

Deviance, deviant behaviour and hospitality management: Sources, forms and drivers

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Highlights

- Examines the concept of deviance and its relevance to hospitality management
- Explores the notion of a deviant organisation
- Identifies positive and negative forms of deviance
- Looks at four sources of deviance: staff, suppliers, customers and externals
- Discusses the antecedents and drivers of deviance in hospitality organisations
- Considers individual, interpersonal and cultural, and organisational dimensions

Abstract

Drawing on multi-disciplinary literature, this paper provides an integrative review of the concept of deviance, examining its relationship with and application to hospitality management. It synthesises conceptualisations of deviance in the social sciences and applications of the concept in organisational and consumer behaviour research. The paper distinguishes between four sources of deviance in hospitality management: staff, suppliers, customers and external actors, exploring different forms of deviance stemming from each. The subsequent discussion explores multiple antecedents and drivers of deviance, considering how these have been conceptualised in various disciplines at different levels of analysis: organisational; interpersonal, social and cultural; and personality and individual. The critical synthesis identifies diverse themes in the connections between deviance and hospitality management, and their implications for research and practice.

Keywords: counterproductive behaviour; deviance; deviant behaviour; dysfunctional behaviour; incivility; jaycustomer; misbehaviour; unethical behaviour

1. Introduction

Deviance and deviant behaviours within or associated with hospitality and tourism represent multiple forms of risk for organisational stakeholders. Deviant activities such as fraudulent or abusive behaviours, conducted by staff or consumers,

are most often conceptualised in research as forms of absolute risks that are likely to have negative impacts, for example disrupting operational efficiency, undermining staff wellbeing, damaging brand reputation and value, and threatening the consumer experience, thus compromising profitability (cf. Appelbaum, Semerjian, & Mohan, 2012; Harvey, Martinko, & Borkowski, 2017; Hua & Yang, 2017; Gursoy, Cai, & Anaya, 2017). Studies have suggested that fraud alone could cost employers 3.7 trillion U.S. Dollars worldwide (Association of Certified Fraud Examiners, 2016). Depressive and anxiety disorders linked to toxic employees have been estimated to cost 1.15 trillion U.S. Dollars annually (Michalak & Ashkanasy, 2018). Previous studies of hospitality workers in the U.K. have suggested that over 56% had been harassed by a member of the public and nearly 27% by a manager (Unite, 2018). Studies in the U.S. have similarly reported that 66% of women and over half of men experienced harassment by a manager, with higher figures reporting harassment from co-workers (Sherwyn & Wagner, 2018). Researchers have subsequently questioned whether this contributes to growing levels of staff turnover in some parts of the sector (Johnson & Madera, 2018). Such trends highlight the importance of studying multiple forms of deviance in hospitality, tourism and related fields.

In contrast to the dominantly negative conceptions of deviant behaviour, it is also important to acknowledge that within tourism and hospitality such practices represent a series of opportunity risks for those involved, which is often overlooked in research. Specifically, deviance in the form of thrill seeking behaviour amongst consumers may be core elements of businesses' experiential propositions (Berdychevsky, Poria, & Uriely, 2013; Lugosi, 2014). Drug and alcohol consumption, theft and other forms of workplace misbehaviour among staff may also be seen to support group cohesion and employee empowerment (Cooper, Giousmpasoglou, & Marinakou, 2017; Mars, 1994). Finally, it is useful to stress that deviance and norm-breaking may not always be counterproductive, particularly if conceptualised as forms of innovation leading to better organisational practice (Pascale, Sternin, & Sternin, 2010), or when deviance emerges to resist poor practice, for example in the form of whistleblowing (Miceli, Near, & Dworkin, 2008). Such alterative dimensions and perspectives on deviance thus further stress the need to develop a broad, inclusive approach to the conceptual area and its linkages with the hospitality and tourism sectors.

The review developed in this paper draws on and synthesises a strong tradition of research on deviant behaviour and its links with hospitality. Hospitality is often associated with the notion of deviance and deviants: venues and resorts are frequently seen as sites for hedonistic, transgressive and criminal behaviour (Andrews, 2009; Botterill & Jones, 2010; Botterill, Pointing, Hayes-Jonkers, Clough, Jones, & Rodriguez, 2013; Botterill, Seixas, & Hoeffel, 2014; Chapman & Light, 2016); employers and operators in the sector are regularly portrayed as engaging in unethical practices (Baum, 2015; Harris, 2012; Terry, 2009); hospitality organisations and occupations are characterised as spaces of violence, harassment and bullying (Ariza-Montes, Arjona-Fuentes, Law, & Han, 2017; Meloury & Signal, 2014; Ram, 2018); and the sector itself is often treated as a marginalised profession attracting deviants and misfits (Baum, Kralj, Robinson, & Solnet, 2016; Orwell, 1989; Robinson, 2008; Wood, 1997). The topic of

deviance continues to emerge in research on hospitality management (Pizam, 2012, 2015, 2016a; Torres, van Niekerk, & Orłowski, 2017; Tresidder, & Martin, 2018) and in cognate fields of tourism (Li, & Chen, 2017; 2018; Tham & Wang, 2017) and services management (Bedi & Schat, 2017; Boukis, 2016). However, existing work concerned with deviance and hospitality tends to be discrete empirical studies focusing on specific issues such as consequences and coping behaviours (cf. Boo, Mattila, & Tan, 2013; Karatepe, Yorganci, & Haktanir, 2009; Kim, Ro, Hutchinson, & Kwun, 2014; Torres et al., 2017). This review therefore advances and contributes to knowledge by taking a uniquely inclusive overview of the concept of deviance, identifying multiple links between its various forms, sources and dimensions, and hospitality. Furthermore, by focusing on the concept of deviance, rather than narrower but related concepts such as incivility, for example, the discussion also helps to appreciate the positive aspects of deviant behaviour in hospitality management. This review and discussion thus helps to identify multiple themes that have implications for future research and practice.

The paper develops an 'integrative review' (Torraco, 2005; 2016; Lugosi, 2019) of deviance, combining perspectives from behavioural and social sciences, alongside applied conceptualisations from organisational sciences, using these to understand how emerging issues may be contextualised in hospitality-related domains. More specifically, psychological, sociological and anthropological literature are used to establish a holistic conception of deviance, which helps to appreciate multiple dimensions, understandings and applications, including the potential to operationalise it positively rather than just negatively. Furthermore, literature from generic organisation and management studies, alongside applied services fields, are used in this review to demonstrate the eclectic range of alternative conceptual interpretations of deviance and the behavioural typologies that have been developed, primarily to understand employee and consumer practices and their consequences. The insights from this multidisciplinary theoretical and empirical literature are used in the review to explore the forms and drivers of deviant behaviour in the hospitality sector. This review thus synthesises generic conceptualisations and multi-domain, applied manifestations, drawing on existing research examining deviant behaviour, and related ones, focusing on business and organisational settings. However, it also extends beyond this by integrating themes and issues that have not been sufficiently addressed in existing work. These include discussing suppliers and external agents as distinct sources of deviance, rather than focusing on employees and customers, which have been the primary focus of existing research. The review also explores alternative, novel thematic areas, including organisations as psychopaths, and work on positive deviance, which is often overshadowed by studies of its negative forms and their outcomes (see Curtis, 2014, Ghosh & Shum, 2019 and Shum, Ghosh & Gatling, 2019 for recent exceptions of studies examining 'pro-social rule breaking').

The paper begins by exploring different definitions of deviance in the social sciences and applications of the concept in organisational and consumer behaviour. The discussion briefly explores the notion of the deviant organisation to help identify the challenges and tensions their practices may bring to cultures and destinations. The paper goes on to distinguish between four sources of deviance in hospitality

management: staff, including ones from across the organisational hierarchy, suppliers, customers and other external actors, exploring the different forms that deviance may take from each source. In the subsequent part, the discussion considers antecedents and drivers of deviance, exploring how these have been conceptualised at different scales of analysis: organisational; interpersonal, social and cultural; and personality and individual levels. The paper concludes by outlining implications for future research and practice.

2. Review scope and procedures

This literature review primarily used EBSCO's *Hospitality & Tourism Complete* database because it indexes a wider body of hospitality and tourism related publications than Scopus or Web of Science. Initial searches were limited to titles and abstracts of works published during 30 years between the 1st of January 1987 and the 31st of December 2017. Search terms included: 'Antisocial'/'Anti-social'; 'Crime*'/'Criminal*'; 'Devian*'; 'Dysfunctional'; 'Fraud*' 'Incivil*'; 'Insidious'; 'Jaycustomer*'; 'Misbehav*' and 'Unethical', including derivative terms. The initial returns were subsequently reduced to peer-reviewed, academic journal articles. Table 1 summarises the search terms and relevant items identified at different stages of data gathering and ordering.

Table 1. Search terms and relevant items identified at 3 initial stages of data gathering and analysis. * denotes searches using variations of spellings and derivative terms e.g. deviants, deviance etc.

Search terms	Phase 1: Initial number of items identified	Phase 2: Peer- reviewed academic journal articles	Phase 3: Number of relevant items identified
Antisocial/Anti-social	45	20	9
Crime*/Criminal*	2889	306	225
Devian*	102	78	68
Dysfunctional	54	29	16
Fraud*	1880	108	46
Incivil*	12	10	10
Insidious	7	2	0
Jaycustomer*	3	3	3
Misbehav*	63	20	18
Unethical	157	58	47
Total	5212	634	442

Following Torraco (2005; 2016), the review was conducted over several stages. After the initial two data reduction phases, the titles and abstracts were reviewed for relevance. In subsequent stages of analysis the contents of relevant sources were read to ascertain the focus, scope and, where relevant, the methodology. During these processes, certain types of article were excluded from subsequent analysis, for example because they focused on food safety, but not hospitality, or on tourists or tourism-related activities, which were not connected with hospitality venues such as restaurants or hotels.

During these initial phases of search and analysis, two key issues became evident. First, although 'deviance' was the dominant term used by researchers, studies adopted a variety of alternative terminologies when examining related behaviours. Second, applied studies in hospitality and tourism often utilised conceptions and typologies of deviance that were developed in wider management and consumer behaviour fields. Therefore, it was important to consult this wider literature to provide an overview of how deviant behaviours have been conceptualised in foundational works (e.g. Fullerton & Punj, 1997a, 2004; Gruys & Sackett, 2003; Lovelock, 1994; Moschis & Cox, 1989; Robinson & Bennett, 1995; Vardi & Weitz, 2004). These two emerging challenges are also key reasons that this review provides an overview of different definitions and typologies of deviance-related behaviours from outside hospitality and tourism.

