. Research results show that ISQ is a strong predictor affecting employee's job satisfaction. This is consistent with the findings of Heskett et al. (1994), Hallowell et al. (1996), Khan et al. (2011), Pantouvakis (2011), Wang (2012), Pasebani et al. (2012), Dhurup (2012), Seyyedi et al. (2012), Naser et al. (2013), Nazeer et al. (2014) and Sharma et al. (2016). Based on the above discussion, results can be concluded by supporting the study's hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between ISQ and employee's job satisfaction. The present findings also asserted that improved ISQ in hotels can improve employee's job satisfaction.

Managerial implications

Researchers consider the ISQ within the organisation as one of the most important dimensions in service quality, and which in due time causes cost reduction and profitability for the organisation. Providing high quality services among the employees play an important role in the interactions of these employees with the external customers. The internal customers (employees) of the organisation constitute a part of a cycle that eventually affects the external customers' satisfaction and leads to the success or failure of the organisation, and therefore

focusing on the ISQ affects the other effective variables of service quality provided to the external customers.

This study concluded that the ISQ has a significant interactive influence on employee's job satisfaction at five-star Jordanian hotels. As a result, managers are encouraged to provide high quality services to employees. Moreover, ISQ should be established as a long-term goal for hotels. Considering the importance of ISQ, managers at hotels are recommended to support and internalise ISQ as part of their organisational culture. Furthermore, there are some important managerial implications from this study which suggest that managers should be engaged more in implementing the concept of ISQ.

Limitations and future studies

Some limitations that exist in this study must be identified. These limitations include the accessibility to all hotel departments, and the inability of the researchers to contact employees and explain the importance of the questionnaire. Finally, further research is suggested to investigate the link between ISQ and employee's motivation and performance.

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WORK IN PROGRESS

Understanding how millennial hospitality employees deal with emotional labour

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Qualified employees are the most valuable assets in today's environment and this requires that employers understand and engage their employees. One process that might influence their happiness at work is emotional labour. Emotional labour entails that an employee tries to feel, create and display emotions that are expected by the guest. This means that employees occasionally need to suppress certain emotions and put on "a mask". In a service interaction, emotional labour is key to achieving guest satisfaction. An industry that relies heavily on these service interactions is the hospitality industry. The greater part of the millennial generation is already in the labour market and working in the hospitality industry. This generation is known for their special traits and work values. The millennials want to have a good work-life balance, a meaningful job and want to feel happy at work, otherwise they quickly switch to another job. This master's dissertation's exploratory study aims at understanding how the millennials deal with emotional labour by focusing on their perception of the job. Data will be collected via semi-structured interviews with 14 front-line employees working in a four-star hotel in the north of the Netherlands. Even though both the millennials and the concept of emotional labour have been investigated by many researchers, it seems a combination of both has rarely been represented. This research in progress responds to this gap in research by combining both subjects in the context of the hospitality industry. Moreover, it wants to contribute to practice by providing practical applications for hospitality practitioners.

Keywords: emotional labour, hospitality, job perception, millennials

Introduction

The hospitality industry relies heavily on the service providing process (Pizam, 2004; Wong & Wang, 2009). In this field, face-to-face conversations occur continuously. In addition, employees are seen as a fundamental component during the service interaction to satisfy the guest. No guest would want to step into a hotel, restaurant or spa and face emotion-driven employees. Therefore, it can occur that an employee needs to show emotions that do not correspond with the felt emotions. In other words, employees are asked to hide their truly felt feelings for guests. Consequently, during the service interaction, employees need to enact so-called emotional labour. Expressions of enthusiasm, happiness and friendliness are part of the job, regardless of the experienced feelings (Wong & Wang, 2009), which need to be suppressed (Jin & Guy, 2009).

Currently, millennials or Generation Y born between 1981 and 1999 (Meriac et al., 2010) enter the labour market and hospitality industry. Being a millennial myself, I have noticed that an increasing amount of attention is given to the characteristics of our generation. Researchers, motivational speakers and journalists are trying to point out what we as millennials want, how we think and what we value. Attributed characteristics such as autonomous, individualistic, impatient, optimistic, multi-taskers, and job hoppers (Alsop, 2008; Caraher, 2016), and work values, such as meaningful work,

and work-life balance, are addressed to differentiate "us" from earlier generations.

I have been working in the hospitality industry for more than six years. At work, I experience or encounter the phenomenon of emotional labour. I know how it feels to suppress feelings and show emotions that are not honestly felt. Thus, considering the expectations in service interactions, on the one hand, and the work values and personal characteristics of a growing group of hospitality employees, on the other, gives rise to the question of how millennials perceive and cope with emotional labour at work.

Even though both the millennials and the concept of emotional labour have been investigated by many researchers, it seems a combination of both has rarely been represented. This research in progress responds to this gap in research by combining both subjects in the context of the hospitality industry. I aim to contribute to the current body of knowledge on emotional labour by exploring how the millennials deal with it at work in the hospitality industry.

Literature review

In this literature review, the concept of emotional labour and the strategies to perform emotional labour will be elaborated upon. The reason for this is the fact that it is a crucial element in the hospitality industry. Following up, the work values will be touched upon, given their interrelation with job perceptions.

Lastly, the millennial generation and its traits will be discussed since they are the focus of this research.

Emotional labour – a phenomenon in the service industry

The first introduction to the concept of emotional labour was by Hochschild (1983), who conducted a study among airline attendants working in the service sector. As quoted by Hochschild (1983, p. 7), the concept of emotional labour can be defined as “the management of feelings to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display”. In other words, to display facial expression and body language that can be observed and acknowledged by others so that they adjust their state of mind too. Taking it a step further, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) state that emotional labour constitutes of the control of feelings to express organizationally expected emotions through facial and bodily displays. Likewise, Diefendorff and Richard (2003) acknowledge that it is part of the job, but in their definition they exclude the expectations that an organisation might have set. They refer to emotional labour as the management of emotions as part of the work role. Clearly, the proposed definitions show an overlap since they all refer back to the management or control of one’s feelings. Yet, to exclude any confusion, in this research the definition by Hochschild (1983) will be referred to when discussing emotional labour. Even though his study was based on flight attendants, it is a concept that is linked to a wide variety of jobs that are “people-focused” and where quality of service depends on interactions that employees have with their clients. For instance, employees working in the hospitality industry are particularly vulnerable to the demand of emotional labour since the interaction with the guests is a crucial element of the service encounter which can affect the perceived service quality (Pizam, 2004). As suggested by Kim (2008), organisations operating in the hotel industry expect their service employees to display both cheerful and friendly emotions when interacting face-to-face or voice-to-voice with guests. This is in line with the proposed three criteria of emotional labour by Hochschild (1983), namely (a) face-to-face or voice-to-voice interaction with customers are part of the job, (b) emotions are displayed to produce an emotional state in another person, and (c) there is a certain control that the employer has over the emotions that an employee displays (Hochschild, 1983).

