A qualitative cognitive appraisal of tourist harassment

Abstract

Abstract: Although hostility against tourists has gained a respectable amount of research attention over the last two decades, tourist harassment has proved to be an elusive topic for researchers. This study makes an important contribution to the literature by demonstrating the multidimensional nature of tourist harassment, with attention paid to the application of cognitive appraisal theory. We argue the need for an in-depth understanding of victims' perspective of tourist harassment. The study involved 19 on-site interviews conducted in Ghana. The results show that tourists are subjected to aggressive and passive forms of harassment. The qualitative inquiry revealed that harassment has substantial effects on tourists' cognitive assessment, emotional response, coping strategy, destination image, and future intentions. Expressing annoyance and making behavioral adjustments were the more notable emotional and coping responses recorded. Although respondents were generally confident about recommending Ghana as a destination in spite of the harassment, they were divided in terms of their intentions to revisit the destination.

Keywords: Attribution; cognitive appraisal; coping strategy; emotional response; harassment

Introduction

Globally, the effects of unpleasant incidents on tourism demand have attracted significant attention from researchers (e.g. Boakye, 2009; Harper, 2006; Otoo & Kim, 2018). These studies concur that among a destination's several sociocultural attributes, a kind and welcoming ambiance has an important appeal for tourists, consequently becoming an indicator of tourist safety. The experience quality and postexperience behaviors of tourists were previously linked to the more vicious forms of victimization, notably crime and violence at destinations. By contrast, tourist harassment has been substantially ignored despite its potential to adversely affect visitor experience and intentions at a destination (Nicely & Armadita, 2018 a, b). Implicitly, tourist harassment is a behavior that potentially alarms, annoys, torments, or even traumatizes the visitor (Badu-Baiden, Adu-Boahen, & Otoo, 2016; Boakye, 2012; Chen, Hsu, & Li, 2018; McElroy, Tarlow, & Carlisle, 2007; Milman, 2015; Nicely & Armadita, 2018b; Ryan, 1993).

Although researchers have addressed issues of harassment within hospitality setups (Cheung, Baum, & Hsueh, 2018; Ram, Tribe, & Biran, 2016), only a few field investigations exist in regard to harassment against tourists (Ajaguna, 2006; Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; Calafat, Hughes, Blay, Bellis, Mendes, Juan, Lazarov, Cibin, & Duch, 2013; Carnegie, 1995; Kozak, Crotts, & Law, 2007; Skipper, Carmichael, & Doherty, 2014). The limited research on tourists' cognitive responses and impacts on the self and the destination confounds destinations' ability to reduce the negative effects of harassment toward tourists.

Tourist harassment is closely tied to the size of the informal economy and prevailing social structures. As a global phenomenon, tourist harassment is rife in the West and other non-African destinations. However, there are indications of its prevalence in lesser developed regions (Ajaguna, 2006; Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; Boakye, 2012; Chepkwony & Kangogo, 2013; de Albuquerque &

McElroy, 2001). Within the specific context of Ghana, the Ministry of Tourism has expressed concern over the prevalence of panhandling and other forms of harassment against tourists (Daily Graphic, 2010; Ghana News Agency, 2003). Not only is this problem a concern for destination governments but also diverse visitor studies about Ghana report incidents of harassment against tourists. Yankholmes and Akyeampong (2010) mentioned that visitors to the country lament harassment episodes from street vendors, "Rastafarians," and souvenir peddlers. In another study from Ghana, Boakye (2012) corroborated Yankholmes and Akyeampong's finding, noting that over two thirds of tourists in his sample had encountered some forms of harassment. However, not all harassed tourists are inclined to report harassment within this destination (Badu-Baiden et al., 2016).

The question of if and to what extent tourist harassment affects people differently has remained in the literature with few answers. The current study proposes an in-depth inquiry which seeks to understand the nature and effects of tourist harassment from tourists' own lived experiences and to ascertain how such harassment experiences affect tourists' emotionality, perceived destination image, and future intentions. Undeniably, the need for tourists to report and share lived experiences of harassment is both timely and relevant in an era of significant social discourse in the redress of harassment and abuse, such as the neologism "MeToo" or "Me Too" movement, which seeks to bring to the fore the pervasiveness of sexual and other forms of hostility. In addition, although literature suggests that tourist harassment may damage a destination's reputation (Brown & Osman, 2017; Kivela & Crotts, 2006; Kozak, 2016; Kozak et al., 2007; Pizam, Tarlow, & Bloom, 1997), the extent to which harassment impacts manifest are not readily provided. Following Lazarus' (1982; 1991) Cognitive Appraisal Theory (hereafter, CAT), we argue that the multiple cognitive responses from victims lived experiences provide a germane framework of the attributions and the effects of tourist harassment.

The value of this study is innate in numerous ways. First, the study provides a deep understanding of the tourists' harassment phenomenon and its potential to impact tourism demand. For destination governments, an understanding of harassment toward tourists engineers appropriate schemes for visitor management. Furthermore, insights generated from this study will enable tourism researchers and other stakeholders to appreciate the nature of the phenomenon and make well-informed analysis of harassment incidents. For other stakeholders (including local communities, security agencies, and tourists) this study provides important information for understanding the dynamic cognitive factors in visitor harassment and, thus, reducing unpleasant visitor encounters. The details of these findings, including the identification of emotional responses, coping strategies, impact on destination image perception, and future intentions, are valuable for the appraisal of tourist emotive and behavioral responses toward harassment.

The main objective of this study, therefore, is to examine the kaleidoscopic nature of tourist harassment. Specifically, the study is designed to identify the perceived attribution of harassment and consequently investigate the implications of tourist harassment via emotional responses, coping strategies, destination image perceptions, and future intentions by adapting and expanding the application of cognitive appraisal dimensions. Exploration of these specific objectives is expected to provide insight into the phenomenon of tourist harassment and to develop a semantic mapping of cognitive appraisal which depicts the nature and effects of tourist harassment. The study also generates important practical and theoretical implications for tourism stakeholders.

Literature review

Conceptualization of tourist harassment

Definition fuzziness is observed about what constitutes tourist harassment. First, tourist harassment is elusive for researchers because it is difficult to conceptualize or measure. Second, harassment against tourists is subtle, and its occurrence commonly has no definitive evidence. As such, tourist harassment is neither tracked statistically nor prioritized by a destination's tourism and security agencies (Ajaguna, 2006; McElroy et al., 2007). Third, studies generally adopt a noncriminal attitude toward tourist harassment so that tourist harassment is not considered criminal for many stakeholders.

Tourist harassment is a product of existing social, legal, or scholarly frameworks. It easily oscillates between criminal and noncriminal implications. In this regard, the act of harassment is perceived differently and at various degrees of severity, and it pertains to existing legal or social frameworks.

Academic operationalization of (tourist) harassment

According to Carnegie (1995), tourist harassment is a conduct that predictably affects visitors through persistent annoyance or unjustified interference with visitors' privacy or freedom of movement or other actions. Similarly, de Albuquerque and McElroy (2001) viewed tourist harassment as an annoying behavior carried to the extreme and results in annoyance by persistency of the behavior. Drawing from these discussions, Badu-Baiden et al. (2016) pointed their attention to the interpersonal nature of harassment and extended the definition of harassment against tourists to include any interpersonal behavior considered offensive or unacceptable by tourists. Collectively, the various definitions imply that tourist harassment is annoying, offensive, and unwanted.