Finally, given the integrative nature of this review, exploration of this topic extended beyond simply summarising existing research within hospitality and tourism. The literature search identified and followed conceptually important citations in documents, particularly those with novel conceptions or applications of deviance. This was augmented by further searches using Google Scholar, using the same search terms identified above. Consulting this wider body of literature led to the consideration of organisations as deviant entities (Ermann & Lundman, 1978; Ketola, 2006) and to exploration of notions of positive deviance (Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2004). Discussion of this is included in the following review to demonstrate the possibilities afforded by adopting an inclusive conceptualisation of and approach to operationalising deviance, including its applications in applied hospitality-related management domains.

3. Defining deviance

In the social sciences, deviance refers to divergence from usual or accepted norms or standards of behaviour (cf. Becker, 1966; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Traub & Little, 1999). This may be conscious, purposeful resistance to or rejection of norms, or divergence caused by neglect, ignorance or inability to observe norms based on a lack of appropriate capabilities (cf. Warren, 2005). It is helpful to distinguish here between illegality and deviant behaviour. The former refers to the breaking of laws created and governed by national and international authorities. The latter refers to divergence from social, cultural and/or ethical norms. Deviance may therefore be unethical, thus challenging or contravening the moral principles that guide a group's values and behaviours, but not be illegal.

Deviants are individuals or groups whose attitudes and actions diverge from accepted social standards. However, it is important to stress three issues here. First, notions of deviance and deviants have negative connotations and are most often associated with harmful or socially unacceptable divergence from existing norms. In contrast, it is crucial to recognise that deviance may be constructive and lead to positive behavioural or attitudinal changes. In the public health and sociological literature, 'positive deviance' refers to the adoption of uncommon practice that may lead to beneficial outcomes, for example the ability to solve problems in innovative ways, which subsequently confers advantages to individuals or groups over others (cf. Boukis, 2016; Marsh et al., 2004; Pascale et al., 2010; Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2004).

Second, deviance is not a straightforward status or label. Deviance and deviants are social constructions and these labels may be ascribed to individuals, groups or behaviours for a number of social or political purposes (cf. Adler & Adler, 2015; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Individuals or groups may also adopt deviant statuses and identities to distinguish themselves from others, particularly if their values conflict (Adler & Adler, 2015; Becker, 1966). Thirdly, because notions of deviance are socially constructed, behaviours that may be considered deviant at one time, by one set of people, may not be considered deviant by others. Therefore, attempts to deploy deviance labelling pejoratively to distinguish, marginalise or control people or to distinguish them as agents of positive change, must be seen as attempts to exercise power over others in a particular time and place (cf. Dotter, 2002; Crawley, & Skleparis, 2018). This is reflected in politicised and often emotionally charged discussions, for example concerning same sex relationships (Winter, Forest, & Sénac, 2018) and immigration (Van der Brug, D'Amato, Ruedin, & Berkhout, 2015), which are seen by some at least as sources of risk to the established social order. These attempts may thus change and be challenged over time by different individuals and groups, for example in the growing visibility of same sex couples (Brewer, 2014) and in alternative representations of immigrants (Prieto, 2018).

4. Defining organisational deviance

As noted at the outset, foundational work on deviance, and related behaviour, was developed outside of hospitality and tourism. It is therefore useful and necessary to draw on this broader literature to first, demonstrate the diversity of perspectives on this thematic area; and second, offer a critical perspective on organisational deviance, which underpins the subsequent review. Undesirable behaviour in the workplace has been conceptualised in diverse ways by different authors (cf. Kidwell & Martin, 2005; Griffin & Lopez, 2005). Authors have referred in the past to 'antisocial' (Giacalone & Greenberg, 1997), 'insidious' (Greenberg, 2010), 'counterproductive' (Sackett, 2002) and 'dysfunctional behaviour' (Griffin et al., 1998) or 'organisational misbehaviour' (Ackroyd & Thompson, 1999; Richards, 2008; Vardi & Weiner, 1996; Vardi & Weitz, 2004) and 'workplace incivility' (Cortina et al., 2001; Schilpzand, De Pater, & Erez, 2016) in conceptualising deviance in the workplace (see also Berry et al., 2007; Bennett & Robinson, 2003; Robinson & Bennett, 1995 who referred to deviance). The variations in terminology reflect differences in the focus and scope of authors' conceptualisation. For example, the notion of 'workplace incivility' refers fairly narrowly to acts of

interpersonal mistreatment (Cortina et al., 2001). However, most authors consider a wider range of inappropriate and counterproductive actions.

Definitions of undesirable organisational behaviours also vary. Vardi and Weitz (2004: 3) define organizational misbehaviour fairly broadly as 'acts in the workplace that are done intentionally and constitute a violation of rules pertaining to such behaviours'. Similarly, Gruys and Sackett (2003: 30) define counterproductive behaviour as 'any intentional behaviour on the part of an organization member viewed by the organization as contrary to its legitimate interests.' These definitions emphasize intentional acts considered in relation to the rules, norms or interests that are transgressed, but do not address the consequences of behaviours.

Robinson and Bennett (1995: 556) go further and define employee deviance as 'voluntary behaviour that violates significant organizational norms and in so doing threatens the well-being of an organisation, its members, or both.' In later publications, this definition changed slightly by referring explicitly to organisational members (Bennett & Robinson, 2003; Robinson & Bennett, 1997). Other authors also consider perpetrators inside and outside the organisation, including past employees and organisational stakeholders not employed in a workplace (Giacalone & Greenberg, 1997; Robinson & Greenberg, 1998). In exploring these definitions, Robinson and Greenberg (1998) also acknowledge that deviant actions in the form of norm violations may be intentional or unintentional, and be directed at members inside and outside the organisation.

Finally, as Kidwell and Martin (2005) suggest, most conceptions of organisational deviance focus on negative consequences. Giacalone and Greenberg's (1997) antisocial behavioural refers to actions that bring harm or are intended to bring harm to an organisation, its employees and/or stakeholders. Griffin et al. (1998) refer to actions that have negative consequences for an individual, group or organisation. However, reflecting the alternative conceptions of deviance discussed above, it is important to recognise that norm violations can also have positive or neutral consequences, depending on whose perspectives and interests are being considered. Once different stakeholder positions and outcomes are taken into account, there is increasing ambiguity surrounding the appropriateness of the deviance label (Kidwell & Martin, 2005). Actions such as risk-taking, expressing contrasting opinions and conflict may be considered deviant by some organisational actors, but may have positive consequences for others inside and outside the organisation, for example, by challenging power relations and initiating behavioural or attitudinal change.

In light of some of these conceptual difficulties and ambiguities, a specific synthesised conception of organisational deviant behaviour is adopted here. Organisational deviance is behaviour in, associated with or directed at an organisation that is perceived to violate socially accepted norms of organisational stakeholders. Intentionality is absent to accommodate deviance, which may result from ignorance or incompetence (cf. Warren, 2005). Rather than focusing exclusively on current employees, it may include past employees, external contractors, suppliers and other

stakeholders, including consumers, who engage with the organisation. Finally, rather than concentrating on the interests of the organisation in isolation, it considers a broader range of human stakeholders, for example, local residents, suppliers and consumers, and non-human stakeholders, including the environment, animals and other organisations operating in the same sector.

4.1. The deviant organisation

Before exploring the deviant behaviours of specific actors, it is useful to consider the notion of the organisation as a deviant entity or actor. There are inherent dangers in anthropomorphising organisations and treating them as singular actors: for example it oversimplifies the actions of organisations and their relationships with different stakeholders; it also potentially ignores the individual actors, policies and practices that interact to create an organisation. However, as Ermann and Lundman (1978) argued, it is possible to consider organisations as being responsible entities for deviant behaviour. Indeed, corporations are held responsible and prosecuted for engaging in such environmental crimes as pollution and degradation of the natural environment (White, 2008). Writers have taken this line of argument further in proposing that organisations may exhibit the qualities of psychopaths (Ketola, 2006). Ketola (2006: 99) identified a number of organisational actions that correspond to individual psychopathic traits:

Personality characteristics of psychopaths	Examples of organizational behaviour
1. Unconcern for others' feelings	Harsh treatment of employees, customers and partners Sudden terminations of employment contracts and business contracts
2. Inability to maintain human relations	Transferring business operations from country to country in order to minimize production expenses Constant change of employees and partners
3. Disregard for others' safety	Products and production methods endangering human health and the environment Dangerous working conditions
4. Dishonesty and lying to one's own advantage	Keeping silent about the risks of hazardous products and production methods, covering them up and denying their existence Deceiving employees, customers and partners

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5. Inability to feel guilt | When exposed of wrong-doing, asserting innocence (denial), blaming others (projection) and justifying one's action (rationalisation) |
| 6. Inability to observe the laws and norms of society | Breaking human rights, labour, contract and environmental laws and agreements when it is economically more beneficial than observing them |

The actions identified by Ketola (2006) may represent behavioural extremes, but it is conceivable that many hospitality and tourism organisations and their subsidiaries engage in one or more of these, even if only in relatively mild forms. For example, studies have repeatedly shown that employment in the sector is characterised precarious work conditions and problematic labour relations (Baum, 2012, 2013, 2015; McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2009; Page, Bentley, Teo, & Ladkin, 2018; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011).

The deviant actions identified by Ketola are largely concerned with organisations' treatment of employees, customers and partners. There are, however, particular aspects of the hospitality and tourism sector and the experiences they provide, which may lead people to perceive such organisations as deviant. The informal provision of hospitality, particularly with the rise of 'sharing' models, represent what has been called the 'shadow hospitality', which is poorly regulated and does not comply with tax obligations (cf. Andriotis, 2003; Apostolidis, & Haeussler, 2018; Guttentag, 2015; HOTREC, 2014). Hospitality and tourism organisations may bring alien, transgressive behaviours and values into cultures and societies. This may be particularly striking in leisure contexts where hedonistic consumption involving temporary spatial-temporal distinction from everyday norms is central to the consumer experience, and 'hosts' and 'guests' from vastly different cultures interact (cf. Harrison & Lugosi, 2013; Ryan, 2003). The presence of such behaviours as nude sunbathing, sexual relations, the consumption of alcohol, drugs or taboo foods, gambling, or unsupervised interaction between males and females, which are permissible within those leisure spaces may lead to the entire organisation facilitating such practices being seen as culturally polluting and deviant (cf. Harrison & Lugosi, 2013; Hazbun, 2008). There is therefore considerable scope to explore how and why organisations, and whole sectors of the economy, are conceived as being deviant, for example by a destination's residents, religious institutions or by professionals competing in the same markets. Nevertheless, for the remainder of this review, the focus will be on human actors, and the organisational contexts in which they operate, rather than organisations as a whole.