Strategies to enact emotional labour

An organisation has control over the feelings of an employee by adhering to certain rules which are practical guidelines for an employee on which emotions to display. The expectation of certain emotions by the employer is defined as “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1983) or “display rules” (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Since the desired response is not always likely to occur naturally, employees are required to either suppress feelings that are not appropriate during the interaction (such as frustration), or display the emotions that are expected (such as patience).

In order to perform according to the display rules of an organisation, an employee will apply an emotional labour strategy (i.e. surface, deep or genuine) that matches their state of mind. Kruml and Geddes (2000) state that surface acting occurs when employees display emotions that are not truly felt. Thus emotions are displayed on the “surface” so that they are visible to the guest they are interacting with. Hochschild (1983) claims that effort is made to display emotions that are in line

with the organisational display rules, but no effort is made to also feel the displayed emotions. So, when applying this acting strategy, the inner felt emotions remain unchanged. When employees in a particular situation are required to perform according to the “display rule” that cannot be achieved by displaying truly felt emotions, emotional dissonance will occur (Hochschild, 1983; Lashley, 2002; Chu et al., 2012). Emotional dissonance is seen as problematic from the start (Hochschild, 1983). In addition, it is a result of needing to display emotions that are not in line with the inner emotions felt by the individual. Clearly, the employer expects the employee to put on a mask so that guest satisfaction is achieved. A challenge that an employee will encounter when applying surface acting is that the displayed emotions might be perceived as “superficial”. Hochschild (1983) argues that people who display “fake” emotions, but still believe that it is not part of their job, perform surface acting. However, they continue to display these emotions in order to keep their jobs. This strategy is the least authentic and may not satisfy the needs of genuine hospitality (Chu et al., 2012). Therefore, Kim et al. (2012) claim that engaging in surface acting should be discouraged.

On the other hand, this challenge does not have to be dealt with when employees are applying the deep acting strategy. This strategy consists of an employee’s effort to adjust the inner felt feeling so that they conform to the display rules. Thus, both the expressed emotions and the felt emotions are modified to the situation. Nevertheless, this strategy also results in emotional dissonance since the true feelings are in conflict with the desired ones. From a guest perspective, this strategy is a little less authentic, but still personalised (Chu et al., 2012). In addition, deep acting concerns people who display these “fake” emotions and believe that it is part of their job.

In genuine acting, the job is done on automatic mode. In other words, employees act as they feel at that specific moment. Therefore, from a guest perspective, it is perceived as the most authentic one, since personalised service is provided to the guest (Chu et al., 2012). Therefore, this acting strategy does not require any effort since it is honestly felt and consistent with the emotions displayed. According to Lashley (2002), emotional harmony is the term for situations in which the individual feels the required emotions.

Work values

The work values of employees are considered to be the source of differences among generations and therefore a source of conflict in the workplace (Society for Human Resources Management, 2004). Therefore, it is of great importance for managers to understand the work values of a new generation, in this case the millennials, to create human resource policies that satisfy their needs (Lyons et al., 2005). Even though many different labels have been assigned to the term “work values”, they can be considered as a subset of the general value system (Wuthnow, 2008). The reason for viewing work values as a subset point to the fact that these values play an essential role in human life by ensuring the satisfaction of different needs and goals. They take a central position in the overall pattern of values and share a relationship with other personal values (Jin & Rounds, 2012). As proposed by Harding and Hikspoors (1995), a categorisation based on the function that work fulfils can be divided into four dimensions: (a) Personal meaning: work offers ability utilisation, self-development and actualisation;

(b) Exchange: employees work for compensation, i.e. money and security; (c) Social contact: build different relationships with co-workers; and (d) Prestige: a certain degree of work provides power, prestige and authority. Similarly, there are four labels for work values proposed by Lyons et al. (2010): instrumental (hours of work, salary, job security); cognitive (variety, challenge and interesting work); social/altruistic (freedom, contribution to society and social interaction); and prestige (influence, authority and impact).

When zooming in on the millennial generation, Lyons et al. (2010) found that the importance of altruistic work values has decreased over time, being the least important to millennials compared to the previous generations. According to Gursoy et al. (2013), the millennials show a strong will to get things done with a great spirit and are in favour of teamwork. They tend to challenge authority (Gursoy et al., 2008), work to live, believe in collective action, and are optimistic (Gursoy et al., 2013). Walsh and Taylor (2007) state that millennials focus on finding jobs that offer growth opportunities, ongoing skills development, involvement in the decision-making process and increased responsibility.

The millennials

The millennials or Generation Y are seen as the most technologically savvy and well-travelled group. Another name given to this generation is “the trophy kids”, due to the fact they have been raised in an environment in which they have received awards for the simplest things (Crampton & Hodge, 2009). The work of Kamau et al. (2014) argues that one of the characteristics of millennials is that they do not comply with rules at work and prefer to do things their own way. In other words, the millennials want to have a degree of job autonomy in their work. As a consequence, the millennials question every rule that is made in a company, and believe that rules are made to be broken (Gursoy et al., 2008). In their quantitative study among part-time students, Kamau et al. (2014) found that millennials seek freedom in their jobs and are very self-assertive. As a consequence, they do not feel the need to consult others and believe that their way is the right way. Millennials are also more individualistic than previous generations (Twenge et al., 2012). They suggest that not only do they seek freedom in their jobs, but also outside the workplace. The millennials value a good work-life balance. Besides being very confident of themselves, they are also extremely ambitious when it comes to their careers. The millennials value extrinsic awards, such as money and status, more than previous generations (Twenge et al., 2010). They never really settle, want to have everything within a short period of time, and easily switch to another job when it is more appealing (Gursoy et al., 2008; Crampton & Hodge, 2009). This is slightly contradictory to Twenge et al. (2010), who argue that millennials want more job security than previous generations, and thus want to settle, but eagerly embrace opportunities that they perceive as better. Hence, they want to be happy in their jobs, or they move on to a new job (Gursoy et al., 2008). Regarding the mental health of the millennials, and Twenge et al. (2010; 2012) claim that millennials are more likely to suffer from anxiety, depression, and poor mental health than previous generations.