Legal frameworks of harassment

Ryan (1993) implied a general reference to written or case law in either the generating or recipient region. Here, harassment is a legal term and has different meanings in different jurisdictions. In the United States, harassment is defined as a repeated or continual unconsented contact that alarms, annoys, or emotionally distresses an individual (US Legal, 2016). Under the United Kingdom's Protection from Harassment Act of 1997, a rather wide spectrum of the term is applied with no specific definition assumed though such an act causes alarm or distress and involves a repeat of at least two occasions (Human Rights Act, 1998). By contrast, in Ghana, harassment, which includes sexual and intimidating acts, induces fear, harms, endangers, undermines, and detracts other persons (Institute of Development Studies, Ghana Statistical Services, & Associates, 2016). Much of the legal applications on harassment in Ghana, however, refer to sexual and labor-related harassments.

Thus, from the legal perspectives, the common aspects of harassment (other than unwelcomed behaviors) involve systematic and repeated discrimination. However, harassment toward tourists is significantly nonroutine, nonsystematic, and not necessarily repeated (Hall, 1996; Pratt & Turanovic, 2016; Nicely, Day, Sydnor, & Ghazali, 2015; Wen & Li, 2015). In many instances, tourist harassment occurs in plain sight and without risky or repeated indulgence on the part of tourists (Ajagunna, 2006; Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; Boakye, 2012; Carnegie, 1995; Chepkwony & Kangogo, 2013; de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001; Kozak, 2007; McElroy et al., 2007; Nicely, 2015; Pathirana & Gnanapala, 2015; Pratt & Turanovic, 2016). A legal scope only tangentially addresses the nature of harassment and its applicability to tourists. Therefore, it is problematic.

Harassment within the context of lived experience

Cognitive appraisal of a harassment incident depends on the victim's subjective judgment considering that harassment itself carries a negative meaning (Ajagunna, 2006; Carstensen, 2016; Cheung et al., 2018; McElroy, 2003; McElroy et al., 2007). Such personal meaning (rather than the incident itself) sets the stage for an emotional assessment of the incident (Lazarus, 1991; Reeves, 2015). In this regard, a victim does not consent to nor is able to consent to the act of harassment. Evidently, this viewpoint is central and implicit in all definitions of the term. Within the personal and the legal frameworks, direct constructions from the tourist's own mouth are a more reliable form of data than implied responses gathered using *a priori* definitions. Generally, a qualitative inquiry is expedient for meaningful exploration of the concept (Beeho & Prentice, 1997; Lindqvist & Björk, 2000).

Shades of tourist harassment

From the hindsight of past tourism experience research (for example, Ryan & Kohli, 2006; Sharpley, 2005), we argue that tourist harassment can be viewed in shades of dark and grey, that is, within a spectrum of hostile to non-hostile behaviors rather than exclusively as noncriminal behaviors. In criminal hostile behaviors, tourists are exposed to a great risk of harm particularly within the context of physical aggression. Aggression toward tourists includes sexual harassment (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Seow & Brown, 2018), aggressive selling (Kozak, 2007; McElroy, 2003; Nicely & Ghazali, 2017), and drug peddling (de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001).

In the tourism literature, two approaches to the narrative of tourist harassment exist: aggressive and passive harassment. **Aggressive harassment** refers to the perpetration of physical and threatening acts toward tourists. Aggressive harassment carries a greater risk of harm. As regard noncriminal behaviors, harassment has passive forms that, although disruptive to the visitor's

experience, do not convey a threat or risk of harm. In this study, such acts are referred to as **passive harassment**.

Figure 1 illustrates the forgoing discussions. The light grey section implies that harassment has a negative connotation even where there is no risk of harm. These forms of harassment include nonviolent and nonsexual harassment which are considered noncriminal (Boakye, 2012). However, certain acts, such as extortion, although nonviolent, are criminal. These nonviolent but criminal acts fall within the dim grey area. Acts that carry a risk of harm or force (physical and/or sexual) are criminal and are depicted by the dark-grey area. In this study, however, we do not include acts such as rape, theft, robbery, or acts involving physical injury or violence which are better suited for a study on crime against tourists.
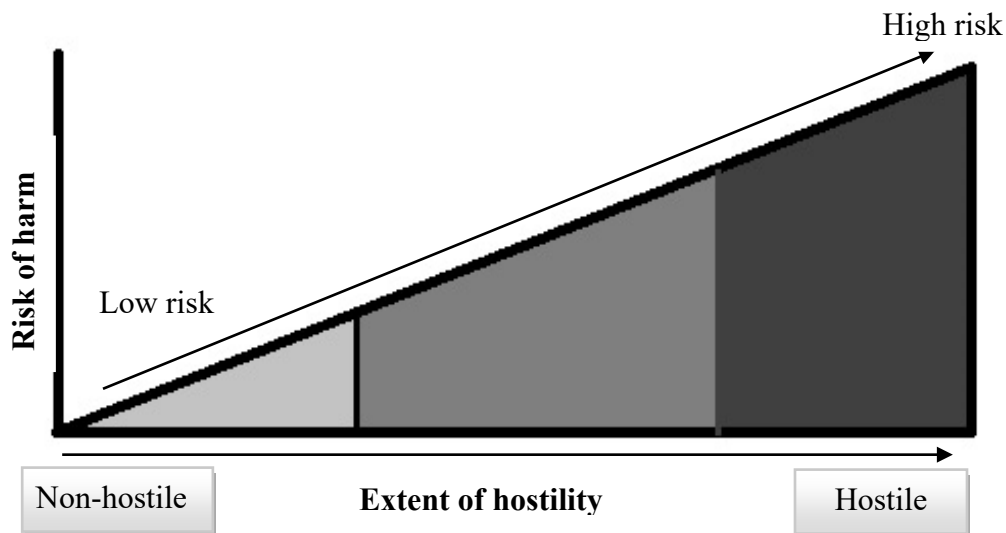
Figure 1. Shades of harassment continuum

On the specific subject of aggressive harassment, emerging studies identify sexual harassment as a common but least-reported tourist experience (Calafat et al., 2013; Brown & Osman, 2017). Seow and Brown (2018) have likewise argued that sexualized male gaze is a major constraint

for solo female travelers. These authors also draw attention to the subjective assessment of sexual harassment, often arguing that it is complex because behaviors perceived as sexual harassment differ across cultures, individuals, contexts, and moments of time. In many cases, sexual harassment manifests in the forms of sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention, seductive harassment, sexual bribery, sexual assault, and gender harassment (Cheung et al., 2018; Fitzgerald, 1988).

As regard gender-based harassment, other authors contend that female tourists are usually the victims of sexual abuses with the commonest places being night clubs and beaches (de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001; Brown & Osman, 2017; Calafat et al. 2013). Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter (2001) also argued that female tourists have different expectations and attitudes to travel. In their study on female tourists' experiences in Egypt, Brown and Osman (2017) found additional challenges of negotiating through male-constructed local norms within visited destinations, typified by sexual harassment that constrained female tourists. Unwanted male attention and sexual harassment were common to these tourists. In exploring such causes of sexual harassment, Kozak (2007) contended that most European female tourists are perceived to dress provocatively; hence, they are generally considered easy targets by perpetrators. The author posits that female tourists are seen by some men as "one night stands" rather than anything else. Such conceptions reflect a long-held view of the domination and objectification of women in some male-oriented societies (Jordan &Aitchison, 2008).