In focusing on different human actors, and their organisational contexts, the next section examines different sources of deviant behaviour. More importantly, beyond focusing exclusively on staff and employees, it considers suppliers and external actors as distinct sources of deviant behaviour. Drawing on foundational conceptualisations

that were developed outside of hospitality and tourism, it also discusses the different forms that deviance may take. In doing so, the review demonstrates the diversity of perspectives on deviance and its related practices, highlighting the relevance of these eclectic approaches for studying forms of deviance in hospitality and tourism.

5. Sources and forms of deviant behaviours in organisations

5.1. Forms of staff deviance

Just as there are disagreements over definitions and conceptualisations of deviance, there are also differences in what behaviour should be included. Some authors limit their focus to such interpersonal behaviours as discrimination, harassment, verbal abuse or physical violence (e.g. Cortina et al., 2001), but most extend their analysis to include a wide range of undesirable behaviours. Robinson and Bennett (1995: 571-572) identified 45 different behaviours:

Employee stealing customer's possessions.	Employee hiding in back room to read the newspaper.
Boss verbally abusing employee.	Employee stealing company equipment/merchandise.
Employee sabotaging equipment.	Employee acting foolish in front of customers.
Employee coming to work late or leaving early.	Employee verbally abusing customers.
Employee lying about hours worked.	Employee working unnecessary overtime.
Employee gossiping about manager.	Employee calling in sick when not.
Employee starting negative rumours about company.	Boss showing favouritism to certain employees.
Boss sexually harassing employee.	Boss gossiping about employees.
Employee physically abusing customer.	Employee talking with co-worker instead of working.
Employee taking excessive breaks.	Employee stealing money from cash drawer.
Employee sabotaging merchandise.	Employee misusing discount privilege.
Employee overcharging on services to profit him- or herself.	Employee wasting company resources by turning up the heat and opening the windows.
Employee intentionally making errors.	Employee blaming co-worker for mistakes.
Employee covering up mistakes.	Employee misusing expense account.
Employee leaving job in progress with no directions so the job is done wrong.	Employee going against boss's decision.
Boss following rules to the letter of the law.	Employees competing with co-workers in a non-beneficial way.
Employee gossiping about co-worker.	Boss blaming employees for his/her mistakes.

Employee intentionally working slowly.	Boss refusing to give employee his/her earned benefits or pay.
Boss unjustifiably firing employee.	Employee making personal long distance calls or mailing personal packages from work.
Employee sexually harassing co-worker.	Employee endangering co-workers by reckless behaviour.
Employee accepting kickbacks.	Employee stealing co-worker's possessions.
Employee endangering him- or herself by not following safety procedures.	Boss asking employee to work beyond job description.
Boss leaving early and leaving his/her work for employees to do.	

Some of these behaviours are limited to specific types of job roles and organisational contexts, but Robinson and Bennett's (1995) overall categorisation of behavioural types are applicable to all workplaces, and therefore offer scope to consider hospitality-specific contexts. They grouped them in a four-by-four matrix using two continua: interpersonal-organisational and minor-serious. Minor interpersonal forms of deviance were labelled *political deviance* (e.g. showing favouritism, gossiping and competing non-beneficially); serious interpersonal behaviours were referred to as *personal aggression* (e.g. sexual harassment, verbal abuse and stealing from colleagues). Minor organisational forms, which included leaving early, taking excessive breaks, working slowly and wasting resources were labelled *production deviance*. Finally, serious organisational forms of deviance, entitled *property deviance*, included sabotaging equipment, accepting kickbacks and stealing from the company. In a sector notorious for intensive work, exploitative labour relations and precarious working conditions, these act as important sensitising concepts for understanding the forms that deviance may take in hospitality and tourism.

Bennett and Robinson (2000) subsequently questioned the usefulness of the serious-minor distinction in grouping activities and focused instead on whether the behaviours were production or property oriented. In discussing counterproductive behaviours, Gruys and Sackett (2003) also grouped them into an alternative four-by-four matrix, according to whether the behaviour was organisational or interpersonal and task-relevant or not. In short, non-task organisational behaviours included theft from work and inappropriate use of information; while task-related organisational ones were poor-attendance, poor quality work and inappropriate use of time and resources. Non-task, interpersonal behaviours, included inappropriate physical and verbal actions and the destruction or misuse of property; task-related interpersonal behaviours include acting unsafely and engaging in drugs or alcohol related behaviour.

Sackett (2002: 5-6) and Gruys and Sackett (2003) identified 11 domains of activity:

1. Theft and related behaviour (e.g. theft of cash or property; giving away of goods or services; misuse of employee discount);
2. Destruction of property (e.g. deface, damage, or destroy property; sabotage production);
3. Misuse of information (e.g. reveal confidential information; falsify records);
4. Misuse of time and resources (e.g. waste time, alter time card, conduct personal business during work time);
5. Unsafe behaviour (e.g. failure to follow safety procedures; failure to learn safety procedures);
6. Poor attendance (e.g. unexcused absence or tardiness; misuse sick leave);
7. Poor quality work (e.g. intentionally slow or sloppy work);
8. Alcohol use (e.g. alcohol use on the job; coming to work under the influence of alcohol);
9. Drug use (e.g. possess, use, or sell drugs at work);
10. Inappropriate verbal actions (e.g. argue with customers; verbally harass co-workers);
11. Inappropriate physical actions (e.g. physically attack co-workers; physical sexual advances toward co-worker).

The broad types or domains of behaviour identified by Gruys and Sackett (2003) reflect those emerging in other studies, but there are further variations in how they are grouped (cf. Greenberg, 2010; Robinson & Bennett, 1995; Vardi & Weitz, 2004). For example, Vardi and Weitz (2004: 45) categorised organisational misbehaviour under one of five types: *'intrapersonal misbehaviour* (e.g. workplace problem drinking, drug abuse, and workaholic behaviour), *interpersonal misbehaviour* (e.g. incivility, aggressive behaviour, bullying, and sexual harassment), *production misbehaviour* (e.g. rule breaking, loafing, absenteeism and tardiness), *property misbehaviour* (e.g. vandalism, theft, espionage, and computer hacking), and *political misbehaviour* (e.g. misuse of power, impression management, including portraying oneself better and others worse, politicking, and favouritism)'. The reason for the differences in labelling the types of behaviours and assigning them to categories are methodological and there is insufficient space here to explore the merits and limitations of the approaches adopted by different studies (see Bennett & Robinson, 2000; Gruys & Sackett, 2003; Robinson & Bennett, 1995; Sackett, 2002; Vardi & Weitz, 2004 for further discussion of these). Nevertheless, these diverse typologies are important for the current review because they help to appreciate the scope of behaviours that could be considered deviant. They therefore provide thematic focus for exploratory and explanatory research regarding the types of behaviour that hospitality-specific employees engage in, or encounter, including their drivers, mediators and consequences. The inclusion of drugs and alcohol in specific taxonomies (cf. Gruys & Sackett 2003; Vardi & Weitz, 2004) are particular relevant when exploring a sector of employment such as hospitality, which has recognised problems of drug and alcohol abuse (Giousmpasoglou, Brown, & Cooper, 2018; Pidd, Roche, & Kostadinov, 2014; Pizam, 2012). These, however, only focus on workplace acts of deviance performed by staff. It is important to recognise that staff are not the only source of deviance for hospitality organisations. Suppliers should be seen as distinct sources of deviance because their behaviours are often more spatially and temporally detached from the practices of hospitality organisations, even though they and their

employers are affected by them. The next section therefore explores the forms of deviance performed by suppliers.

5.2. Forms of supplier deviance

Individuals and organisations supplying goods and services at various points in the production chain are a significant source of deviant behaviour. In some cases supplying organisations may consistently display the deviant behaviours described by Ketola (2006): they may cause damage to the environment, evade taxes, delay or neglect payments to their contractors, and mistreat or exploit their employees. The discussion here will focus on a number of specific activities that suppliers may engage in that have direct consequences for hospitality organisations, their employees and their consumers. Many operational functions rely on the use of external suppliers, which include:

1. The sourcing and supply of goods and raw materials such as foodstuffs;
2. The provision of contracted services including accounting and finance, laundry and cleaning, waste disposal and the supply of temporary workers;
3. Intermediation in the forms of marketing and distribution of services and experiences provided by hospitality providers.

Each one of these supplier relationships offer scope for deviant behaviour. For example, the supply of food and other raw materials may involve various risks including multiple forms of food adulteration (cf. Hirschauer et al., 2012; Kuznesof & Brennan, 2004; Wallace et al., 2011). Such failures may be the result of poor education regarding good practice, lack of adequate systems, resources or competencies. However, market pressures to reduce costs and maximise profits may lead to deliberate contravention of food safety and responsible supply-chain management practices. These can range from systemic mismanagement of supply-chains by organisations, as was the case in the European horsemeat scandal (Premanandh, 2013), or individual cases of opportunistic dysfunctional actions, for example, quality substitutions, short deliveries, label changes, kickbacks, price inflation, double invoicing and fictitious invoicing (cf. Bourdain, 2000; Ganesan et al., 2010; Ninemeier, 2014).

The sourcing and supply of materials can also involve unethical and illegal treatment of staff. They can include suppliers offering unfair or irregular contracts to staff or paying low wages. In some cases suppliers may pay their staff nothing, or charge them excessive costs, and remove personal documents, effectively keeping them in slave-like conditions (cf. Robinson, 2013; see also antislavery.org; stronger2gether.org). These same risks are also prevalent in other contracted labour services, for example when external agencies are used to supply temporary labour or contracted services such as cleaning (Paraskevas & Brookes, 2018a, 2018b).

Lamminmaki (2011) has argued that shifting risk to subcontractors is a major motivation for outsourcing. However, as Espino-Rodriguez and Robaina (2005) suggest, all outsourcing risks loss of control by an organisation. Moreover, tasking external contractors with reducing tax liabilities or labour costs may encourage unethical and

deviant behaviour, thus posing reputational risks for the principal organisation, even though they are not directly responsible for misconduct.

Outsourcing marketing and intermediation of distribution may pose more immediate risks for organisations and their customers. These risks may emerge from marketing hospitality products and services to inappropriate segments, providing misleading information to consumers regarding the products, services and experiences or using various practices to suppress prices paid to providers. This may lead to reduced income for hospitality organisations and increasing discrepancies between expectations of the experiences on offer and perceptions of the actual products and services delivered. Studies have shown that hospitality businesses that rely on tour operators for their marketing and distribution are particularly vulnerable to a number of unethical practices (cf. Bastakis et al., 2004; Buhalis, 2000; King, Dwyer, & Prideaux, 2006).