Based on previous literature, a framework for this research has been created to display the main conceptual ideas with the arrows representing the time flow (Figure 1). This

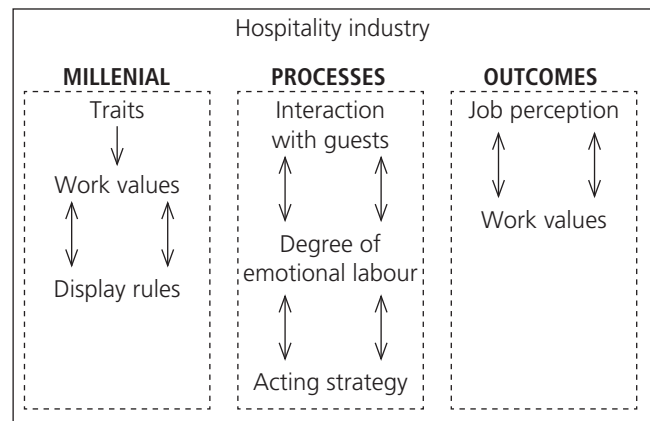


Figure 1: Conceptual framework

framework includes the main themes taken from the literature. The outer layer represents the external context in which this research will be conducted, i.e. the hospitality industry. The millennial possesses traits that define behaviour and shape their work values. These work values are interrelated to the display rules, since adhering to certain values might change the interpretation of display rules. Meaning that when the values are contradictory to or not supportive of the display rules, the millennial might decide to prioritise the values and not follow the display rules. Both work values and the display rules are the foundation for the interaction with the guest. During this interaction, a certain degree of emotional labour will be performed. Depending on the type of interaction and the degree of required emotional labour, a suitable acting strategy will be applied. After completion of the interaction, the millennial will hold a job perception. This job perception is interrelated with the work values, since the perception held might cause reconsideration of the work values. On the other hand, adhering to values might influence the perception when the values are poorly met in the job. Thus, the job perception reflects how the millennial deals with emotional labour.

To understand how the millennials deal with this phenomenon called emotional labour, a qualitative research approach will be applied. This research focuses on a case study in a four-star hotel located in the north of the Netherlands. Data will be collected via semi-structured interviews with 14 front-line employees who are from the millennial generation. Findings will be presented in the form of storytelling so that feelings and perceptions can be experienced by the reader. This is in line with the ultimate aim of this paper, to come to an understanding of how the millennials deal with emotional labour.

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WORK IN PROGRESS

Does the body modified appearance of front-line employees matter to hotel guests?

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The hospitality industry is all about providing service. This service provision takes place in the employee and guest encounter. Hence, this interaction is crucial for the hospitality industry. The employees in this interplay are expected to represent the company and present its brand image. Next to the knowledge and skills of these service employees, the personal appearance is also important. The opinion of the guests about the quality of service is, among other things, related to the employees' appearance. Hence, companies influence the appearance of employees through grooming standards. Thus, employees are expected to engage in aesthetic labour. This form of labour was developed by the researchers Warhurst, Nickson, and Witz and is the concept of forming and developing the employee's appearance and aesthetic skills. This includes dress codes, rules for make-up, hair styling, tattoos and piercings. Moreover, in the process of selecting new staff, the employees' aesthetics are a decisive aspect. A codified appearance, however, is challenged by an increasing societal acceptance of tattoos and piercings, or so-called body modification. Wearing tattoos and piercings is no longer purely related to, for instance, sailors or artists; body modification can be seen as a form of self-expression for anybody. Consequently, the question arises how the hospitality industry reacts to this changing perspective on body modification, as it seems to contradict the idea of codifying appearance for brand image purposes. Since the guest experience and opinion on service quality is crucial for providing service, the guest opinion about being served by service staff wearing visibly tattoos and/or piercings is relevant in the discussion on how the hospitality industry can react to this phenomenon. In a descriptive, quantitative master's thesis, the perceptions of guests in hotels in Germany are investigated to contribute to the discussion about whether hospitality companies should reconsider their traditional grooming standards.

Keywords: aesthetic labour, body modification, front-line employees, guest perception, hospitality

Introduction

A few years ago, I finally decided that it was about time to get a tattoo. Full of excitement about the decision, I was looking for the perfect place on my body, which I identified as my arm or wrist. However, considering my future career in the hospitality industry, I recognised that visible tattoos might negatively influence my employment chances due to possible prejudices against tattooed people.

After working a few years in the hospitality industry, I had noticed that grooming standards forbid visible tattoos. Moreover, I had heard about friends working in the industry who faced issues regarding their tattoos. For example, during her internship, one of my friends with a small tattoo on her foot was obliged to wear black tights to cover the visible tattoo. Another friend had to cover up the tattoo on her neck with make-up as it became visible when she tied back her hair. Nevertheless, I experienced a whole different attitude towards body modification during my internship in a hotel on Aruba. Many of my colleagues, irrespective of their position, could work while showing their tattoos. It was noticeable that the people of Aruba were more open-minded towards body modification in the hospitality industry. Despite the different experiences, I realised that it might be more appropriate to place the tattoo on a part of my body not visible to others. Although I did not like this decision, it was necessary as I was

not willing to jeopardise my future employment chances in the field of hospitality.

The hospitality industry is known for its rather moderate and traditional approach regarding grooming standards (Swanger, 2006) as a proper appearance of staff is a critical success factor for professionalism in the service interaction (Ruetzler et al., 2012). Moreover, appropriate appearance includes the notion that employees represent the company's brand image (Magnini et al., 2013). Physical attractiveness is even considered to be an asset (Ruetzler et al., 2012). This focus on the physical appearance of staff is associated with the phenomenon of aesthetic labour (Tsaur & Tang, 2013). One specific aspect of aesthetic labour is body modification, defined as a permanent change of appearance, which includes permanent tattoos and removable piercings (Selekman, 2003). Visible tattoos and piercings can be seen as a detraction from a communicated brand image. Therefore, people with, for instance, tattoos that cannot be covered might face employment problems in this industry (Nickson et al., 2005; Swanger, 2006; Brallier et al., 2011; Timming et al., 2017).