Attributions of harassment

Weiner's (1985) attribution theory has important implications for this study. Individuals attribute events to two factors, namely, internal or self-inflicted attribution and external attribution. Where an event is internally attributed, self-blame arises and victims tend to cope. Where an event is externally

attributed, overt resistance or displeasure is displayed. The extant literature suggests that tourists could be personally responsible for harassment perpetrated by locals or other tourists: for example, tourists may let down their guard and enter unsafe areas that even locals dare not visit in the quest for 'authentic' experiences (Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; Harper, 2006; Skipper et al., 2014). Accordingly, Boakye (2012) argues that the majority of tourists fall prey to a type of hostility because of their own carelessness. In this sense, an internal (personal) attribution is implied.

External attribution is linked to multiple factors in the literature, including capable guardianship (Boakye, 2009; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Siegel, 2008), hotspots (Boakye, 2010; Cochran, Bromley, & Branch, 2000; Crotts, 1996), and conducive opportunity (Miethe & Meier, 1990). Studies have also suggested that the apparent inequality between tourists (viewed as rich) and host communities intensifies the harassment of tourists (Aziz, 1995; Chen, Chen, & Okumus, 2013; Chen et al., 2018; Harper, 2006). In developing regions such as Africa where panhandling towards locals and foreigners is a common spectacle, it is difficult to determine whether such acts constitute harassment. What is needed, therefore, is first-hand knowledge of foreign tourists' perceptions of the attributions of harassment.

A midpoint view, however, is noted among some scholars. To these scholars, 'tourist displays,' such as wearing expensive wristwatches, necklaces, and sunshades or carrying expensive travel equipment such as cameras and communication gadgets, symbolize wealth or high status (Crotts, 1996; Kim & McKercher, 2011; Michalko, 2003; Ryan, 1993). Tourists with these accessories are deemed 'suitable' targets of harassment. In certain instances, wearing these advertisements of wealth have incited criminal activities against tourists at tourism sites (Ajagunna, 2006; Boakye, 2010; Brunet, 2002; Cochran et al., 2000; Meier & Miethe, 1993; Michalko, 2003; Miethe & Meier, 1990; Ryan, 1993). Cohen (1987) cited 'dress' as an aspect of appearance used to

identify tourists in a foreign culture. Ajagunna (2006) also observed that identification wristbands worn by tourists provoke harassment. In addition, certain racial markers or identifiers, such as skin pigmentation, accent, and language, may attract harassment (Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001). We refer to these collectively as *harassment markers*—visual and audible signs, such as dress, or other advertisements, which increases the chance of tourists being subjected to harassment.

To accommodate the midpoint perspective, it seems rather meaningful to label harassment attributions as personal attribution and external attribution. Personal attribution includes appearance factors (racial markers, advertisements, dressing, etc.), personal negligence, and language. External attribution relates to factors outside victims' locus of control and includes venue, time, the presence of security, and capable guardianship.

Theoretical consideration: Cognitive appraisal

This study introduces Cognitive Appraisal Theory (Lazarus, 1982, 1991) as a theoretical framework into the tourist harassment discourse with the objectives of exploring the nature and effects of incidents. The theory is set upon the assumption that human emotions are built from appraisals or evaluations of unpleasant events, resulting in specific reactions among different people. Although the processes of cognitive appraisal typically follow the sequence (a) event (situation assessment), (b) thinking, and (c) simultaneous events of arousal and emotion (Lazarus, 1982, 1991; Smith & Lazarus, 1990), subsequent exploration of the theory suggests the following sequence: *cognition*, *emotion*, *coping strategy*, and *future behavior* (Breitsohl & Garrod, 2016; Moors, Ellsworth, Scherer, & Frijda, 2013; Reeve, 2015).

Breitsohl and Garrod (2016) validated that tourists cognitively evaluate unpleasant incidents before they react to them. Thus, the intensity (frequency and aggressiveness) of the harassment incident triggers other emotional responses (anger, disgust, sadness, and fear, among others) such that an intensified form of harassment results in negative emotions (Nicely & Armadita, 2018b). Following from those emotional responses, tourists enact some strategies to cope with the event. Finally, the extent of impact of such unpleasant incidents influences the future behavioral intentions of the tourist.

Applying the CAT to the current study, three aspects of appraisal are conceptualized: *severity, primary effect,* and *secondary effect*. Severity relates to the amount of damage attributed to an incident and the degree of expectations breached as a consequence of the incident (Breitsohl & Garrod, 2016; Coombs, 2007). As the share of the blame for an unpleasant destination incident is attributed to multiple factors (Coombs, 2007), **cognitive assessment** (also, situational assessment) ought to be examined from an attribution perspective (i.e. who to blame) and the severity of the incident. In this respect, the severity of an incident is as meaningful as how much the destination is to blame (Breitsohl & Garrod, 2016; Lazarus, Averill, & Opton, 1970). Apart from the victim's own attribution, external agencies, such as the presence of a capable guardian (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Siegel, 2008) or the venue (Boakye, 2012; Cochran et al., 2000; Crotts, 1996), may inform tourists' vulnerability to harassment. Extending this point, the first goal is to identify tourist traits that predispose them to certain forms of harassment (e.g. male or female).

The primary effect is defined as a self-impact assessment of a harassment incident by the victim. The primary effect of harassment is constituted by an individual's **emotional response** to the harassment which is defined here as the expression of sentiments that reflect a tourists' intrapsychic feeling or feelings. Emotional responses reflect perceptions rather than reality (Beeho & Prentice,

1997). However, studies exploring emotional responses from tourists in relation to harassment are limited albeit some works have initiated this inquiry (Andriotis, 2016; Nicely & Armadita, 2018 a, b). The broader victimology literature records three types of emotional responses to unethical destination incidents: anger, contempt, and disgust (Breitsohl & Garrod, 2016). Other studies report feelings of being pressured, overwhelmed, anger, and fear (Nicely & Ghazali, 2014; Skipper, 2009).

It suffices to argue that emotional responses transcend anger, contempt, and disgust alone. CAT also postulates that emotional responses inform people's interpretations and reactions to their circumstances. Emotional response precipitates coping strategies and the subsequent adaptation of strategies in response to such incidents. **Coping strategy** is related to the actions or inactions of tourists after a harassment incident. Coping strategies may range from active-cognitive to active-behavioral based on the perceived intensity or severity of the event (Billings & Moos, 1981; Lazarus, 1982, 1991).