Given the prevalence of outsourcing, the growing complexity of international supply chains and the increasingly complex nature of intermediation and distribution channels in hospitality and tourism, there is substantial scope to expand current understanding of suppliers as sources of deviance. Moreover, given the global nature of the sector, and the spatial and temporal distribution of its practices, there is a pressing need to identify the forms that deviance among suppliers may take, their dynamics, and their impacts on equally diverse networks of stakeholders. Suppliers represent new and more challenging groups of actors and domains of practice. However, a source of deviance that has been researched much more extensively is consumers, which is examined in the following section.

5.3. *Forms of consumer deviance*

A number of writers have attempted to conceptualise deviant behaviour amongst consumers (cf. Ang & Koslow, 2012; Fisk et al., 2010; Fullerton & Punj, 1997a, 1998, 2004). Similarly to employee and workplace deviance, authors have used a number of different terms to describe it including 'unethical behaviour' (Mitchell et al., 2009), consumer misbehaviour (Daunt & Harris, 2011; Fullerton & Punj, 1997b, 1998, 2004), 'jaycustomer behaviour' (Harris & Reynolds, 2004; Lovelock, 1994; Lovelock & Wright, 1999), 'dysfunctional behaviour' (Daunt & Harris, 2012a, 2012b; Harris & Reynolds, 2003; Reynolds & Harris, 2006, 2009) and 'deviant behaviour' (Moschis & Cox, 1989). There are also slight differences in definitions, but Fullerton and Punj's reflects well the themes raised by other authors. They define consumer misbehaviour as:

behavioural acts by consumers which violate the *generally accepted norms* of conduct in consumption situations, and thus disrupt the consumption order. The misbehavioural actions of interest here are externally-directed and visible. They are part of people's conduct in their role as consumers within exchange situations, which are a key component of the overall culture of consumption. Misbehaviour by consumers directly challenges key aspects of consumption order: its implicit norms and role expectations, the legitimacy of marketers to establish boundaries, the sanctity of the financial

and physical property of marketers, and the overall capacity of the consumption system to function smoothly. (Fullerton & Punj, 1998: 394)

Furthermore, as with employee deviance, authors have identified a number of different types of deviant behaviour and classified them using varying approaches. Fullerton and Punj (2004: 1240-1241) identified 34 different types of consumer misbehaviour, which they classified under five types:

Directed against marketer employees	Directed against marketer's financial assets
Verbal abuse of marketer employees	Defrauding retail cashiers
Physical abuse of marketer employees	Failure to report billing errors favourable to consumer
Wilful disobedience of rules	False or questionable claims of injury on marketer premises
Bizarre behaviour	Bad check passing
	Credit card fraud
Directed against marketer merchandise	Loan fraud
Shoplifting	Fraudulent assertions to avoid payment
Fraudulent returns	Warranty frauds
Switching/altering price tags	Insurance fraud
Abusive exploitation of advisory services provided by marketers	Computer-based consumer crime
Theft from service institutions	Rumour generation, sabotage of marketer's goods
Coupon misredemptions	
Use of forged or stolen tickets	Directed against marketer's physical or electronic premises
Copyright theft	Destructive theft acts
	Vandalism
Directed against other consumers	Arson
Jumping queues	Database theft
Illegitimate use of express or "cash only" checkout lines	Denial-of-service attacks on retail websites
Hostile physical acts	Spreading computer viruses

Annoying to ominous behaviour towards other consumers
Criminal behaviour in exchange settings

Fullerton and Punj (2004) offer useful categories of behaviours, although some of the detailed examples are more relevant to retail rather than hospitality settings. A further limit of the application of Fuller and Punj's work to hospitality is that the acts they describe are intentionally harmful. Huefner and Hunt (2000) similarly developed a typology based on 'retaliatory behaviours provoked by dissatisfaction' linking behaviour to intent. Conversely, as with employee deviance, it is important to recognise that disruptive and deviant behaviours may be due to ignorance of norms and procedures, or incompetence and consumers' inability to conform to norms (for example poor table manners) (see Knutson, Woods, & Borchgrevink, 1999). Furthermore, behaviours such as drug and alcohol abuse would be excluded from such conceptualisations because they are non-retaliatory and not intentionally harmful.

Other authors have focused more specifically on service and hospitality sectors, identifying certain consumer types that engage in particular forms of deviant behaviour. Drawing on Zemke and Anderson (1990), Knutson, Borchgrevink and Woods (1999) used the umbrella term 'customers from hell' to describe character types who display particular negative traits: vanity, cruelty, obnoxiousness, dictatorialness and greed underpinned by dishonesty. Lovelock (1994) used the term 'jaycustomer' in discussing a number of undesirable customers (see also Lovelock & Wirtz, 2010; Lovelock & Wright, 1999). Lovelock distinguished between seven different types of jaycustomer (Lovelock & Wirtz, 2010: 365-370):

Jaycustomer type	Examples of undesirable/dysfunctional behaviour
1. The cheat	- <i>Complaining in person or in writing to exploit service recovery policies and extract compensation</i>
2. The thief	- <i>Intentionally steals goods and/or services, or pays less than expected amount by switching labels and contesting bills</i>
3. The rulebreaker	- <i>Failing to observe the formally prescribed rules or unwritten social norms associated with a service space/transaction/experience</i>
4. The belligerent	- <i>Abusive, insulting or physically threatening behaviour directed at service personnel</i>

- 5. The family feuders - *Arguing with members of their own family and/or with other customers*
- 6. The vandal - *Physical damage or destruction of service facilities and equipment*
- 7. The deadbeat - *Inability to pay for goods and/or services, which is not intentional theft but may instead be caused by a lack of funds or some breakdown in the payment process*

Lovelock's typologies of jaycustomers, like those before, represent ideal types with which to categorise individuals (cf. Knutson, Borchgrevink, & Woods, 1999; Zemke & Anderson, 1990). However, such typologies inevitably exclude certain types of behaviours and domains of activity. For example, there is insufficient attention in the jaycustomer typology on the role of social media and technology. As Fullerton and Punj (2004) and Mkono (2018) acknowledged, customers may engage in virtual forms of abuse aimed at staff or the organisation in social media platforms and review forums. They may also attack the electronic infrastructure through viral or spamming attacks. There are also other forms of undesirable behaviour that were not part this typology. Harris and Reynolds (2004) developed Lovelock's work by identifying eight categories of hospitality-specific jaycustomers, distinguishing between financially and non-financially motivated behaviours and overt-covert behaviours.

Jaycustomer type	Examples of undesirable/dysfunctional behaviour
1. Compensation letter writers	- <i>Complaining in writing with little or no justification to exploit service recovery policies and extract compensation</i>
2. Undesirable customers	- <i>Unattractive, unwanted or objectionable behaviours including at the extreme end pimping and prostitution, drug supply and consumption, to drinking other people's drinks, not purchasing, unruly behaviour, public feuding and various forms of minor norm-breaking that compromises other customer's experiences</i>
3. Property abusers	- <i>Intentional, non-financially motivated physical damage, destruction or removal of items from the organisational servicescape, which includes "fun" or</i>

'competition'- motivated 'vandalism' and 'trophy-hunting'

- 4. Service workers - *Customers with previous or current experience of the sector who engage in variety of dysfunctional activities including interfering with service to show superior knowledge or with products to gain unpaid extras*
- 5. Vindictive customers - *Deliberately spreading negative word of mouth, engaging in physical acts of retaliation against frontline staff or the organisation, and shifting blame for their own mistakes on frontline service personnel*
- 6. Oral abusers - *Abusive or insulting behaviour directed at service personnel to enhance their own egos or for financial gain*
- 7. Physical abusers - *Physically aggressive or violent behaviour directed at service personnel or other customers for non-financial gain, which may be influenced by alcohol and substance abuse*
- 8. Sexual predators - *Orally and/or physically harassing frontline staff for personal gratification*

More recently, Gursoy et al. distinguished between 7 types of disruptive consumer, which were much more hospitality and foodservice-specific. For example, they identified 'inattentive parents with naughty kids', 'ignorant customers' and those with 'poor hygiene manners'. There is considerable overlap in the outcomes of such empirically-driven efforts to classify undesirable consumer types and associated behaviours, for instance in their focus on verbal abuse of frontline staff. Nevertheless, they often differ in terms of conceptualising perpetrators' underlying motivations and intentionality. There are also behaviours that emerge in some, but not in others; and several forms of practice, including those involving social media, are frequently absent. These idiosyncrasies in hospitality-specific typologies primarily stem from the use of inductive approaches, which analysed actual critical incidents. Nevertheless, typologies based on exploratory studies of staff and consumer narratives offer empirically grounded insights into deviant behaviours specific to frontline hospitality (cf. Bitner, Booms, & Mohr, 1994; Gill, Moon, Seaman, & Turbin, 2002; Gursoy et al. 2017; Harris & Reynolds, 2004; Huang, Zhao, Miao, & Fu, 2014; Jones & Groenenboom, 2002).

Consumers and their behaviours have received considerable attention, although there remains substantial scope to develop further comprehensive and nuanced typologies of deviant behaviours among them. However, it is possible to identify a further source of deviant behaviour, which remains under-conceptualised: actors who are not necessarily consumers, but who are peripheral to hospitality venues. These 'externals' are discussed in the following section.

5.4. *Forms of external deviance*

For the purposes of this discussion it is useful to think about external stakeholders as a separate and distinct source of deviance. Externals are one of three types: 'peripheral traders', 'ex-employees' and 'aggressors'. 'Peripheral traders' are entrepreneurial individuals and groups that operate in and around the organisation without being paying customers. Their activities may include selling goods such as drugs, souvenirs as well as stolen and fake goods; they may also provide sexual, guiding, currency exchange and transport services in close vicinity to hospitality venues (cf. Crick, 1992; Michaud, 1991; Smith & Henderson, 2008; Timothy & Wall, 1997). 'Ex-employees' are individuals who may feel some animosity towards the organisation or its employees, and have access to information about the organisation that enables them to act in contrast to their norms and interests. 'Aggressors' would include thieves, fraudsters and aggressive beggars who target hospitality consumers, and those who behave in a physically, verbally or sexually abusive manner towards staff and/or customers as they leave, enter or work/consume in outdoor areas of the premises (see e.g. Badu-Baiden, Adu-Boahen, & Otoo, 2016; Li & Pearce, 2016; Pearce, 2011). This would also include terrorist or other criminal groups that wish to harm the organisation, its employees and customers (Pizam, 2016b, 2016c).

