

## **CRIMES AGAINST HOTEL VISITORS: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY IN MIAMI-DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA**

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*The study examines the relationship between visitor demographics and types of criminal offenses in Miami-Dade County, Florida. This study's results demonstrate that hotel visitors' demographic characteristics, such as gender and residency/country of origin, are statistically and positively correlated with criminal activities against hotel visitors, robbery and burglary in particular. The results provide hotel management with some recommendations about proper prevention measures to protect hotel visitors from criminal activities.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Hotel crimes, hotel visitors' demographics, hotel security prevention program*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Greater Miami, which includes the cities of Miami and Miami Beach in Miami-Dade County, Florida, is a well-known international tourist destination. More than 277 hotels and 189 motels are located in Greater Miami, including the Miami International Airport area (Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau, 2003). The Bureau's statistics indicate that Miami International Airport hosted more than 15 million passengers in 2002. In that same year, those visitors contributed \$11.8 billion to tourism-related businesses and the local economy.

For the hotel industry, it is important to know that visitors' safety is paramount for the hotel business in terms of occupancy, image and financial success. The hotel industry increasingly encounters tremendous challenges in providing a safe environment for guests. The growth of travel will create more opportunities for crime (Olsen et al., 2000). The negative national and international publicity about the murders of six British and German tourists in December 1992 had direct impact on the declining number of tourists in the State of Florida. Brayshaw (1995) pointed out that such criminal attacks on British and German tourists in Miami in 1992 led to a 22% decline in visitors from those countries. Moreover, Pizam and Mansfeld (1996) declared that those crimes against foreign tourists had caused an 11% decline in overseas visitors and a 16% decline in Canadian tourists.

Many trade journals have discussed the issue of tourist safety and hotel security, but rarely have researchers examined criminal offenses against visitors in the hotel setting. This study intends to examine the interrelationship between the hotel visitors' characteristics (e.g., American versus foreign visitors) and criminal victimizations in Miami-Dade County, Florida. By analyzing criminal activities against hotel visitors, the study's results may provide practical suggestions for the hotel industry to enhance its security measures in order to reduce potential victimization of hotel visitors. Therefore, this research intends to address the following hotel-security related questions:

1. What types of crime and modi operandi most frequently take place in hotel/motel areas?
2. What types and values of property were of interest to criminals?
3. What victim characteristics are most likely to be victimized?
4. At what times are the majority of crimes committed?
5. In what locations in and on the hotel property do the crimes most often occur?
6. Are there any significant relationships between demographic variables and types of criminal activities?

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Previous studies focused on the negative impacts of crimes on tourism (Marshall, 1994; Ryan, 1993; Wagstaff, Lague, & McBeth, 2003), tourists' safety (Brunt, Mawby, & Hambly, 2000; Kathrada, Burger, & Dohnal, 1999), or visitors' perceptions of the safety conditions of tourist locations (Demos, 1992; Dimanche & Lepetic, 1999; Pizam, 1999). In sum, the safety-related factors, either the hotel security or the crime rate in the tourist destination, have shown a significantly negative effect on the tourist industry. The tourism industry, hotels in particular, is extremely sensitive to all manner of criminal activity.

Crimes against tourists in the hotel setting can be viewed as opportunistic and convenient. Due to characteristics of the hotel setting, the hotel industry has encountered a great challenge in balancing the visitors' safety and privacy concerns. Consequently, career or potential criminals may freely move around and "target" vulnerable visitors for monetary gains or other belongings. For example, Ryan (1993) indicated that criminal activities against tourists were likely to be incidental due to the vulnerability of the tourists or the opportunity in the hotel setting. Most common criminal activities against tourists include crimes such as robbery, burglary, auto theft, mugging, or stealing. Violent crimes, such as assault, are not frequently inflicted upon tourists. Wolff (1993) stated that crimes against tourists are likely property-related. Particularly, some tourists may simply show their valuables in clear view or leave the hotel room unlocked as they "assume" that the host hotel will provide all necessary security measures. A study in Hawaii (Chesney-Land & Lind, 1986) analyzed police records and found that crime rates (robbery, burglary, larceny, and property-related crimes) in tourist areas were significantly higher than in non-tourist areas in Hawaii. The study's results indicated that the vulnerability of the tourist and the opportunity of criminal operation may significantly contribute to crimes against tourists.