As depicted in Figure 2, the secondary effect of harassment is defined as an individual's perception of a destination's image as well as their future behavioral intentions towards that destination. In some studies, including Chen and Gursoy (2001), future travel behavior was defined as the intention to recommend a destination to others. Similarly, the perception of a destination's image is an important construct in tourists' experience evaluation (Castro, Armario, & Ruiz, 2007; Chen et al., 2013; Kim, Mckercher, & Lee, 2009; Qu, Kim, & Im, 2011; Zhang, Fu, Cai, & Lu, 2014). **Destination image,** as applied in this study, refers to tourists' overall impression of a destination after encountering harassment. Although the tourism literature is replete with studies on destination image, information on the extent to which harassment affects the perceived destination image is not readily available, albeit fleeting references are given to possible negative destination image perceptions (Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; Kozak, 2007). Nicely and Armadita (2018a) claimed

that tourists are inclined to recommend the destination to others and support local traders in the future as they feel a great sense of sympathy toward harassers. Tourists, however, did not feel inclined to return to the destination. Tourists to Ghana largely comprise first-time visitors (Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; Boakye, 2012). Therefore, **future behavior intention** is operationalized in this study as tourists' intention to recommend the destination after encountering harassment.
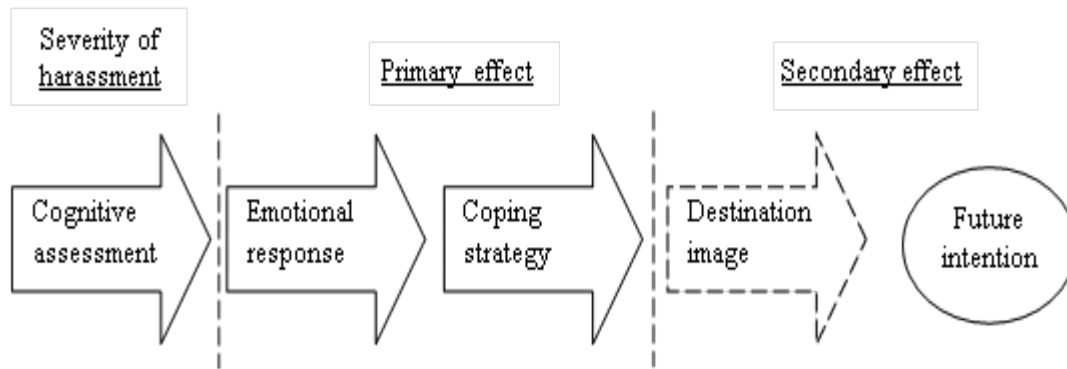
Figure 2. Sequential appraisal of tourist harassment

Three rationales support the application of CAT in exploring tourist harassment. First, cognitive appraisal accommodates variations in people's emotional reactions to events (Smith & Lazarus, 1990). People experience a kaleidoscopic blend of emotions because events are interpreted differently (Lazarus, 1991; Reeves, 2015). Second, the theory has applications beyond the causes of harassment incidents, thus providing a more comprehensive assessment of the causes and effects of harassment. Third, the theory is suitable for further elaborations of the multiple effects of a victim's cognitive or situational assessment, emotional responses, coping strategies, and post-encounter evaluations of destination image and future behavioral intentions. This is a gap in previous tourism and victimology studies.

Method

Study setting

The study was conducted in Ghana, a country on the western coast of Africa. The country has characteristics that make it both attractive to long-haul tourists and a suitable case study for tourist victimology. Some past studies suggest that global south destinations are more susceptible to incidents of tourist harassment (Ajagunna, 2006; Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; Boakye, 2012; Carnegie, 1995; Chepkwony & Kangogo, 2013; Lepp & Gibson, 2011; McElroy, 2003). Secondly, although Ghana, like other destinations, is considered hospitable for travelers, past research indicates evidence of unpleasant destination encounters, including harassment (Badu-Baiden et al., 2016; Boakye, 2010, 2012). Moreover, travel to African destinations is believed to induce some level of safety concerns among tourists (Ankomah & Crompton, 1990; George, 2003; Lepp & Gibson, 2011). These views are investigated in the context of Ghana.

Delimitation

The study focuses on nonlocal tourists who had traveled to Ghana and experienced a form of harassment there. To ensure a reliable and meaningful set of responses, only tourists who had spent between 2 weeks and 12 consecutive months in Ghana at the time of data collection were involved. The participants had to be over 17 years of age to participate.

Data collection

A qualitative inquiry using semi-structured interviews was undertaken with the aim of providing an in-depth exploration of the nature and effects of tourist harassment. The contents for the interview were extracted from past victimology and tourism studies and included perceived causes of

harassment (Crotts, 1996; Michalko, 2003; de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001) and places of harassment (Boakye, 2010, 2012; Chepkwony & Kangogo, 2013; de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001; Skipper et al., 2014) as well as sociodemographic and visitor characteristics.

Two World Heritage Sites in Ghana, Cape Coast Castle and St. George's d'Elmina Castle (also called Elmina Castle), were selected for the study. Apart from being the recipients of many visitors to Ghana, these sites were reported as having a high incidence of harassment in some past studies (Badu-Baiden et al., 2016). Before initiating the interviews, screening questions were asked. These questions related to travel purpose, nationality, harassment experience, length of the visit, and willingness to engage in the study. Ethical considerations were taken seriously in this study. The measures taken to ensure the study was ethical included the elimination of any personal identifiers, such as names and contacts; the use of interview numbers as pseudonyms; and the issuance of consent letters to all participants. Participants were free to disengage at any point in the interview.

A total of 19 interviews were conducted via convenience sampling in January 2017. Convenience sampling is justified because researchers have no foreknowledge of respondents. Thirty tourists were approached; 21 met the criteria discussed earlier, and 19 consented to be interviewed. The interviews lasted 20 minutes on average. The questions asked included (but were not limited to) the following: "Would you please describe what you perceive as tourist harassment?"; "Would you please explain your experience of harassment?"; "Why do you think you were harassed?"; "Would you describe how you were affected by the harassment incident?" Questions were asked in keeping with the CAT criteria (i.e. cognitive assessment, emotional response, coping strategy, destination image, and future intentions). The questions were structured to probe issues that had emerged from previous studies. Data were collected until theoretical saturation was reached (Bowen, 2008;

Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Communications were conducted in English, and the face-to-face interviews were recorded in audio format upon participants' consent.

Data analysis

One of the more extensive ways of conducting such a thematic analysis of qualitative data is through template analysis (Brooks, McCluskey, Turley, & King, 2015; King & Horrocks, 2010; King, Carroll, Newton, & Dornan, 2002). Although template analysis follows standard thematic analysis procedure, it is permissible to start with some *a priori* themes, in this case, cognitive appraisal domains (Brooks et al., 2015; King et al., 2002). Template analysis is a useful approach for a hybrid combination of deductive and inductive coding. This approach enables the adaptation of *a priori* themes developed from the literature and enables modification of those themes.

First, the interviews were transcribed and a process using open coding, category creation, and abstraction was followed in line with the principles of interpretative phenomenology (Chen et al., 2018; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Through open coding, an initial coding template was defined for five of the interviews to describe various facets of the data. Next, codes were collated to collapse similar or dissimilar themes into broader higher-order clusters as well as to generate integrative themes where applicable. This provided a means of describing and generating the phenomenon from a subset of the responses covered in the data (Cavanagh, 1997; King & Horrocks, 2010; King et al., 2002). The initial template was then applied to the data and modifications made where necessary. The final process, abstraction, involved the repetition of the earlier process to formulate a general description of the research phenomenon by generating multiple layers of categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Figure 3 depicts the initial coding template developed for the study by following these processes.