Operators may consider some of these types of deviance to be outside of their realms of control and responsibility. However, insofar as these activities affect their consumers' experiences and therefore their satisfaction with the organisation, management will take it upon itself to reduce or mitigate the risks (cf. Gill, Moon, Seaman, & Turbin, 2002; Jones & Groenenboom). Venue operators in resorts for example, employ a number of strategies to keep consumers within the confines of the premises and keep unwanted externals out. This may include offering leisure activities, food and drink to keep customers from leaving and warning them about the risks outside the premises; operators may also employ security personnel and erect physical barriers to keep unwanted people out (Freitag 1994; Shaw & Shaw, 1999).

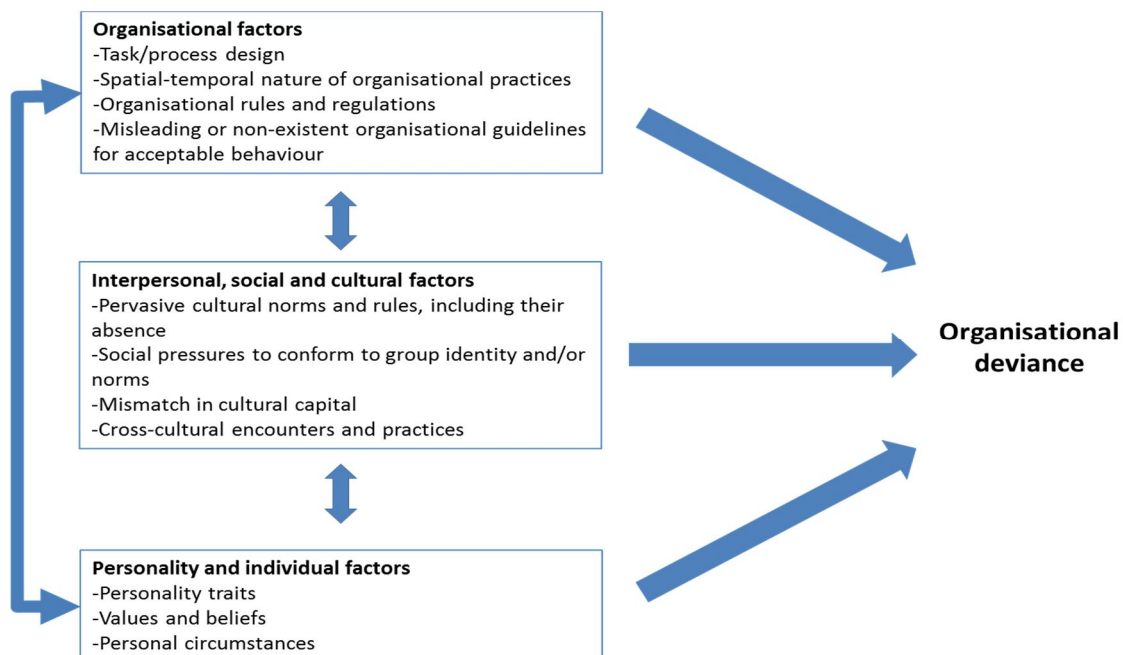
Furthermore, external sources of deviance may directly affect the wellbeing of staff and employers have a moral and often legal obligation to protect them. This would certainly be the case for venues catering for lesbian, gay bisexual and transgender (LGBT) consumers and organisations operating in areas of ethnic, religious or ideological conflict, particularly when the hospitality venues were perceived to contravene local norms. Finally, operators, particularly within the 'night-time economy' may also be held responsible for anti-social behaviour close to their venue. It is therefore in their interest to monitor and if possible control deviant behaviour, even if it was not perpetrated by their customers (see Talbot, 2007).

The preceding discussion demonstrates the importance of differentiating between sources of deviance, beyond employees and customers, considering a wider set of actors from organisations' extended networks of stakeholders. Moreover, it highlights overlaps and divergences between definitions of deviance and related practices – conceptually, operationally in empirical research and in management practice. The subsequent sections of the review examine factors underpinning deviant behaviour and shaping its manifestations.

6. Antecedents and drivers of deviance

Previous reviews of the field have considered antecedents of deviant behaviour in organisations (Bennett & Robinson, 2003; Robinson & Bennett 1997; Robinson & Greenberg, 1998). Similar attempts have been made to identify antecedents of deviant behaviour amongst consumers (Daunt & Harris, 2012b; Fisk et al., 2010). Although examining different perspectives, it is possible to identify overlaps in the types of antecedents. Furthermore, some of the factors driving or facilitating deviant behaviour amongst employees may also encourage dysfunctional behaviour amongst consumers. Therefore, this section discusses antecedents of deviant behaviour within three distinct but interrelated levels: 1. organisational; 2. interpersonal, social and cultural; and 3. individual, with particular reference to personality traits. The three levels and the associated factors examined are summarised in Figure 1. As other authors have suggested, organisational deviance is likely to be caused by a combination of factors operating at and across these levels (Robinson, 2008; Robinson & Greenberg, 1998).

Figure 1. Antecedents and drivers of organisational deviance



6.1. Organisational antecedents and drivers

A key factor contributing to deviant behaviour is the design of processes and tasks within organisations. This may include the lack of appropriate methods of control or monitoring, which means staff and customers engage in deviant behaviours simply because they can get away with it (cf. Ghiselli & Ismail, 1998; Mars, 1994; Peacock & Kübler, 2001; Shigihara, 2013). However, inflexible and overly bureaucratic organisational structures and processes, which make individuals feel powerless or undervalued, may provoke dysfunctional behaviour amongst both employees and customers (cf. Huefner & Hunt, 2000; Isralowitz et al., 2012; Verdi & Weiner, 1996). From a theoretical perspective, these may be explained by the notion of 'procedural justice', and the perceived absence of fair processes (Abubakar & Arasli, 2016; Demir, 2011; Yen & Teng, 2013). Organisational stakeholders may vent their frustration or attempt to resolve problems through destruction of property, disruption of organisational functions, abuse of personnel and/or customers or substance abuse. Robinson and Bennett (1997) refer to the venting of frustration as 'expressive' motivation and attempts to restore equity as 'instrumental' motivation.

Poorly designed organisational processes leading to dissatisfaction or frustration may also promote deviant behaviour which may not be wholly negative. Customers may monitor or reprimand staff for their misbehaviour; customers may assume an active role in suggesting improvements to organisational processes or take a greater role in service provision as a way to compensate for an organisation's shortcomings (Ford & Heaton, 2001). They may also become alternative or competing service providers (Bitner et al., 1997). For example, mothers or carers may bring their own food or hot water to make up 'feeding formula' for their children when the organisation does not provide these. They may also take more active roles in redefining how they use facilities, engaging in activities that were not originally envisaged by the operators (see Torres, Lugosi, Orlowski, & Ronzoni, 2018).

The temporal-spatial organisation of workplaces may also influence the likelihood and eventual manifestations of deviance (Tresidder & Martin, 2018). Hidden back-spaces, away from organisational surveillance enable staff to subvert or break organisational conventions, including theft, unhygienic behaviour, time wasting and property damage (cf. Mars & Nicod, 1984; Orwell, 1989). Deviance amongst international workers may simply take the form of speaking in their own language in contrast to the organisation's expectations for them to speak English (see e.g. McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007). The isolation of workers may be a mechanism through which organisations restrict their opportunities for mobility and self-expression (McDowell, 2009; Robinson, 2013; Shelley, 2007). The segregation of customers and workers in hidden regions of hospitality venues, which includes hotel rooms and cruise ship cabins, may also facilitate the emergence of individual acts of deviance, for example sexual harassment of staff (Boon, 2007; Kensbock et al., 2015; Ram, Tribe, & Biran, 2016) or sexual assaults on staff and customers (Klein, 2016; Klein & Poulston, 2011); it may also lead to emergence of more sustained patterns of deviance in the form of theft and substance abuse (Shannon et al., 2006; Shelley, 2007; Slavnic, 2013).

Moreover, spatial separation also has temporal elements to it. Some organisational spaces may be busy and subject to surveillance during the day, but may be radically different outside normal working hours. Guerrier and Adib (2000) for example suggested that sexual harassment and the request for illicit services may take place at reception areas during evening and night shifts. However, working long and irregular hours may also lead to the formations of subversive activities and more sustained cultures of misbehaviour in and around the workplace (e.g. drinking, drug-taking etc.; see Belhassen, 2012; Belhassen & Shani, 2012; Fine, 2008).

In addition to the design of work processes, organisational rules are likely to contribute to organisational misbehaviour. This can range from overly prescriptive rules concerning attire or self-presentation, which breeds resentment as workers assert their power over their sense of identity; however, deviance may stem from the absence of rules or norms, for example concerning dealing with consumer complaints. Poor and unfairly designed remuneration is also a principal driver of deviance among staff, who may resort to theft from the organisation or customers to supplement their wages. Taking food, drinks, toiletries and using company resources for personal business may be seen by staff as part of the 'total compensation package', which offsets low wages (see Lundberg & Karlsson, 2011; Mars & Nicod, 1984; Marshall, 1986).

Arguably, overly prescriptive rules or the lack of clearly defined rules may also drive deviance amongst consumers. Deviant behaviour may be an active form of resistance, particularly if the rules are perceived to be unreasonable or constrain the expected consumer experience (Huefner & Hunt, 2000; Torres et al., 2018). However, failure to observe rules may simply be because they are not properly articulated and customers are not properly socialised into performing their roles (see e.g. Lugosi, 2014 regarding rules and experience socialisation in hospitality). From a theoretical perspective, social learning theories may therefore be utilised to explore and explain why people perform undesirable behaviours in hospitality settings and how they contravene expected norms (Akers, 2010). Specifically, there is scope to examine the interactive and performative processes through which hospitality consumers display, transmit and adapt context-specific norms, including transgressive ones, alongside the social sanctions used to maintain or challenge them.

Within hospitality settings, customer expectations about what is possible or permitted may be shaped (rightly or wrongly) by the representational practices of organisations and other intermediators. Hospitality experiences are often promoted as extraordinary, and venues may become sites where norms are transgressed (cf. Andrews, 2009; Pritchard & Morgan, 2006; Lugosi, 2014). As Poulston (2008a), Azlan and Kozak (2012) and others suggested, hospitality provision may infer an asymmetric power relationship between the paying consumer and the staff who are there to meet their needs. Studies have also suggested that uniform policies may exacerbate the problems (Waudby & Poulston, 2017). For example, name badges allow customers to know and address staff by their first names. Such uniform policies as requirements to wear revealing, tight-fitting clothes, including the insistence on skirts and dresses for women, have been shown to contribute to the sexualisation of frontline staff through the

objectification of their bodies (Hall, 1993; Erickson 2004; Kensbock et al., 2015). Added to this, organisational rules concerning the treatment of customers, which are underpinned by such notions as the 'customer is always right', staff and business striving to 'delight', 'entertain' and 'exceed expectations' may be seen by customers to legitimate deviant behaviour, including excessive consumption, making unreasonable demands and sexual harassment (cf. Andrews, 2009; Guerrier & Adib, 2000; Poulston, 2008a).