In order to reduce criminal activities against visitors effectively in Miami-Dade County, Florida, the Miami-Dade Police Department has aggressively implemented a variety of preventive tourist-related programs. The Tourist Robbery Abatement Program (TRAP) provides assistance by helping tourists to their destination, provides crime prevention tips, and performs other necessary assistance. The Tourism-Oriented Police Program (TOP) provides necessary police service with an emphasis on community-based crime prevention activities. The Tourist-Oriented Police-Holiday Detail (TOP-Holiday) provides police services to residents and tourists during the holiday season. Robbery Intervention (RI) is designed to apprehend robbery suspects and violent criminals.

The Tourist-Oriented Police Program (TOP), implemented in 1994 is a typical community-based preventive program, which is conducted in cooperation with local communities and an array of business industries, such as hotels, restaurants, or car rental companies, to respond to criminal activities against visitors in and around the Miami International Airport. According to available statistics of the Miami-Dade Police Department, major crimes against both visitors and residents, such as robbery, auto theft, aggravated assault, or burglary, were significantly reduced in the period of 1996-2003. For example, there was an 81% reduction of "visitor robberies" from 1996 to 2003. The robberies against visitors steadily declined over the period of 1996-2003, from 70 robberies in 1996, to 13 cases in 2003. There were 9,257 auto thefts in 1996, but only 4,698 auto thefts in 2003 in Miami/Dade County.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Research Site**

The Miami-Dade Police Department has systematically documented victimizations against hotel visitors in order to track tourists' safety while they are staying in hotels in the Miami-Dade County area. Miami-Dade County covers 1,944 square miles, with a high density of commercial districts (e.g., hotels) in the northern district adjacent to the City of Miami, northern Miami Beach areas, and the Miami International Airport area. The county also includes some swamp lands which are contiguous to the Everglades. The jurisdiction of the Miami-Dade Police Department does not include several well-known beach areas such as Miami Beach or the City of Miami. According to statistics of the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau for 2003, more than 10 million visitors, both domestic and foreign, visited Greater Miami, including several major tourist attractions in Miami-Dade County.

### **Data Description**

Due to changes in the criminal database system in 2000 at the Miami-Dade Police Department, the current researchers could obtain information only about crimes against hotel visitors during the period of 2000-2003. According to the request of the researchers, the Miami-Dade Police Department has extracted all the criminal cases and created a specific database on crimes against hotel visitors in hotels and on hotel properties. Data were based on police crime reports, which provided information about victimization and visitors' demographic characteristics. This study does not include any unreported victimizations due to the fact that such information is difficult to substantiate from any unofficial source.

The police reports of visitors' victimizations generally have four major sections: visitors' demographics, hotel characterizations, general descriptions of the incident, and specific property loss. In this study, visitors' demographics focus on race, gender, age, and residency or country of origin. The report also provides general hotel-related characteristics such as the location of the hotel or the locality of the incident (e.g., inside the hotel room, in the hotel, or on the parking lot). Most importantly, the visitors' crime report includes detailed descriptions of the incident in terms of time and date of the incident, specific crime against the visitor, and modus operandi (method of operation of criminal activity against the visitor). According to the Miami-Dade Police Department, major crimes against visitors generally fall into the categories of robbery, burglary, or theft.

### **Data Analysis**

Based upon information available from the Miami-Dade Police Department's crime data, this study contained a total of 600 incidents (police reports) which were usable for the analysis. The study primarily examined the general pattern of victimization against visitors, specific types of criminal activities, and circumstantial factors (e.g., time of the incident) which may have contributed to visitors' victimization in the hotel or on hotel property in Miami-Dade County, Florida. Univariate analyses (frequency and percentage) of both visitor and hotel factors were employed to further understand the general characteristics of criminal offenses and visitors' victimizations.