1. Cognitive/situational assessment
  1.1. Attributes of harassment
    1.1.1. Aggressive harassment
    1.1.2. Passive harassment
  1.2. Attribution of harassment
    1.2.1. Venue
    1.2.2. Perpetrator
2. Effect of harassment
  2.1. Primary effect
    2.1.1. Emotional response
    2.1.2. Coping strategy
  2.2. Secondary effect
    2.2.1. Destination image perception
    2.2.2. Recommendation intention

Figure 3. Initial coding template

The broad higher-order themes were sorted in keeping with CAT. However, potential subject themes were drawn from the raw data rather than *a priori* knowledge. This hybrid approach was warranted on the one hand by the availability of cognitive domains in previous literature and on the other hand by the limited research on cognitive appraisal, specifically, for tourist harassment. Two experts' opinions from the current authors' university were solicited to validate the emergent themes and their suitability for cognitive appraisal domains. The two expert opinions were first solicited individually and, upon further revisions, brought into a focused group discussion to ensure reliability. Discussions continued to the third round until agreements were reached. These varied processes helped enhance the reliability of the results.

Findings and discussion

The respondents' biographical information is provided in Table 1 for brevity. Thirteen of the tourists interviewed were females and 13 were unmarried. The length of stay recorded was between 2 weeks

and 6 months, while the average age of the participants was 25.6 years. The respondents

predominantly traveled from the USA and the UK (six from each).

Table 1. Biographical information of respondents

Respondent	Sex	Marital status	Age	Nationality	Duration (approximate)	Travel purpose
Interviewee 1	Female	Unmarried	23	Germany	3 months	Volunteer
Interviewee 2	Female	Unmarried	20	Canada	3 weeks	Volunteer
Interviewee 3	Male	Married	27	USA	3 months	VFR
Interviewee 4	Female	Unmarried	22	Ireland	2 months	Volunteer
Interviewee 5	Female	Married	45	USA	3 weeks	Holiday
Interviewee 6	Male	Unmarried	21	USA	3 months	Volunteer
Interviewee 7	Male	Unmarried	22	UK	2 months	Education
Interviewee 8	Female	Unmarried	24	UK	6 months	Education
Interviewee 9	Female	Unmarried	25	France	5 months	Holiday
Interviewee 10	Female	Unmarried	23	Australia	3 months	Student exchange
Interviewee 11	Male	Married	27	USA	2 months	VFR
Interviewee 12	Female	Unmarried	34	UK	4 months	VFR
Interviewee 13	Female	Married	26	UK	3 weeks	Holiday
Interviewee 14	Male	Unmarried	22	UK	3 months	Holiday
Interviewee 15	Female	Unmarried	24	USA	4 months	Volunteer
Interviewee 16	Female	Married	26	Germany	4 months	Volunteer
Interviewee 17	Female	Married	29	USA	3 weeks	Holiday
Interviewee 18	Female	Unmarried	25	Germany	3 weeks	Holiday
Interviewee 19	Male	Unmarried	22	UK	1 month	Holiday

All the respondents identified themselves as tourists who had experienced various degrees of

harassment in Ghana. They were all willing to share their experiences with the researcher.

Aggressive harassment was dominant among the tourists interviewed in the study. Most tourist

harassment incidents were found to occur around attraction sites (including beaches). A summary of

the qualitative research is provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Summary of qualitative data

Respondent	Nature of harassment	Source of harassment	Time of harassment	Place	Venue of harassment
Interviewee 1	Unwanted attention, verbal abuse, grabbing	Taxi drivers	Day	Cape Coast, Accra	Bus terminal, Market
Interviewee 2	Unwanted close contact	Driver	Day	Cape Coast	Attraction
Interviewee 3	Aggression/verbal abuse	Resident (unclear)	Day	Cape Coast	Street
Interviewee 4	Touching, impolite remarks, extortion	Random people, sellers	Day	Kumasi	Market
Interviewee 5	Extortion, touching, sexual	Taxi drivers, vendors	Day	Accra, Kumasi	Street, markets
Interviewee 6	Extortion	Taxi drivers	Day	Accra, Kumasi	Street, markets
Interviewee 7	Unwanted attention, panhandling, rudeness	Attendants, beach boys	Day	Accra	Arts center (attraction), Beach
Interviewee 8	Touching	Beach boys	Day	Accra	Beach
Interviewee 9	Sexual	Beach boys	Day	Accra	Beach
Interviewee 10	Requests for contact information, photographs	Beach boys	Day	Accra	Beach
Interviewee 11	Grabbing, requests for contact	Taxi drivers	Day	Accra	Street
Interviewee 12	Extortion, Aggression	Vendors, taxi drivers	Day	Cape Coast	Street
Interviewee 13	Extortion, verbal abuse, grabbing	Random people, drivers	Day	Kumasi, Accra	Market
Interviewee 14	Grabbing, yelling in local language	Vendors, taxi drivers	Day	Accra, Cape Coast	Market, street
Interviewee 15	Unwanted sexual advances	Beach boys, locals	Day, night	Elmina	Beach, street, club
Interviewee 16	Sexual advances	Tour guide	Night	Wli	Hostel facility
Interviewee 17	Extortion	Police	Day	Accra	Street
Interviewee 18	Unfriendly behavior	Random people	Day	Not specific	Street, Shops (market)
Interviewee 19	Aggressive selling	Beach boy	Night	Accra	Beach

After the initial template coding processes, we applied the coding to the entire data and integrated both deductive and inductive analysis into the data. Our analysis supported the application of cognitive appraisal as a useful framework to explore the effects of harassment. The *a priori* constructs of emotional response, coping strategy, destination image, and future intentions served as the benchmarks for the template. Using the inductive approach, subthemes were derived. The final template is shown in Figure 4.

1. Cognitive/situational assessment
  1.1. Attributes of harassment
    1.1.1. Aggressive harassment
      1.1.1.1. Verbal abuse
      1.1.1.2. Grabbing
      1.1.1.3. Aggression
      1.1.1.4. Touching
      1.1.1.5. Sexual
    1.1.2. Passive harassment
      1.1.2.1. Unwanted attention
      1.1.2.2. Unwanted close contact
      1.1.2.3. Impolite
      1.1.2.4. Panhandling
      1.1.2.5. Requests for contact
      1.1.2.6. Rudeness
      1.1.2.7. Extortion
  1.2. Attribution of harassment
    1.2.1. Venue
      1.2.1.1. Markets
      1.2.1.2. Beaches
      1.2.1.3. Attractions
      1.2.1.4. Street
    1.2.2. Perpetrator
      1.2.2.1. Beach boys
      1.2.2.2. Drivers
      1.2.2.3. Vendors
      1.2.2.4. Service provider
      1.2.2.5. Others publics

2. Effect of harassment
  2.1. Primary effect
    2.1.1. Emotional response
      2.1.1.1. Annoyance
      2.1.1.2. Frustration
      2.1.1.3. Surprise
      2.1.1.4. Anxiety
      2.1.1.5. Apathy
    2.1.2. Coping strategy
      2.1.2.1. No adjustment
      2.1.2.2. Passive cognitive
      2.1.2.3. Behavioral
      2.1.2.4. Active cognitive
  2.2. Secondary effect
    2.2.1. Destination image perception
      2.2.1.1. Remained positive
      2.2.1.2. Passive
      2.2.1.3. Negative
    2.3.1. Intention to recommend
      2.3.1.1. Assertive
      2.3.1.2. Skeptical
      2.3.1.3. Pessimistic

Figure 4. Final coding version

Cognitive (situational) assessment of harassment

Attributes of harassment

Typically, the participants in this study demonstrated their understanding of harassment in a manner that reflected their personal encounters. The various incidents of harassment obtained from the interviews were categorized on the basis of passivity and aggression. Aggressive harassment emerged as a significant factor contributing to the harassment experience. The aggressive behaviors reported by the interviewees include grabbing, forceful or unwanted touching, sexual advances, and aggressive selling. Tourists are perceived to be wealthier than locals (Ajaguna, 2006; Boakye, 2009, 2010; Chen et al., 2018; Harper, 2006). Therefore, local vendors heckle unsuspecting visitors in an attempt to induce them to purchase displayed merchandise. Apart from aggressive selling, other forms of aggressive harassment carry criminal implications.