Importantly, as Handy (2006) suggested, there may not be adequate organisational policies or procedures in place to challenge inappropriate behaviours and sanctions for perpetrators. In these cases, research suggests that customer deviance may be seen to be normalised in the workplace (see Good & Cooper, 2016; Kensbock et al., 2015; Mkono, 2010; Waudby & Poulston, 2017), leading to feelings of disempowerment amongst frontline staff. However, poorly articulated or enforced rules, for example regarding health and safety or proper conduct, may also facilitate deviance amongst employees (cf. Onsøyen et al., 2009). Moreover, as Purpura (2013) suggested, the failure to anticipate and respond to the risks from external perpetrators, including rules for challenging people trespassing on the premises or interfering with staff, customers and property is also likely to facilitate deviance (see also Ho, Zhao, & Dooley, 2017).

Finally, it is important to acknowledge the influence of organisational rules concerning performance targets and reward systems on provoking organisational deviance. Inappropriate targets can include excessive workloads, for example, numbers of tables assigned to servers in a restaurant section or the numbers of rooms or cabins that have to be cleaned within a specified time, risking psychological and physical injury, leading to self-medication (Liladrie, 2010). Such targets can drive deviance if they provoke feelings of stress or exploitation amongst staff and they engage in production or property damage, for example, as a way to restore justice (Namasivayam & Lin, 2006). Poorly utilised sales, cost, profit or review targets and the use of commissions may also provide incentives to engage in deviant behaviours. This may include selling inappropriate services, promoting excessive consumption among consumers, misrepresenting services and experiences, exploiting human labour in the supply chain or the generation of fake reviews to improve internal and external perceptions (cf. Andrews, 2009; Belias et al., 2019; King et al., 2006; Litzky, Eddleston, & Kidder, 2006; Paraskevas & Brookes, 2018a). Revenue management practices such as overbooking, coupled with inappropriate service failure recovery strategies, are also likely to breed resentment in customers and may cause brand reputational damage (Pizam, 2017). Poorly designed targets may also encourage staff to break rules surrounding safe or ethical practice, for instance using the same cloths to clean toilets and drinking glasses in a hotel room to reduce time, substituting inferior quality food or drink for expensive items to reduce costs or misrepresenting services to increase sales.

Such inappropriate targets may stem from poor management understanding of the task complexity, but also work situations where there is frequent 'scope' or 'mission creep' (i.e. where workloads expand due to unusual or unanticipated requirements of

the job). This is often evident in dynamic hospitality, tourism and event contexts where customer demands can easily change. Some employers may be aware of the stressful and sometimes unreasonable demands placed on staff, but choose to enforce those targets. This may be explained, from a theoretical perspective, through notions of ethical work or service climate, which have been used in studies to conceptualise contextual drivers of deviance and its consequences (cf. Lee, Kim, Banks, & Lee, 2015; Kincaid, Baloglu, & Corsun, 2008; Yeşiltaş & Tuna, 2018). The ethical dimensions of organisational cultures as created and reified through embedded management practices, including targets, behavioural expectations (i.e. to perform emotional labour) and sanctions for underperformance. In particular this may be driven by pressure from senior management, owners or shareholders who assess individual, team or organisational unit level performance through simplistic or inappropriate performance data (e.g. negative reviews, occupancy rates or RevPAR).

It is important to stress that sales, profit or cost targets are not the problem per se. Problems may arise with how such targets are implemented, communicated, perceived, rewarded or how underperformance is punished (cf. Orlikowski & Scott, 2015). Even when targets are implemented with good intentions, it may still provoke deviant behaviours. For instance, sales targets set at the level of the individual rather than team performance may result in individuals undermining colleagues or engaging in unethical sales practices to receive bonuses or avoid the humiliation of being branded as the poorest performer (Dunn & Schweitzer, 2005; see also Coughlan, 1999 for a further discussion of 'conflict-free' compensation systems). Similarly, if performance in cost reduction or profit raising initiatives is only evaluated according to a narrow set of indicators, it may lead to staff and organisations focusing solely on meeting those targets at the expense of other things, for example, staff satisfaction or turnover. As Donald Campbell observed ([1976]2011: 34): "The more any quantitative social indicator is used for social decision-making, the more subject it will be to corruption pressures and the more apt it will be to distort and corrupt the social processes it is intended to monitor." Campbell's law regarding the 'operationalisation' of workplace targets and indicators suggests it is necessary to shift attention from the organisational antecedents and drivers of deviance to the human aspects that determine when, how and why deviance emerges.

6.2. *Interpersonal, social and cultural antecedents and drivers*

Organisations may set rules and regulations for their staff and customers, but these are implemented and transgressed by people and it is therefore essential to understand the social and cultural dimensions of deviant behaviour in hospitality. Studies have repeatedly stressed that organisational cultures have a significant influence on the form and prevalence of deviance (cf. Barnes & Taksa, 2012; Greenberg, 2010; Kidwell & Martin, 2005; Vardi, 2001; Robinson, 2008).

Deviance may stem from the norms and values created by leaders, as they set parameters for acceptable behaviours, establish goals, as suggested in the previous discussion of targets. As noted above, in relation to ethical climates, creating cultures of intimidation and humiliation, where underperformance is publicly criticised, or where

blame is openly assigned, is often argued to result in mistrust and poor morale (see Everton et al., 2007; Dunn & Schweitzer, 2005). Deviance may also be caused by dysfunctional aspects of management practice such as poor communication. This includes over-relying on emails, memos, notice boards or public meetings to disseminate sensitive information. The posting of Tripadvisor reviews, performance targets and results as a way to compare different employees, departments or units may be one way to communicate performance levels and instil a sense of competition, but this may result in the establishment of a culture of stigmatisation (see Orlikowski & Scott, 2015).

Again, the problem may not be with the culture of measurement and social comparison, but how this is operationalised in the workplace, in particular how success and failure is treated. Studies have shown that supervisor behaviour impacts on staff's perception of organisational justice and on their subsequent deviant behaviours (Gatling, Shum, Book, & Bai, 2017; Wang, Mao, Wu, & Liu, 2012). Park and Kim (2018), for example, utilised 'psychological contract breach' theory to argue that inappropriate supervisory conduct may drive dissatisfaction and service sabotage. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the mistreatment of staffs' under-performance (e.g. by humiliation, bullying) or over-performance (e.g. by lack of adequate reward) be seen as procedural injustice. Managers may also view performance or ranking exercises as 'zero-sum games' where there are only clear winners and losers based on particular measures, which would certainly be the case when units or departments are ranked against each other (see Orlikowski & Scott, 2015). There is a danger that such an approach is seen to ignore the potential of other employees and fail to recognise their contributions to the organisation, which may not be easily measured in the same way as sales or customer satisfaction targets.

Leaders, whether formally titled managers or informal leaders emerging from the workforce, create behavioural models in the workplace which shape the practices that are (re)produced by individuals and groups (Brown & Mitchell, 2010; Treviño & Brown, 2005; Vardi, 2001). For example, Gatling et al., 2017 used 'causal attribution theory' to explain relationships between leaders and followers i.e. how individuals explained the reasons for (supervisory) behaviours and used these to make decisions about their own behavioural choices. The attitudes and behaviours emerging in organisations coalesce into pervasive norms and values of networks of individuals, which act as the reference groups for other organisational members (Mars, 1994; Robinson, 2008; Robinson & O'Leary-Kelly, 1998; Vardi, 2001). The normalisation of sexism, racism and homophobia are often blamed on informal cultures of interaction, which may be treated as seemingly harmless incivility by perpetrators (cf. Alexander, MacLaren, O'Gorman, & Taheri, 2012; Bloisi & Hoel, 2008; Boxer & Ford, 2010). From a theoretical perspective, these may be explained through neutralisation techniques, for example as employees deny injury or downplay their roles in the context of others who behave worse (cf. Sykes, & Matza, 1957; Shigihara, 2013).

Numerous authors have argued that cultures of informal incivility and low level deviance influence social bonding (cf. Alexander et al., 2012; Cooper, Giousmpasoglou,

& Marinakou, 2017; Palmer, Cooper, & Burns, 2010). Hollinger (1986) and others used social bonding theory to explain why people engage in deviant behaviour collectively (see e.g. Galperin, & Burke, 2006). Accepting deviance and participating in deviant behaviour, for example pilfering, joking, loafing or even substance abuse thus helps to strengthen social cohesion (Richards & Marks, 2007; Mars, 1994). Therefore, it is possible to view such deviance as positive. However, the functionality of low level deviance extends beyond social bonding. Production and property damage may serve to vent stress and frustration, thus containing it to certain spheres of the organisation.

It is also important to recognise that social bonding can lead to the formation of in and out groups. Those excluded from the groups may feel sense of alienation, which prompts other forms of deviance (Ferris et al., 2009; Zhao et al., 2013). This may include the misuse of organisational property and resources but it may result in greater levels of absenteeism and increased use of alcohol and drugs (Giousmpasoglou, Brown, & Cooper, 2018; Pidd, Roche, & Kostadinov, 2014; Pizam, 2012). Feelings of exclusion and isolation can also prompt political deviance including badmouthing and whistle-blowing as a way to compensate for or redress perceived injustice.

The role of broader notions of culture also need to be acknowledged. Edwards and Greenberg (2010) suggested that culture is very likely to influence where and how deviance emerges and how it is perceived by organisational members. For example, Luthar and Luthar (2002, 2008) argued that cultures which score high on Hofstede's (2001) masculinity and power distance dimensions may facilitate greater abuses of power, particularly along gendered lines. Furthermore, they contended that members of cultures scoring highly on collectivism measures may be more likely to tolerate inappropriate behaviour such as harassment (Luthar & Luthar, 2002). Studies have suggested that people from collectivist cultures, where revealing sincere emotions is frowned upon, are more likely to engage in deception in negotiations (Triandis et al., 2001). Tinsley and Weldon (2003) argued that members of collectivist cultures, where notions of social conformity are strong, may use shaming as a form of punishment and social control. In a similar vein, authors have suggested that individualistic cultures drive greater levels of unethical behaviour as social norms dissolve and individuals compete for success (Cullen et al., 2004). There is a danger both in reducing cultural norms to particular, static patterns, and in oversimplifying the relationship between cultural orientation and likelihood of deviance. Reality is likely to be much more complex. Studies such as Lalwani et al. (2006), which applied Hofstede's (2001) notion of individualism-collectivism, showed that individuals from different cultures may engage in different types of deviant behaviour. Nevertheless, it is important to be mindful of how broader social and cultural orientations may shape behavioural norms and how deviance is perceived.