Nevertheless, the question occurs whether a traditional approach towards expected staff appearance in the hospitality industry can be or needs to be continued. As tattoos and piercings have gained more popularity in society over the last years (Elzweig & Peeples, 2011), self-evident strict grooming

rules and regulations regarding body modification in the hospitality industry might be reconsidered.

Although several researchers have already examined aesthetic labour and its effects and consequences on employment from a managerial and employees' point of view, few studies can be found which focus on a customers' point of view related to aesthetic labour of front-line employees (Tsaour et al., 2015). Therefore, the aim of this study is to contribute to the discussion on body modification as part of aesthetic labour with new insights from a customer-service experience perspective.

Literature review

The literature review presents the relevant concepts and key themes of this study. The service interaction between employee and guest plays an important role in the hospitality industry, as it is part of the daily business. Furthermore, as part of the service interaction process, the experienced service quality criteria are included in this literature review. Then, the concept of aesthetic labour is introduced, as it explains the importance of appearance in the hospitality industry. Finally, the concept of body modification is included in this literature review due to its relevance for the content of this study.

Service interaction

The service interaction between employees and guests plays an important role in the daily business of the hospitality industry. This interaction defines how guests evaluate and perceive the service quality of the hospitality organisation (Hartline et al., 2003). According to Briggs et al. (2007), it is crucial for the hospitality industry to please the guest in order to strengthen the perception of the service quality provided in this interaction.

The definitions of Fitzsimmons et al. (2014) and Grönroos (2015) underline the importance of this interplay. Fitzsimmons et al. (2014) define it as the interaction between the service provider and the guest, where both have special tasks and roles to play. Classical roles of a guest in this process are the experience of the guest and the perception of the received service (Grönroos, 2015). On the other hand, Grönroos (2015, p. 48) interpreted service as

a process consisting of a series of more or less intangible activities that normally, but not necessarily always, take place in interactions between the customer and service employees and/or physical resources or goods and/or systems of the service provider, which are provided as solutions to customer problems.

Comparing the two definitions, it can be seen that Fitzsimmons et al. (2014) focused on the interplay between guest and service employee, whereas Grönroos (2015) provided a broader definition. Instead of only focusing on the interaction between employee and guest, his interpretation included systems, physical resources and goods. However, as the guests value the way in which the service is delivered and experienced (Melissen et al., 2014), the hotels focus on improving the interaction between guest and service employee (Hartline et al., 2003).

Performance of front-line employees

The performance of front-line employees is one of the most important aspects in this service interaction. The study by

Tsaour and Tang (2013) described how front-line employees are important for the relation between guest and hotel as they present the image of the company. Therefore, the perception of the organisation through the guests' eyes can be influenced by everything they do (Wilson et al., 2016). Hence, the study by Warhurst et al. (2000) showed the hotels' use of employees' "aesthetic" in interactions with guests to influence the guest's perception in the desired way.

In the hospitality industry, it is very important to understand the expectations of guests, as they base the evaluation of the perceived service quality and performance on these expectations (Wilson et al., 2016). Thus, five dimensions for quality perception were identified: reliability; assurance; responsiveness; empathy; and tangibles. In the *reliability* dimension the guest evaluates if the employee can perform the offered service dependably and precisely. Additionally, the guest expects the employee to deliver the promised service. In *assurance*, he or she concentrates on the employee's trustworthiness and the ability to create trust and certainty. The employee has to convey his or her expertise to the guest to make sure to create this feeling of trust. This is what the guest expects when judging the service quality based on the *assurance* dimension. The *responsiveness* dimension covers the professionalism of the front-line worker. The guest expects employees to respond quickly and instantly to any issues that occur as this behaviour reflects the level of professionalism of the employee.

Empathy entails the employee's ability to personalise the service and thus, if the front-line worker is an understanding and sensitive person. Even if the service is delivered and performed without issues, the guest wants to feel that the front-line worker cares about him or her. Finally, the *tangibles* dimension covers ambience and equipment of the service facility as well as the appearance and attractiveness of the employee (Wilson et al., 2016).

Compared to the five service quality dimensions, the study by Wall and Berry (2007) divided the judgemental factors of restaurant guests into three categories: functional; mechanic; and humanic.

The *functional* dimension is related to the service and food quality, *mechanic* to the ambience and technical components, and *humanic* covers the appearance, performance and behaviour of the service employee. Hence, in both divisions, one dimension or category focuses on the factor of appearance and attractiveness of the employee. Related to this factor, the study by Willis and Todorov (2006) investigated the judgment of facial attractiveness. The findings stated that facial judgement happens spontaneously and quickly. However, these results were drawn with no relation to a specific industry.

Aesthetic labour

Warhurst et al. (2000) first developed the theory of aesthetic labour in interactive service work. In their definition, this form of labour is "a supply of embodied capacities and attributes possessed by workers at the point of entry into employment" (Warhurst et al., 2000, p. 1). When practising aesthetic labour, the employers form and develop their employee's capacities and attributes into the necessary skills and competencies which are required to present a certain image to the guest. Managing the employee's appearance, i.e. using aesthetic labour, is considered a legitimate strategy related to service

quality and appeals to customers (Nickson et al., 2005). To differentiate the required skills for aesthetic labour from the existing field of hard and soft skills, a new field of skills was created: aesthetic skills (Nickson et al., 2003). Whereas hard skills include technical competencies and expertise required for the job, soft skills are defined as the people skills like communication and team work. The new field of aesthetic skills relies on the physical appearance and voice of the person (Nickson et al., 2003).

Physical attractiveness has a strong effect in social interactions, especially when dealing with customers (Tsai et al., 2012). Thus, Melissen et al. (2014) point out, by referring to the work of Albert Mehrabian (1971), the strong effects of voice and appearance compared to the words used in a human interaction. As front-line employees represent the image of the hotel (Tsaur & Tang, 2013), and business attire and grooming are identified as important factors related to professionalism (Ruetzler et al., 2012), the use of aesthetic labour in the hospitality industry becomes significant (Warhurst et al., 2000; Nickson et al., 2005). So, hotels have become aware of the opportunity to gain competitive advantage by using aesthetic labour (Warhurst et al., 2000). The study by Warhurst and Nickson (2007) indicated further that organisations use employees to “aesthetically appeal” to consumers.