Specifically, sexual harassment remained prominent among tourists' experiences. Approximately five female respondents recounted experiences of sexual harassment in Ghana. These forms of abuses manifested in unwanted sexual advances and were most pertinent in beaches, market places, streets, and night clubs. Local vendors and beach boys were reportedly the main culprits. Authors (de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001; Kozak, 2007) note that female tourists are more prone to sexual harassment than male tourists, and they are most likely to be harassed at beaches and night clubs.

Some studies have identified female tourists to be vulnerable to harassment (Badu-Baiden, Boakye & Otoo, 2016; Calafat et al. 2013; de Albuquerque & McElroy, 2001). Such vulnerability is partly attributed to the stereotypes of females being the weaker gender. According to physical vulnerability and socialisation theories, women are perceived to be more vulnerable because they have been socialized to think that they are physiologically weaker and do not believe that they can protect themselves from a potential attack (Rader, Cossman & Porter, 2012). In more recent times, however, the sociology of harassment has evolved and warrants meticulous academic take on the

subject of harassment. Since the popularity of the *NiUnaMenos* (Spanish for 'Not one [woman] less') and *MeToo* revolutions, victims of sexual harassment, particularly women, have had greater empowerment to express, expose, and seek justice for sexual abuses. Corroborating with the need for a victim's perspective (discussed in review section), victims (tourists) of sexual abuses opened up to share their experiences to researchers, detailing specific acts of harassment. For example, Interviewee 5 complained about an aggressive vendor "touching my daughter's breast in Kumasi Market". In a recent study, Nicely and Armadita (2018b) identified gender as a strong predictor of negative emotional response to trader harassment.

Aside the narratives on gender, the current study also revealed that open markets attract commercially motivated forms of harassments, such as aggressive selling and extortion. By contrast, beaches attract physical forms of harassment, including sexual harassment, grabbing, and touching.

Some tourists also described persistent 'name tagging' by locals as a form of harassment. Name tagging, typically towards Western tourists, involves referring to fairer skinned tourists as 'Obroni' (local jargon for a white person). One respondent, for instance, recalled an instance involving locals in Accra: "They were calling me 'China!!' 'China!!' even though I'm not Chinese. I felt uncomfortable" [sic] (Interviewee 1). Certain behaviors may be condoned in one culture but offensive in another (Cortina & Wasti, 2005; Kozak, 2007). An aggrieved tourist described "extreme pressure to buy things because I am white" (Interviewee 19). Another stated: "some physical harassment took place. It bothered me immensely. I know I'm white, but that doesn't mean I have money." (Interviewee 7). In other cases, tourists perceived that the personal belongings they had on them contributed to them being harassed.

Harassment attribution

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The bulk of the reported harassment incidents occurred in Accra, Cape Coast, and Kumasi. These cities receive the majority of Ghana's international tourist arrivals. Ghana as a developing destination has few to no nightlife activities for tourists or residents. The two night-related incidents of harassment reported by respondents occurred in a club and an accommodation facility, respectively, whereas the daytime occurrences happened in the open. The following provides an example of the harassment experienced:

I don't feel comfortable there [Kumasi], and it was the same two years ago because the people touch you. They are really impolite to tourists compared with the Northern Region where I stayed. But in Kumasi and Accra, my experience was really not good. [Similar encounters shared by interviewees 1, 4, 5, and 6.]

Streets, beaches, and markets were the most common harassment sites. To illustrate the incidence of tourist harassment, the Cape Coast Castle area is briefly described. The area has characteristics similar to those of other tourist harassment settings mentioned by the respondents, including its proximity to an attraction, open market, fishing community, transport terminal, catering services, lodging services, and beach. In addition, as harassment incidents are most prevalent in places with limited entry barriers, such as beaches, beach boys often solicit sexual favors from tourists within this area. Locals from these fishing communities may harass female tourists by soliciting sexual favors from them. Aside from this observation, certain places like beaches in Ghana have little to no capable guardians (for example, police or security men) who protect tourists from unwanted approaches from these local beach boys. This scenario results in female tourists being predisposed to some sexual advances from guys who are normally found at those beaches. Harassment also regularly occurs in open markets in the form of aggressive selling by vendors.

Tourist harassment is also attributed to destination actors; these actors include children begging for money, and law-enforcement agents. In the first instance, excessive and persistent host contact with tourists may also be perceived as badgering and, to an extent, threatening (Knapp, Faley, Ekeberg, & Dubois, 1997). In many victimology studies, the police are the recommended capable guardians for the prevention of such hostility towards tourists (Boakye, 2012; Cochran et al., 2000; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Crotts, 1996; Siegel, 2008). It is interesting that although extortion by a police officer may in the strictest sense relate more to crime, victims recorded this as harassment. Thus, this amplifies our earlier argument regarding the importance of the victims' perspective and the 'shades of dark and grey' view of tourist harassment. Interviewee 17 described the following incident, which she perceived as harassment:

I was on a motorbike with a black man, and the police just pushed us off and seized the motorbike. At the police station, they demanded Gh₵200 [US$46 equivalent]. Now, I'd have understood if it had been Gh₵50 [US$12 equivalent], but Gh₵200 is a month's wages there! So I got the money, but I was told to "shoo" as they did not wish me to witness them actually taking the money! [Interviewee 17]

Effects of tourist harassment via cognitive appraisal

This section addresses the effects of tourist harassment in terms of the primary effect of harassment (i.e. emotional response and coping strategy) and the secondary effect of harassment (i.e. effect on perception of destination image and effect on intention to recommend) (Breitsohl & Garrod, 2016; Lazarus, 1982, 1991; Lazarus et al., 1970).

Emotional responses

Overall, five emotional responses to tourist harassment (apathy, anxiety, surprise, frustration, and annoyance) were identified in the qualitative inquiry. Apathy relates to tourists who are indifferent

despite harassment incidents. This response was expressed by interviewees 2, 3, 7, and 14. Tourists' anxiety in response to harassment is defined as uneasiness in enjoying or participating in the destination experience as a result of harassment. 'Anxiety emotions' were common for interviewees 4 and 11. 'Surprise' was common among tourists who expressed experiencing shock as a result of harassment; interviewees 1 and 18 expressed such sentiments. Tourists' annoyance is described as the feeling of anger experienced as a result of harassment behavior (Interviewees 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, and 16). Notably, annoyance was expressed by respondents who had experienced some forms of sexual harassment incidents [Interviewees 5, 15, and 16]. In addition, frustration as a consequence of harassment is expressed by tourists who felt overwhelmed by harassment incidents, largely as a result of its persistency; this feeling was expressed by interviewees 9, 12, 13, 17, and 19.