Social and cultural norms may also drive or at least facilitate deviant behaviour amongst consumers. Studies of hospitality repeatedly show how misbehaviour, for example drunkenness and disorderly conduct and sexual harassment, can become a socially embedded part of consumers' experiences (Crang, 1994; Hesse, & Tutenges, 2011; Lugosi, 2009; Tutenges, 2012). The articulation of group identity and belonging

may thus result in the transgression of norms within the consumption context. Some organisations may tolerate such individual and collective actions, or even encourage it as part of the experience; thus treating deviant behaviour as positive (cf. Andrews, 2009; Lugosi, 2009, 2014). However, deviant behaviour amongst consumers may stem from a mismatch in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). More specifically, if there is a mismatch between the operators' expectations of behaviour, knowledge and etiquette and those of the consumers. This may itself stem from inadequate socialisation of the consumer, which was discussed previously.

Related to the problem of mismatch in cultural capital is the importance of cultural values and rules more generally. Within hospitality contexts, the interaction of people from different cultural backgrounds may lead to misunderstandings and conflicts (Harrison & Lugosi, 2013). There are numerous cultural norms related to eating and drinking, for example concerning the use of cutlery, vessels and making bodily noises, which, when performed outside of their cultural context are perceived to be inappropriate by staff and customers (see e.g. Visser, 1991). Similarly, as Azar (2004) discussed, tipping, not tipping, or tipping inappropriate amounts may be seen as an insulting gesture towards staff, even if this was not the intention of the customer who may come from a different tipping culture. Customers who do not use words like 'please' may be seen by staff as rude, even though this may actually stem from the absence or differing use of such terms in certain languages (see e.g. Doerr, 2013). Cultural practices regarding clothing, tattoos, piercings and other forms of body modification, including the use of makeup and perfumes may be seen as contravening the cultural codes and expectations of the hospitality setting between and amongst organisations, their staff and their customers (cf. Brallier, Maguire, Smith, & Palm, 2011; Swanger, 2006).

Cross-cultural relationships often cause a range of complications for operators and employees. As Winsted (1999) showed, customers from different cultures are likely to have different expectations regarding the service encounters (see also Mattila, 2000). Consequently, staff having inappropriate understanding of their customers' cultural norms may engage in what is perceived to be deviant behaviour. These can include using unsuitable terminology and gestures or overly familiar interaction (e.g. Stauss & Mang, 1999).

Beyond the level of intra-organisational staff relationships and service encounters, the role of gifts and bribes in establishing and maintaining relationships between operators, suppliers, intermediaries, customers and other stakeholders including state officials, may be another source of tension for organisational members. The distinctions between gifts and bribes can often be blurred, and in some cultures, both may be interwoven into business and social relationships (see e.g. Arunthanes et al., 1994; Polese, 2014; Werner, 2000). The difficulty comes when practices of gift giving/receiving or indeed bribery are inappropriately used outside of their normal cultural context. In some contexts, the failure to give, receive, recognise its implications and reciprocate may lead to tensions, whilst in other cultures, the opposite will be perceived to be deviant behaviour.

Beyond interpersonal, social and cultural dimensions, it is also necessary to consider how personality and individual factors may shape manifestations of deviant behaviour in hospitality contexts. These are considered in the penultimate section below.

6.3. *Personality and individual antecedents and drivers*

In their review of insidious workplace behaviour, Edwards and Greenberg (2010), reflected upon the role of personality types on proclivity towards deviance. As with many of the other antecedent factors, it is important to remain cautious about oversimplifying the issue. Nevertheless, they recognise that personality types have been shown to influence perceptions of, attitudes towards, and the enactment of organisational misbehaviour. These traits include negative affectivity: the likelihood of employees and staff perceiving actions and events adversely (Edwards & Greenberg, 2010). Negative affectivity leads to adverse emotional states and the adoption of dysfunctional, antisocial or generally undesirable behaviour, whether it is in the form of political and production deviance, or self-destructive behaviours in the form of drug and alcohol abuse. Three related and frequently studied traits are narcissism, Machiavellianism and psychopathy, which are commonly referred to as the 'dark triad' of personality (Paulhus & Williams, 2002; Jakobwitz & Egan, 2006). According to Lee and Ashton (2005: 1572) narcissism is a personality disorder characterised by such behaviours as 'dominance, exploitation, feelings of superiority and entitlement' and are accompanied by persistent attention seeking, vanity and self-focus (Jakobwitz & Egan, 2006). Machiavellianism refers to a tendency towards manipulateness, insincerity, superficial charm particularly to pursue personal gain (Edwards & Greenberg, 2010; Lee & Ashton, 2005). These types of individuals have low levels of morality and frequently experience envy. Lee and Ashton (2005: 1572) also discuss the related concept of psychopathy, which refers to patterns of 'callousness, [and] remorseless manipulation and exploitation of others', alongside high impulsivity, the desire for thrill seeking, low empathy and anxiety (Paulhus & Williams, 2002)

There are conceptual differences between Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy (Lee & Ashton, 2005; Paulhus & Williams, 2002), but there are also considerable overlaps in exhibited traits. Ruthlessness, willingness to lie and the ability to manipulate can often make individuals successful in gaining jobs and promotion, and there is a risk that poorly designed organisational policies and cultures facilitate such people's career success (Pech, 2007). However, these types of people are generally considered negative to organisations and their stakeholders (Boddy, 2006, 2015). It is easy to see how these personality and behavioural traits amongst employees and customers will shape their goals, ethical conduct and attitudes towards people and property. Importantly, organisations may be able to screen their employees, for example through specialised interview techniques and psychometric testing (Blackman & Funder, 2002), to see whether they exhibit any of these traits. Unfortunately, such insidious tendencies may only become apparent through their impacts among stakeholders. In addition, the costs and expertise required to employ psychometric testing in a sector such as hospitality, which is dominated by small and medium

enterprises, is likely to make it unfeasible. Screening suppliers, consumers and externals for these traits is likely to be more impossible.

A range of other psychological traits are likely to influence people's propensity to engage in particular forms of deviance. Researchers have for example used the 'Big Five' personality traits as predictors of counterproductive workplace behaviour (Bolton et al., 2010). The Big Five refers to: *extraversion* (sociability, assertiveness, talkativeness, ambition and energy); *agreeableness* (likeability, friendliness and flexibility); *conscientiousness* (hard working, dependable and detail oriented); *openness to experience* (curiosity, intelligence, imaginative and independent) and *neuroticism/emotional stability* (security, calmness, low anxiety and low emotionality) (Berry et al., 2007; Bolton et al., 2010). Ashton et al. (2004) also considered an associated trait, *honesty-humility*, which included sincerity, fairness and modesty, as an addition to the Big Five categorisation (see also Lee & Ashton, 2005). Psychologists have attempted to use these and related personality traits to predict people's proclivity for deviant behaviour, with mixed results (see Berry et al., 2007; Martinko, Gundlach, & Douglas, 2002; Salgado, 2002). For example, studies have suggested that individuals with high levels of thrill and sensation-seeking desires and low levels of self-control may more inclined to engage in opportunistic theft or drug and alcohol abuse (cf. Cullen & Sackett, 2003; Goh & Kong, 2016). In contrast, according to Jung and Yoon (2012), higher levels of emotional intelligence have negative effects on counterproductive behaviour and positive effects on organisational citizenship behaviour. Bolton et al. (2010) argued that conscientiousness predicted people's likelihood of engaging in deviance aimed at the organisation, whilst agreeableness shaped people's likelihood of people-directed misbehaviours (see also Kozako et al., 2013). Importantly, other studies have attempted to examine the interaction of other intervening variables such as organisational (in)justice in their analysis, and researchers generally acknowledge that considering traits in isolation is unlikely to be able to explain deviance completely (Berry et al., 2007; Colbert et al., 2004; Edwards & Greenberg, 2010; Jones, 2009; Martinko et al., 2002).

Beyond the psychological focus on personality traits, individual values and beliefs may also impact upon deviant behaviour. Specifically, a mismatch between employees' or consumers' values or expectations regarding how a business or its stakeholders should behave and their perceived behaviour may prompt property or political deviance. This may lead to the voicing of dissent, but extend to whistleblowing and 'functional disobedience' (Brief et al., 2001) as people contest existing practices by enacting alternatives. As Warren (2003) observes, such acts may be considered positive deviance, insofar as they challenge unethical business norms and practices (see also Appelbaum et al., 2007).

Age and gender have been shown to correlate with deviant behaviour with young males much more likely to be perpetrators (cf. Gove, 1985; Rocque, 2015). Within studies of workplace deviance, researchers have observed that age may also influence if and how they misbehave, with young employees exhibiting greater likelihood of engaging in such practices (Harris & Benson, 1998; Hollinger et al., 1992). Younger employees have also been shown to exhibit more tolerant attitudes towards workplace

deviance (Poulston, 2008b). Type of contract, length of employment and overall commitment to employment have also been identified as relevant factors (Hollinger et al., 1992; Huiras et al., 2000). It is not surprising to see studies reporting that employees with low levels of commitment to the job or their current career paths have been found to be more likely to engage in deviant behaviour at work (Huiras et al., 2000). This is likely to be a significant problem for a sector such as hospitality, which is often argued to be a temporary employment choice rather than a long-term career (Alberti, 2014; Duncan et al., 2013; Janta et al., 2011). The sector's continuing reliance on part-time workers and 'flexible contracts' (cf. Davidson et al., 2011; Wanrooy et al., 2013) is also likely to perpetuate limited commitment to organisations and occupations.

7. Conclusions and implications for research and practice

This review has shown multiple ways that the concept of deviance is relevant to understanding the dynamics of hospitality management at different scales of analysis, ranging from the macro-level of the sector, the meso-level of organisational behaviour, to the micro-level of human interactions. Moreover, it has sought to demonstrate that deviance may be used as a concept at different levels of abstraction. Specifically, it may be used fairly narrowly to focus on concrete actions, by organisations, groups, owners, operators, staff and consumers, which are seen as problematic and therefore undesirable. However, deviance may also be used as a broader, sensitizing 'meta-concept' (cf. Lugosi, 2017), helping to examine actions that are disruptive, challenging social norms, but do not always (or unequivocally) lead to negative consequences. Deviance may therefore inform research and practice in a number of ways.