Since this significance of aesthetic labour in the hospitality industry was identified, Tsaur and Tang (2013, p. 20) developed an additional definition of aesthetic labour: “the effort, control and management needed to perform organizationally desired embodied capacities and attributes for interactive service work”. Compared to the general definition by Warhurst et al. (2000), Tsaur and Tang (2013) based their definition on the hospitality industry due to the high significance of aesthetic labour in this industry. By referring to the work of Entwistle and Wissinger (2006) and Spiess and Waring (2005), the researchers pointed to the fact that employees also need to put effort into their physical appearance to perform aesthetic labour. It is important for the front-line employees to manage and control every small detail of it because appearance is often even more important in the hospitality industry than having the necessary hard skills (Warhurst et al., 2000; Nickson et al., 2005). The study by Tsaur et al. (2015) underlined this significance of the appearance and professional image of front-line employees. Customers perceived an attractive and professional appearance of employees positively, whereas the appearance only influenced the behavioural intentions of guests to a certain extent. In addition, Magnini et al. (2013) discovered that attractive front-line staff are perceived as more confident, informed and kind. Attributes considered as attractive in this study were clean-shaven men, and women with a smile. It is worth taking into consideration that the findings of Magnini et al. (2013) were limited to African-American and Caucasian front-line employees, whereas Tsaur et al. (2015) draw their conclusions in the restaurant industry in Taiwan. Additionally, the previous studies by Nickson et al. (2005), Warhurst et al. (2000), and Warhurst and Nickson (2007) based their investigations on the retail and hospitality industries in Glasgow.

To present the right image to the guest, hotels offer further training on body language and self-presentation to strengthen the employee’s aesthetic skills (Nickson et al., 2005). However, in the research by Warhurst and Nickson (2007), it was

identified that an organisation preferred to hire employees with the right appearance instead of training them. Hence, even in job advertisements companies were focused on appearance by seeking people with a “smart appearance”, who are “well spoken” or even “well presented” (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007).

Thus, job applicants were more likely judged on their aesthetic skills than on the technical competencies required for the job (Warhurst et al., 2000). The research by Nickson et al. (2005) concluded further that job applicants with aesthetic skills for customer-facing jobs had an advantage in comparison to applicants without these skills. In addition, Tsai et al., (2012) identified the relevance of attractiveness when hiring new employees. The findings indicated a preference for attractive applicants over unattractive ones. According to Ruetzler et al. (2012), the job applicant’s attractiveness had an effect on the employers’ first impression. Thus the appearance automatically influenced the perception of the employer, no matter how good the preparation of the job applicant was. However, the findings indicated that there was no difference between job applicants considered as ordinarily attractive compared to applicants with an higher than average attractiveness (Ruetzler et al., 2012).

Body modification

To define body modification, it is important to differentiate between the three concepts of body decoration: body painting; body adornment; and body modification (Selekman, 2003). Body painting, like henna tattoos, is considered a temporary method to colour the body. Additionally, body adornment is used to make the appearance more attractive with, for example, jewellery. Body modification is a widely used term and is defined as a long-lasting, extreme change and adjusting of the physical appearance (Swanger, 2006). Tattoos and piercings are included in this concept. Selekman (2003) defined tattoos as permanent with the opportunity to be placed everywhere and in every size on the body. Even if tattoos are considered permanent, it is possible to remove them to a certain extent. However, this is connected to a painful and costly process with numerous treatments necessary.

Piercings, on the other hand, are defined as less permanent due to the characteristic of being removable to a certain extent. To differentiate between earrings and piercings, Elzweig and Peebles (2011, p. 13) redrafted the term piercing into body piercing, and defined it “as a piercing anywhere in the body besides the soft spot of the earlobe”.

In recent years the popularity of body modification, especially among younger generations, has increased (Totten et al., 2009), so the possible effects of this physical modification need to be considered for a future in the hospitality industry. According to the study by Timming et al. (2017), visible body modification influenced the employment chances negatively, especially in customer-facing jobs. In most organisations, visible tattoos and piercings are not permitted (Nickson et al., 2005; Swanger 2006), as these were indicators of non-professionalism (Ruetzler et al., 2012). Thus hospitality companies based the hiring decision on employees without visible body modification (Brallier et al., 2011). Such hiring decisions are not considered illegal (Elzweig & Peebles, 2011). However, there were certain exceptions, like tattoos associated with a certain religion, which needed to be taken into consideration when making

these hiring decisions. Additionally, previous studies recognised differences comparing the likelihood of hiring male or female job applicants with visible tattoos. The study by Brallier et al. (2011) identified that tattooed females especially lost advantages in the hiring process compared to non-tattooed females. In comparison, the research by Timming et al. (2017) determined that the influence of visible tattoos on men's faces was perceived more negatively compared to tattooed women.

However, there are hotels like the W Hotels, or the Hard Rock Cafes, which are more open-minded regarding body modified employees and job applicants. In general most hotels stayed with the traditional approaches and grooming standards of the hospitality industry (Magnini et al., 2013). Nevertheless, Ruetzler et al. (2012) determined that every generation considered different appearances attractive and became more tolerant towards differences. In considering these findings, new opportunities for further research become clear.

Conclusion

The literature review has highlighted the importance of the service interaction between guest and employee in the hospitality industry. Hence, as the guests value the way in which the service is delivered and experienced, the significance of the guest's perception of the received service quality in this interaction was identified. To evaluate the service quality, the guests tend to evaluate the quality according to the five dimensions of responsiveness, reliability, assurance, empathy and tangibles. As the appearance of the employees is evaluated based on the tangibles dimension, the concept of aesthetic labour was analysed. Thus, the importance of aesthetic skills and the right appearance was determined. Moreover, related to the appearance and attractiveness of front-line employees, the concept of body modification, in the form of tattoos and piercings, was described. This concept has become more popular in society over the last years. However, several studies identified its negative effects on employment chances in the hospitality industry. This industry still prefers to hire non-tattooed job applicants, especially in customer-facing roles. Related to the concept of aesthetic labour, it was identified that employers are more likely to base hiring decisions on appearance, attractiveness and aesthetic skills, especially for front-line employees.