One male interviewee expressed his feeling of frustration as follows:

It violates my personal rights to either threaten to or actually approach me physically without my consent, insult me verbally in an objectifying way, or objectify me in words or actions, whether sexual or verbal. [You get] no respect if you say you don't want to buy something. Often, it concerns money. [Similar experiences shared by Interviewee 16 and interviewees 12, 13, 17, and 19.]

Coping strategy

The degree of adjustment enacted toward harassment was thematically structured into four coping strategies. Two of these strategies, passive and active cognitive adjustments, reflect intrapsychic coping (Billings & Moos, 1981). First, a no-adjustment category, which included tourists who made no changes to their travel plan despite experiencing a harassment incident, was reported by interviewees 1, 2, 4, 17, and 18. Second, the passive cognitive adjustment, which implies psychological tolerance towards harassment, was reported by interviewees 3, 5, 6, 11, and 12. Third, six interviewees (7, 8, 13, 15, 16, and 19) made overt behavioral adjustments, which typically

included the avoidance of places noted for harassment, the avoidance of certain individuals (e.g. tour guide), reduced visits to certain locations or spots, and making adjustments to the itinerary. Implicitly, tourists who experienced unwanted physical attention, including sexual harassment episodes, employed three main coping strategies: behavioral adjustment, active cognitive adjustment, and passive cognitive adjustment [Interviewees 5, 8, 9, 15, and 16]. A female interviewee who experienced sexual harassment reported the following incident:

As the four of us were sleeping alone in one room, it was clear what his intentions were. We women finally insisted on sleeping together in the tent that had been put up in the room, while our male friend shared the bed with the guide. [Similar experiences shared by interviewees 15 and 16.]

Behavioral adjustments are commonly exhibited by tourists who perceive a susceptibility to harassment that exceeds tolerable levels. Resistance towards tourist harassment as found in this study appears to correspond to greater threat levels. Behavioral adjustment seems to be related to gender (particularly being female) and travel party. In the incident cited above, the perpetrator was a tour guide who traveled with the group. Another tourist described the following harassment incident:

Although we told like ten taxi drivers no, we just wanted to walk, some grabbed [our] arms. We said, "Don't do that, we don't like it when you do that." One said, "Ahh, that's because you're a racist, it's because you're racist." We had to pull away. [sic] [Similar experiences shared by interviewees 2, 5, 6, 12, and 14.]

Fourth, active cognitive adjustment, which refers to the expression of strong disapproval or a change of values as a result of a tourist harassment experience, were reported by interviewees 7, 9, and 14. This coping strategy is typically exhibited when tourists feel coerced into the shops of local traders. There is an involuntary cooperation by the victims, who, in order to avoid the inconvenience of time or embarrassment, are lured into gazing at unwanted products. Interviewees 5 and 10, for

example, described experiences of being "swept along, whether you wanted to be or not." Victims in such situations are compelled to renegotiate their values or attitudes regarding harassers and harassment by being 'open minded,' reflecting a sense of apathy, expressing a desire to be 'left alone,' or annoyance. In this regard, harassed tourists may not visit certain locations or travel within the destination at certain times.

Effect on destination image perception

Regarding the effect of tourist harassment on destination image perception, six tourists reported that harassment events negatively affected their overall image of Ghana. In spite of this, the majority of tourists interviewed reported an overall unchanged positive image of the destination after experiencing harassment. Fairly surprisingly, despite negative images [Interviewees 8 and 9], victims who had encountered some form of sexual harassment had a general positive image about the country [interviewees 5, 15, and 16]. This was, in part, due to other memorable positive experiences they had at the destination. For others, their positive image of the country was influenced more by pleasant experiences in other parts of the country rather than by events that occurred in one locality. Ten of the 19 respondents affirmed this, as the following example illustrates:

In the North, I'm welcomed, and I love this part of Ghana, so maybe it's just a bad side effect. I travel a lot, and you always have bad experiences and good experiences, but in general, my view of Ghana is very good. [Similar experiences reported by interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 16, and 17.]

Effect on intention to recommend a destination

Meanwhile, not all positive overall destination image perceptions imply an intention to recommend a destination to potential tourists. Moreover, sexually harassed tourists exhibited some variations in

their intentions to recommend the destination. Three respondents were skeptical in their intention to recommend [interviewees 8, 15, and 16], whereas some were pessimistic [interviewee 9] and assertive [interviewee 5].

Generally, although three of the interviewees who had experienced various degrees of harassment were pessimistic about recommending the destination, the others were divided regarding their intention to recommend the destination to others. Thus, a skeptical group and an assertive group were observed. Interviewee 16, who was in the skeptical category, stated:

I still like the country, and we have met so many friendly people. It depends. I will recommend the countryside but I will also recommend taking care and not doing an overnight tour alone but rather with a group of people. [Interviewee 16.]

The above connection is seldom discussed in the literature, particularly from a qualitative dimension, albeit some studies support the role of destination image in influencing future behaviors (Castro et al., 2007; Qu et al., 2011; Zhang et al., 2014). The current study proposes that a sense of hesitation in recommending a destination to potential tourists exists despite a favorable overall image (Figure 5).
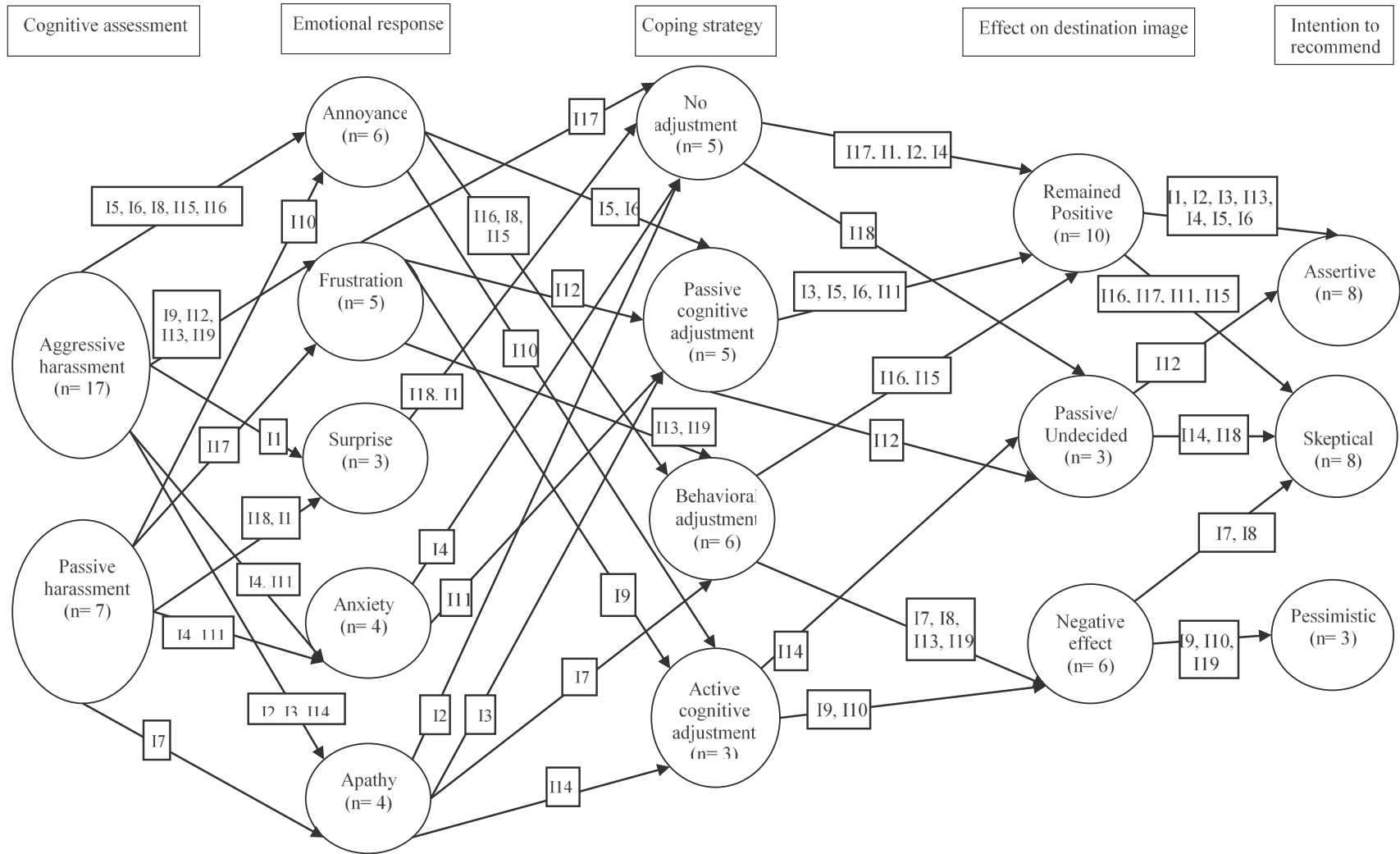
Figure 5. Semantic map of harassment effects