An important area of enquiry concerns what actions and behaviours are labelled as being deviant, and by whom. This necessitates a context-sensitive form of analysis, required to shed light on normative conventions and power relations, and the practices that are perceived to transgress them. Such an approach can help to understand what interests are challenged through deviant behaviours. For example, HOTREC's (2014) critical appraisal of AirBnB is understandable insofar as it is seen to undermine the profitability and functioning of the established hotel sector. Again, such analysis, seeking to understand why organisations are labelled 'deviant', may focus on the actions and agents at the level of governments and industrial sectors, for example, examining how tour operators', the informal accommodation sector's or cruise companies' market decisions are perceived and represented by those impacted in destinations. However, it may also focus on the way deviant behaviours are framed and represented by employees and consumers. For instance, the #metoo movement, which relied heavily on social media representations to exposed sexual harassment and abuse, highlighted both embedded asymmetric power relations along gendered lines and the potential empowerment that expressive solidarity has generated amongst women (Gill & Orgad, 2018).

A further area of enquiry concerns how deviance enacted and by whom. Two points should be noted here. First, it is possible to argue that the act of labelling deviance – objectifying it and giving it a name, as described above, is already part of its enactment. However, for a moment it is useful to focus on enactments as the actual practices that

are labelled deviant, including how they are resisted by different stakeholders. Secondly, much of the research concerning forms of deviance amongst employees and consumers, and its antecedents in organisations focuses on enactments. The experiences of chefs, housekeeping and frontline service staff have been researched extensively (cf. Giousmpasoglou et al., 2018; Guerrier & Adib, 2000; Kensbock et al., 2015). Nevertheless, re-emerging challenges faced by the hospitality sector, for example, low investment, staff shortages and labour mobility, low profit margins, market pressures amplified by increasing consumer empowerment and surveillance brought about by technology, continue to provoke deviant behaviours at sectoral, organisational and interpersonal levels. These include improperly devised or implemented targets, irregular remuneration arrangements, drug and alcohol abuse, theft, harassment, bullying and violence as drivers of or reactions to perceived organisational injustices. Therefore it is important to keep examining how deviant behaviours are performed, in and across the functional areas of organisations and sectors, the processes through which they are embedded, and importantly, the underpinning causes of deviance. This is again where research may focus on context-specific organisational factors, or occupational ones, which may be shared by individuals performing the same tasks in different workplaces, shaping practices of deviance, or a combinations of the two.

Much of the personality and psychological literature seeks to measure underlying psychological factors that may predetermine individuals' proclivity towards certain forms of deviant behaviour (cf. Blackman & Funder, 2002; Daunt & Harris, 2011, 2012b; Poulston, 2008b). This body of work, which has developed through positivist principles, and often used quantitative instruments, has provided a solid evidence base for understanding the relationship between key psychological constructs. However, the application of this knowledge reflect several challenges. Firstly, although psychometric testing is used by many multinational organisations to make human resource decisions, as noted above, the resource requirements and capacities of smaller, independent organisations are likely to restrict the practical deployment of such complex and expensive analytical techniques. Furthermore, there is a risk that, by using psychometric testing, key human research decisions are reduced to calculative algorithms, determined by the expertise of technocratic analysts who may themselves be removed from the organisational contexts and stakeholders who have to hire and manage staff to meet organisational needs.

A second challenge lies in the ability to apply psychological insights to predict deviant behaviour amongst consumers. Researchers have used personality traits and previous behaviours to predict future dysfunctional behaviours (Daunt & Harris, 2011). Law enforcement bodies have also begun to mine personal and social media data to predict criminal activities (Edwards, 2017). In principle, applying this to predict deviant customer behaviour is possible, but costly and may thus also be impractical. Consequently, organisations may have to focus their attention on scenario-based planning to identify weaknesses in their organisations as part of risk management strategies. This is already being done in forward-thinking organisations regarding cyber vulnerabilities, for example. Alternatively, they may focus their efforts on monitoring and reacting to consumers' deviant behaviour, developing tactics to reduce threats or

mitigating consequences, and investing in knowledge sharing, thus enabling organisations to work collectively to reduce risks. This is the case for example when hotel groups and casinos collaborate to combat criminal activities and criminal risks, or when pubs work together to collectively exclude disruptive consumers. There is significant scope for researchers with specialist knowledge of and focus on the hospitality sector to help identify and manage risks associated with consumer-based deviance.

The enactment of deviant behaviour amongst consumers, including their practices and experiences, is also well researched (see e.g. Aslan & Kozak, 2012; Daunt & Harris, 2012a, 2012b; Torres et al., 2017). Researchers adopting inductive approaches and using critical incident techniques have developed useful taxonomies of types of consumers and behaviours (e.g. Harris & Reynolds, 2004). However, there is scope to explore further how new workplace technologies and indeed new forms of hospitality, reflected in the sharing economy, give rise to new forms of deviance (c.f. Giumetti, McKibben, Hatfield, Schroeder, & Kowalski, 2012; Sigala, 2017). The growth of the co-creation paradigm means that, as experience and value creation are enacted by consumers rather than providers or operators, the scope for organisational direction and control is reduced and the potential for deviance is increased (Greer, 2015; Schaefers, Wittkowski, Benoit, & Ferraro, 2016; Torres et al., 2018). Furthermore, the development of new markets for hospitality invites further research on how deviance operates in different national and cultural contexts. It is also important to examine the extent to which service designs and experiential concepts drive certain forms of deviant behaviour; for example, because they are seen as unjust, such as overbooking policies, or poorly designed or marketed, or where consumer socialisation is ineffective leading to conflicts between expected and actual behaviours amongst customers.

There is significant scope to expand knowledge about deviant behaviours amongst hospitality suppliers, particularly in light of recent food safety scandals and growing scrutiny of deviance amongst them. For example their abusive human resource practices and uses of slave labour highlights these as growing issues for researchers, advocates and responsible business (Robinson, 2013). Deviant behaviours among external agents, whether it is through low-level nuisance activities, criminal acts of theft or violence, as in the case of terror attacks, also deserves further attention, particularly as these emerge as risks in multiple forms to hospitality organisations and other stakeholders across the globe (cf. Botterill & Jones, 2010; Botterill et al., 2014; Li & Pearce, 2016; Mawby, 2014; Pearce, 2011).

The notion of positive deviance also provides numerous avenues for further research. One line of enquiry could explore deviance as innovation by consumers or staff, within and outside of hospitality organisations. Innovations and market disruption, both in historical and contemporary contexts has involved norm-breaking (cf. Bowie 2018; Guttentag, 2015). There is significant scope to understand how constructive forms of norm-breaking are enacted and resisted, focusing on the individuals involved, adopting personality and behavioural approaches (e.g. Chen, 2011). However, it may also consider the socio-material contexts within hospitality settings that facilitate or

drive innovative forms of deviance, either because they respond to flawed or incomplete organisational and consumer practices, or because the socio-material environment acts as an incubator, promoting innovative norm-breaking (cf. Baradarani & Kilic, 2017; Boukis, 2016; Ukko, Saunila, Parjanen, Rantala, Salminen, Pekkola, & Mäkimattila, 2016).

There is also significant merit in providing greater understanding of positive deviance that challenges organisational injustices, for example through whistleblowing (Miceli, Near, & Dworkin, 2008). Given the poor reputation of human resource practices in the hospitality sector and varying levels of collective representation (Baum, 2012, 2013, 2015), whistle-blowing poses risks for workers. It is therefore, important for future research to understand: firstly, how organisational processes and agents in hospitality contexts may facilitate such norm-breaking; and secondly, how external advocacy groups and informal networks support whistle-blowing, including through new technologies; and thirdly, how whistle-blowers enact their (positive) deviant practices, including their resources, in terms of psychological, social and cultural capacities, and their coping strategies, particularly in the face of retaliation.

If conceiving deviance as counterproductive, a significant area of research concerns how to minimise its impacts and eliminate it through behavioural change. Previous work has focused on the coping behaviours and management tactics of frontline service workers (e.g. Reynolds & Harris, 2006). However, the growth of collaborative consumption alongside technologies facilitating surveillance of consumer feedback and increasingly the evaluation of consumers means their online reputations are subject to valuation practices (cf. Lugosi, 2016; Proserpio & Zervas, 2017). Furthermore, devaluation of consumers' online reputations may affect their ability to interact in the marketplace, for example restricting opportunities to use certain sharing economy services. This may empower operators in hospitality organisations to challenge the deviant behaviours of some consumers, particularly those seeking to maliciously damage organisational reputations and/or to pursue unjustified compensation claims. Further research may thus explore how organisations use consumer ratings platforms to combat consumer misbehaviour. By extension, future research should consider the capacities of emerging technologies and virtual platforms to further shift power relationships by making consumer feedback behaviours transparent and enabling the evaluation of consumers (cf. Lugosi & Quinton, 2018).

Finally, research into ways to tackle negative forms of deviant behaviour may also focus on other practical techniques for initiating behaviour change. Specifically, research has demonstrated the limits of certain deterring tactics, for example highlighting the negative consequences to deviance. Existing research has shown that consumers accept or even justify deviance in a number of ways, for example, because their perceived risks and consequences are downplayed (cf. Dootson, Johnston, Beatson, & Lings, 2016; Harris & Daunt, 2011). Dootson, Lings, Beatson and Johnston (2017) have begun to explore various psychological strategies, involving framing and priming techniques, for instance highlighting the non-prevalence of actions to highlight their rare and thus deviant status, thus denaturalising them for consumers. There is significant scope to expand this line of research to create new forms of appeal to

eliminate deviant behaviours. Others, drawing on similar theoretical concepts from psychology and behavioural sciences, have attempted to reduce the likelihood that individuals make certain unwanted choices and engage in certain behaviours. Making 'better' or favourable choices more accessible and reinforcing specific behaviours has in the past been used to promote healthier food choices (e.g. Wansink, 2014) and the performance of routinized behaviours, for example handwashing (Yu, Neal, Dawson, & Madera, 2018). There is significant scope to expand this area of interdisciplinary work and to apply it to various levels and functional areas of hospitality organisations, including food and beverage operations, facilities management, suppliers and outsourced support services, sales and marketing, guest services, human resources, or even corporate strategy and governance domains. As Dootson, Johnston, Lings and Beatson (2018) argued, insights from the fields of applied psychology and behavioural sciences can be used to design decision pathways and incentives to discourage what is deemed to be antisocial, unethical even or just unprofitable deviant behaviour amongst employees, consumers and other stakeholders.

8. References

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