Despite the existing literature, there are few studies about the relationship and effects of tattooed employees on customer perceptions in the service encounter. Hence, this work-in-progress research aims to explore these aspects by considering the identified key themes of body modification related to aesthetic labour and the service interaction in the hospitality industry.

Main themes to explore

The concepts of service interaction, aesthetic labour and body modification are identified as key themes of this study and are explored further. Based on these themes, a conceptual model (Figure 1) was created.

The model illustrates the connection between the appearances of front-line employees in the service encounter in the form of body modification with the guest perception in combination with the service quality dimensions in the

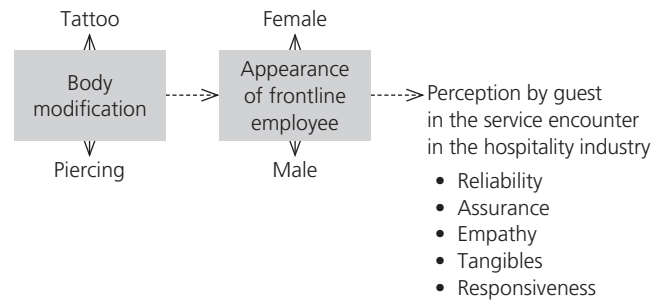


Figure 1: Conceptual model

hospitality industry. In this study, the quality dimensions are used as a framework to measure the first impression of the guest perception of body modified front-line employees. Hence, based on the conceptual model, this research aims to investigate to what extent the body modified appearance of male and female front-line employees influences the first impression of guests' perception of service quality in the hospitality industry. As the model already indicates, the concept of body modification is divided into tattoos and piercings to evaluate the differences between these two factors. Furthermore, as the literature review has identified, a possible gender difference will be considered. To determine the aspects presented in the conceptual model, the data will be collected through a factorial experimental design with surveys based on factors like tattoo, piercing, gender, and age. The surveys will be distributed among guests in hotels in Germany.

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WORK IN PROGRESS

Sustainable tourism development in Amsterdam Oud-West

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In many popular tourism destinations in the world, rapid tourism growth is occurring. The Netherlands has also experienced tourism growth, with an expected increase of almost 6 million international tourists in 10 years. Amsterdam is the main destination in this enormous growth. Some residents are worried that within a few years their locality will be full of tourists. Rapid tourism growth has an enormous impact on the environment, the economy and society, and emphasises the need for sustainable tourism development. Sustainable tourism development has two main considerations: long-term tourism planning, and applying stakeholder participation. Solving the problem of overcrowding can only be achieved by applying these. This study explores the current tourism situation and the extent to which sustainable tourism development is being applied in the rural area of Amsterdam Oud-West. Data will be collected by 11 semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders such as the municipality, residents, the tourism industry and one news reporter. The main contribution of this study will be in terms of context, since no research on sustainable tourism development has been done in this particular area. Besides, it will provide insights into the practical application of sustainable tourism development, which might be helpful for all areas in Amsterdam, or even all other tourism destinations.

Keywords: Amsterdam Oud-West, long-term thinking, stakeholder participation, sustainable tourism development, tourism pressure

Introduction

While many people think of canals, bicycles, coffee shops, mills and the red light district, fewer people seem to think of Amsterdam as an export-oriented multiproduct company (Romão et al., 2015). The rapid tourism growth of the past years has much impact on the city and the surrounding area, in an economical, social and environmental way. Maximising returns for each of these three dimensions is essential to avoid mass tourism and to guide the growing tourism stream into sustainable tourism development. In addition, it is crucial to involve key stakeholders and to apply a long-term vision in the process of tourism planning (Hall, 2008; Berke, 2002; Clifton & Amran, 2011; Cavagnaro-Stuijt & Curiel, 2012; World Travel & Tourism Council [WTTC], 2017). This study focuses on sustainable tourism development and explores to what extent and how the main implications of sustainable tourism development are being applied in the rural area of Amsterdam Oud-West.

Relevance

Currently, in many popular tourist destinations in the world, rapid tourism growth is occurring. In several cities in Europe, local residents are beginning to protest against the growing number of tourists that disrupt their lives. Examples of these cities are Venice and Barcelona. Here the concept of anti-tourism is clearly visible. In other cities, the ratio of tourists to residents escalates, for example in Macau (1:50),

Hong Kong (1:8.4) and Venice (1:37) (Lai & Hitchcock, 2017). Locals in Amsterdam are not yet writing anti-tourism slogans on walls, however regularly local newspapers report complaints and discussions regarding the nuisance of tourists and overcrowding. In certain areas of Amsterdam, tourism growth has escalated to mass tourism, with the result of poor host-guest relations. There are areas in Amsterdam, however, such as Noord, Nieuw-West and Zuid-Oost that are not very touristic (Schoonhoven, 2015). As a result of the current tourism developments and the efforts from the municipality to spread tourism over the whole city, some residents in these areas are worried that within a few years their environment will be full of tourists (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015; 2016). It is essential to focus on sustainable tourism development in order to avoid the escalation into "mass tourism". Research in this field is important because understanding reasons for locals' resistance will help to minimise negative impacts and maximise support (Ruhanen-Hunter, 2006; Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2011). According to Clifton and Amran (2011), the cause of negative impacts and perceptions related to tourism is because of inadequate or non-existent tourism planning frameworks.

Background and aim

Statistics obtained from the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) and WTTC confirm that rapid tourism growth is a fact. The Netherlands counted 15 767 000 international visitors in 2017, and the forecast for 2027 is 21 725 000 (WTTC, 2017). This has an enormous impact on the environment, the

economy and the society, and stresses the need for sustainable tourism development. Amsterdam especially faces significant tourism growth. The hotel occupancy rate in Amsterdam was 70% in 2005, and in 2016 this percentage has increased to already 81% and is significantly higher than the average hotel occupancy in the rest of the Netherlands (71% in 2015) (Fedorova et al., 2017). It is important to manage this development in such a way that the returns for the economy, society and the environment are maximised so that growth can be sustained.

Being born and raised in a small and quiet village only 60 kilometres from Amsterdam, I find the developments somewhat worrying. Many inhabitants of the village avoid Amsterdam, but some have decided to move there. Those who do, experience immense difficulties finding a place to live, and once they find a place, the prices are sky-high. This is not only related to tourism growth, but to population growth as well. According to Meurs (2017), the most obvious solution is to balance supply and demand so that prices will decrease to a stable point, meaning that Amsterdam should expand. In the past few decades, Amsterdam has expanded enormously already and further growth will require much from the rest of the province, and in the far future it might even affect the area where I live.