Note: "I" denotes Interviewee

Conclusion and implications

The study of tourist harassment presented here demonstrates that two main categories of harassment (aggressive and passive harassment behaviors) confound tourists' experience. Aggressive harassment accounted for the bulk of the harassment incidents reported in this study. Tourists respond differently to harassment. Their emotional responses are viewed in a spectrum that ranges from apathy to annoyance. Various emotional responses, such as frustration, surprise, annoyance, and anxiety, emerge when tourists encounter harassment. Diverse coping strategies are adopted by tourists in response to harassment. Hence, the assumption that harassment affects tourists differently is supported (Badu-Baiden et al., 2016). The current study reinforces the need for a rethink of the definitional parameters of visitor harassment.

Although the attributes of tourist harassment are similar to others reported in the literature, particularly, its commercial nature (Badu-Baiden et al, 2016; Chepkwony & Kangogo, 2013; Kozak, 2007; Nicely & Armadita, 2018b), it presents numerous specific contributions. First, impressions of destinations are not always holistic (about the entire destination) but may be limited to a specific intradestination experience (Han, Kim, & Otoo, 2018). Second, despite the sample being dominated by females, the study provides evidence that female tourists are more prone sexual harassment than male tourists. Third, tourist harassment is pervasive and may occur at any time or place within the tourism experience. Much of the literature reports day-time occurrences. Fourth, tourist harassment is not a homogeneous experience nor is it homogenous in its cognitive impacts. Fifth, the viewpoint that tourist harassment essentially results in adverse future behavioral intentions is inadequately supported (Nicely & Armadita, 2018b). Perhaps, tourist harassment is either mitigated by some pleasant destination experiences or by visitors' ability to cognitively and behaviorally adjust as per the findings of this study.

Interestingly, some tourists make no adjustment to their travel plans despite varied emotional appraisals. The overall destination image of many of these tourists remained unchanged after they had encountered harassment. Others were even willing to recommend the destination to potential tourists. Nevertheless, a few unpleasant memories of harassment can seriously affect a destination's reputation. The findings contribute to the existing literature in the areas of tourism and victimology as few studies have investigated the attributions and effects of tourist harassment.

The study offers theoretical and practical implications for tourism stakeholders. By applying concepts of cognitive appraisal, researchers are able to explore the various thematic dimensions underlining tourists' responses to harassment and their coping strategies, and the perceived effect of harassment. Researchers can extend the CAT by identifying specific effects of tourism experiences on destination image perception as well as future behavioral intentions. As the subject is still young in nature, future applications of this theory are warranted. There is much room for the cognitive assessment of tourists' experiences, especially because the product of tourism is largely experiential.

The outcome of this study also presents a few recommendable suggestions. When tourists act passively or make no adjustment, they are likely to sustain a positive destination image and, consequently, a positive intention to recommend the destination. As suggested by some researchers (Nicely & Ghazali, 2017; Nicely & Armadita, 2018b), tourists' sympathy toward harassers must be understood as this case can mitigate destination perception. Tourists to destinations should also acquaint themselves (through various embassies, families and friends, and travel blogs, among others) about the incidence of tourist harassment so that they can initiate cognitive strategies in event of such unethical occurrences. Evaluating harassment episodes cognitively will enable tourists determine the necessary strategies to curtail events. Specifically, the study revealed that victims'

perceptions of harassment, destination image, and intention to recommend the destination after harassment are premised on the successful implementation of coping strategies.

Practically, tourists' perceptions of harassment have implications for the image of a destination and tourists' loyalty to it. The interviewees in this study were skeptical about recommending the destination. In many cases, negative word of mouth also reflects an intention not to recommend a destination to others (Kim, Choe, & Petrick, 2018). For destination marketers, since tourists tend to be cautious in recommending a destination after they encounter harassment, there is need to control negative word of mouth by providing explanations or apologies (Breitsohl & Garrod, 2016). Elsewhere, it has been suggested that providing tourists with an appropriate explanation or some humorous rationale may lessen the effect of unpleasant experiences (He & Harris, 2014).

There are also implications for safety and security at tourist destinations and sites. Better regulatory and security services at tourist hubs are essential to lessen the occurrence of harassment. The governments of tourists' countries of origin and tourist destinations alike have the greatest responsibility to educate and inform travelers of incidents of harassment. In this way, views of harassment as a result of cultural differences between tourists and hosts can be amended. Vendors' aggressive behavior also requires regulation by site-based security personnel. The use of tourist police is also recommended for destinations.

Ultimately, tourists can also adopt certain strategies to reduce and even prevent harassment. We find in this study that certain traits, such as venue or time of day, may reduce or even induce certain forms of harassment. For unmarried female tourists, for example, wearing a fake engagement ring may deter sexual forms of harassment. Alternatively, it is advisable to move in the company of other tourists to avoid being a target of harassment. Other researchers in their studies have discouraged the wearing of advertisements of wealth such as expensive wrist watches or the

displaying of expensive equipment (Michalko, 2003; Ryan, 1993). Furthermore, self-awareness is needed on the part of visiting tourists because, as found in this study, capable guardians, including law enforcement officers and tour guides, can be the perpetrators of harassment.

This study has some limitations. The study involved tourists selected from notable tourist spots in the Central Region of Ghana. If there is the possibility to extend the research to other types of destination, then the study of tourist harassment could have a much broader reach. In addition, multiple factors affect destination image perception and future travel behavior. In this study, the application of these constructs was limited to effects pertaining to harassment alone, thus treating harassment in isolation to other events. Since the study was exploratory in nature, future studies would benefit from testing on a larger scale how cognitive appraisal constructs interact to influence responses to tourist harassment.

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