The aim of this research is to identify how the concept of sustainable tourism development, including stakeholder participation and long-term destination planning, is being applied in Amsterdam Oud-West. In this area, tourism numbers are growing, but there is no mass tourism (stakeholder's opinions about this are divided though). Exploring if and how this area applies the principles of sustainable tourism growth and identifying the effects can help the other areas and cities manage the expected stream of tourists in a sustainable way. It should be underlined that it is not the aim of this research to solve problems related to mass tourism. These problems are extremely complicated and involve many stakeholders and external factors. Therefore the aim is to explore the current tourism situation in Amsterdam Oud-West from different perspectives in order to illustrate how tourism is managed and what the consequences are for the economy, environment and society.

Literature review

Tourism in Amsterdam

Since 2010, there has been a 4–5% annual international tourism growth worldwide. The reasons for tourism growth in Amsterdam are the favourable position of the euro currency and low airline prices (Fedorova et al., 2017). In 2015, the city centre counted 12.9 million stays. This represents 31% of the total stays in the Netherlands, whereas the area possesses only 25% of the total hotel capacity. For the whole MRA (Amsterdam metropolitan region), this percentage goes up to 42%, but the MRA region only possesses 35% of the available hotel capacity (Fedorova et al., 2017). Figure 1 visualises these statements, and shows how the average occupancy rate in the MRA region and the city centre are significantly higher than the national average.

Tourism pressure in Amsterdam is increasing. This is also the case in Amsterdam Oud-West, a district in the western part of the city situated right outside the Canal Belt. The population has increased from 31 529 inhabitants in 2007 to

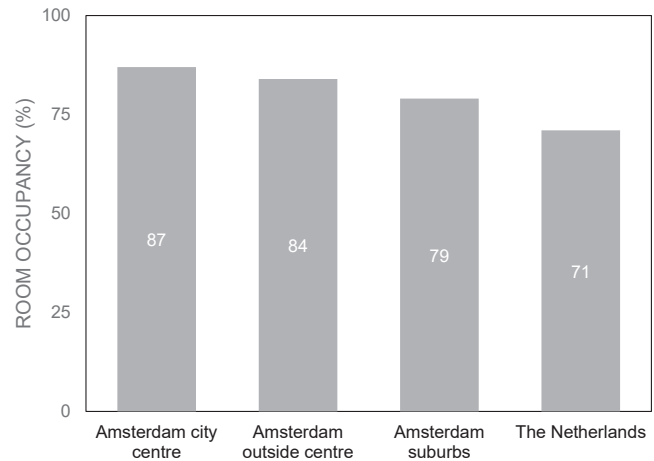


Figure 1: Room occupancy in 3 to 5-star hotels, 2015

35 292 in 2017 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2007; 2017). Since the end of the economic crisis of 2008, Oud-West has increased in popularity. Especially after the opening of de Hallen, which is located in the Kinkerbuurt, this area has increased significantly in attractiveness and visitor pressure has increased. De Hallen used to be the old tram depot/shed but now it contains The Food Hallen, an art exhibition, a hotel, a cinema, and a library, and many events are organised there.

Recently, newspapers have often written about tourism in Amsterdam. *Trouw* (a Dutch newspaper) wrote that Airbnb and other vacation rentals cause a shortage of living places for residents. As a result, the few apartments that are left in the city are becoming too expensive for locals (Zwam, 2016). Another problem that vacation rentals seem to cause is nuisance from tourists. The alderman of Amsterdam states that nuisance is just a matter of perception and that it is in the nature of Amsterdam residents to complain. A member of De Vereniging van Vrienden strongly disagrees and thinks that residents complain because they have a strong connection to the city so they care about the developments. Besides, it takes effort to officially complain so it is not in the nature of inhabitants (Kruyswijk, 2015; Zwam, 2016). On their website, the municipality has admitted that it cannot and does not want to obstruct the growing stream of tourism because this is not in line with the values of the city (international, open, inclusive and hospitable) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). However, due to criticism and complaints from residents and entrepreneurs, the project Stad in Balans ("city in balance") has been established in order to manage the growing number of tourists. The project has four central focus points, the first one is to create more quality and diversity in the shopping and hospitality industry. The second focus point is to reduce nuisance and create boundaries regarding tourism growth. Third point is to spread visitors over the entire city, and the last focus point is to create more space on the streets and in the urban areas. The new city council recently announced plans for additional measurements: decrease the maximum amount of vacation rentals (Airbnb) from 60 to 30 nights per year and even forbid vacation rentals in the most crowded districts. Also there will be no boarding points for touring boats in the city centre and touring cars may not leave the ring Amsterdam to the city centre. Finally the plans to build a new terminal

for cruises might be cancelled (Nederlandse Omroep Stichting [NOS], 2018; Van Weezel, 2018).

Effects of tourism

Many researchers stress the importance of tourism since it increases the local and national GDP and creates jobs. For a complete assessment of the benefits, the direct, indirect and induced tourism spending should be taken into consideration. Examples of indirect spending are investments (building a hotel, for instance, contributes to a rising GDP) and suppliers earn money that they will spend again. Induced spending is about what both direct and indirect employees of the tourism industry spend; think about food and clothing for instance. According to the WTTC (2017), the total contribution of tourism to the GDP in the Netherlands in 2017 was \$40.1 billion, whereas the direct contribution was \$14.5 billion. This means that for every dollar that is directly spent on tourism, 2.8 dollars contribute to the total GDP. The same sort of multiplier principle can be applied for job creation. In 2016, tourism created 446 direct jobs, whereas the total number of jobs created by tourism was 677, resulting in a multiplier of 1.5. Besides these positive impacts, tourism can have downsides as well. These downsides start to dominate as soon as the number of tourists gets out of control and mass tourism occurs. As stressed in the introduction, mass tourism causes dissatisfaction among residents since it disrupts their lives. Tourists also use many resources such as water and food, which cause environmental pollution. Also the airplanes tourists use to come to Amsterdam are troublesome in terms of noise and CO₂ emissions (Bakker, 2018).

Resident attitudes

According to Gursoy et al. (2009), the reason that positive tourism impacts seem to outweigh the negative impacts has to do with the strong relation of positive economic impacts. Supporting this statement, Yoon et al. (2001) have researched the relationship of economical, social, cultural and environmental impacts. Findings show that economic and cultural impacts are positively related to the total impact. The most significant correlation is the economic impact (0.42), implying that residents believe that tourism is beneficial in terms of job creation, investments in the local community and economical benefits for locals (as result of an increase in GDP and jobs). Ko and Stewart (2002) found that economic satisfaction has the highest positive correlation compared to other factors.

Social and environmental impacts seem to be more negatively related towards residents' attitudes. Of the social and cultural impacts, the factor of "improves understanding and image of different communities/cultures" was most beneficial (0.55), whereas "increases alcoholism, prostitution, and sexual permissiveness" was perceived to be the most negative factor (0.70). This difference is in line with the statement that negative social factors have a stronger relation to overall perception of tourism than positive social factors. The "increases alcoholism, prostitution and sexual permissiveness" factor might be especially applicable to inhabitants of Amsterdam, since this city is well-known for the red light district, which provokes alcohol and drug abuse and prostitution.

Sustainable tourism development

The UN World Tourism Organisation came up with one of the most cited definitions of sustainable tourism development:

[It] meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems. (Institute for tourism, http://www.itzg.hr/en/odrziivi_razvoj/sustainable_tourism/)

The first part of this definition indirectly emphasises the need for long-term tourism planning by stating that protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future are part of sustainable tourism development. Strategic planning is "a comprehensive plan of action that sets a critical direction, and guides the allocation of resources to achieve long term objectives" (Schermerhorn, 1996, p. 160). Resources, skills and competencies are used in strategic planning to determine the future direction. It is important to include stakeholders in the strategic planning. According to the WTTC, involving all stakeholders in long-term tourism planning can only solve the problem of overcrowding in tourism destinations, and thus contribute to sustainable tourism development (Keeble, 1988; Clifton & Amran, 2011; Cavagnaro-Stuijt & Curiel, 2012; WTTC, 2017). Ap (1992) states that perception and the attitude of locals towards tourism are important to consider in tourism planning and depend on the success of tourism development. Long-term tourism planning is considered one of the most important implications of sustainable tourism development (Hall, 2008; Simpson, 2001). Carefully applying tourism development plans is likely to reduce negative experiences in social, economic and physical environments (Timothy, 1999). The shape, scope and character of future developments and needs must be foreseen to ensure these future needs will be met (Berke, 2002).

The main conclusion drawn from the literature is that tourism numbers are increasing in Amsterdam. Tourism has many consequences. Generally speaking, the economic factors are given priority over environmental and social factors. This is not unexpected, since the economical benefits are the strongest related positive factor towards tourism attitudes. In addition, for both the industry and the local government, the profits generated by tourism are an important source of income. However, in the context of sustainable tourism development, it is essential that value is created for society and the environment too, and that tourism is not solely a matter of money. Therefore a balanced approach is needed in order to make sure tourism is beneficial for the economy, but does not put too much pressure on the environment and society. This approach is called sustainable tourism development, and the main implications are to make long-term strategic tourism plans and to include key stakeholders in tourism planning.

Issues

The critical issues that this research tries to explore are related to visitor pressure, resident resistance and destination limits. Literature suggests concepts such as sustainable tourism development, stakeholder participation and long-term tourism

planning to be crucial in dealing with these critical issues. These concepts might be considered to be the main themes of the research. Figure 2 clearly illustrates how these concepts relate to each other and it serves as the main outline of this study. The key stakeholders in this research are the community, the municipality and the tourism industry; these are the stakeholder groups that will be interviewed. Tourists are also key stakeholders but due to the fact that the resources are limited to include them in the interviews, this target group is linked to long-term strategic tourism planning. It is essential to focus on this group as well for the obvious reason that if tourists experience a destination as not enjoyable, they will stop coming and there will be no tourism to sustain. Therefore this stakeholder group perfectly fits with long-term strategic tourism planning. In order to sustain positive visitor experiences, the resources that tourists value should be maintained and value needs to be created for the economy, society and the environment simultaneously. The literature stresses that these are the main aspects of sustainable tourism development. Again it should be noticed that the aim of this research is not to solve tourism problems by applying the theoretical model, but to explore underlying reasons for overcrowding and to illustrate the current state of tourism. The situation is very complex and therefore it would not be reasonable to solve the problem. The model will be used to find out to what extent the concepts are being applied in the current tourism management of Amsterdam Oud-West, and to see what stakeholders' perceptions are regarding this model. The outcomes should indicate what the causes and results of current tourism policies are.

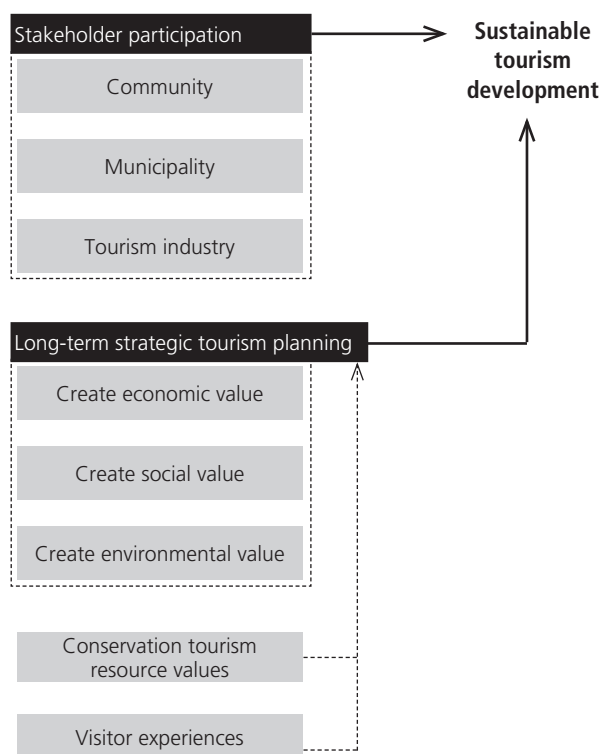


Figure 2: Stakeholders and issues

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Research in *Hospitality Management*

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SPECIAL ISSUE: Slavery and Liberation in Hotels, Restaurants and Bars

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