The dependent measures of this study focused on victimizations by different criminal offenses such as robbery, burglary, theft, and stolen vehicle. This study employed bivariate analyses to examine correlations between visitors' demographics and victimizations as well as statistical analyses, such as Chi-square tests, to explore the likelihood of victimizations corresponding to a variety of visitor demographics. Specifically, this study used the present data to answer the research questions, such as whether or not visitors' demographic factors, such as gender or residency, may construct a distinctive effect on reported victimizations. For example, this study examined whether foreign visitors are more likely be victimized than Florida residents or out-of-state residents. Another important research aspect focused on the issue of whether or not female visitors, regardless of residency or country origin, are more likely to be victimized than male visitors. Finally, this study's results highlight the importance of preventive programs to protect visitors.

## FINDINGS

The results of this study showed that crimes against visitors in Miami-Dade County (within jurisdiction of the Miami-Dade Police Department) were not limited to any specific race, gender, age group, or residency/county of origin. As Table 1 indicates, a majority of hotel visitors (71%) who had been victimized were either Caucasian or Hispanic. (Unfortunately, the Miami-Dade Police Department does not separate Hispanics from Caucasians in the police report. Therefore, the proportions of racial allocation between Hispanic and Caucasian victims were very difficult to identify.) Only 27% (161) of a total of 600 victims were a racial minority such as Black or Asian. There were 16 victims whose race was unknown. Surprisingly, results showed that more males than females were victimized by a variety of criminal activities in or on hotel property while visiting Miami-Dade County. This study also showed that approximately 50% (297) of the victims were between ages 30 and 49. Only 10% (59) of the 600 victims were elderly (age 60 or above). In regard to victims' residency or country of origin, this study's results showed that 36% (213) of the 600 victims were Florida residents but who resided outside Miami-Dade County, 40% (238) were out-of-state residents and 25% (149) were visitors from a variety of foreign countries.

**Table 1**

**Victimized Visitors' Demographic Information (N=600), 2000-2003**

Variable	Frequency	Percentage (%)
<b>Visitors' Race</b>		
White/Hispanic	423	70.5
Black	152	25.3
Asian	9	1.5
Unknown	16	2.7
<b>Visitors' Gender</b>		
Male	338	56.3
Female	249	41.5
Unknown	13	2.2
<b>Visitors' Age</b>		
Under 20 years old	9	1.5
20-29 years old	116	19.3
30-39 years old	158	26.3
40-49 years old	139	23.2
50-59 years old	94	15.7
60 years old or above	59	9.8
Unknown	25	4.2
<b>Visitors' Residency</b>		
Florida resident (not from Miami-Dade County)	213	35.5
Out-of-state visitors	238	39.7
Visitors from foreign countries	149	24.8

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics of criminal activities against hotel visitors and property losses resulting from such criminal offenses. Results showed a 72% reduction of crimes against visitors in or on hotel property, from 181 offenses in year 2000, to 105 offenses in year 2003. Victimization were roughly distributed in different months and time frames. For example, 37% (224) of criminal offenses against hotel visitors occurred during nighttime (between 9 PM and 6 AM), 34% (203) occurred in the afternoon or early evening (between 12 noon and 9 PM), and 29% (173) during the morning (between 6 AM and 12 PM). The major criminal offenses against hotel visitors in Miami-Dade County areas were theft (207) and burglary (282). However, 13% (75) of the 600 criminal offenses were robberies, in which the victims' money or property was taken by force by the perpetrators. Police reports did not contain information about any injuries to victims during robberies. Methods of operation (i.e., modi operandi) were widely diversified, ranging from breaking and entering, to snatching and stealing. Interestingly, the police reports indicated that 17% (102) of victimizations resulted from visitors' negligence, such as leaving personal belongings unattended or one's car unlocked. However, 17% of the police reports did not specify an offenders' modus operandi.

In regard to property losses, as Table 2 indicates, a vast majority of victimizations occurred in or around the Miami International Airport area. Also, a significant number of criminal offenses against hotel visitors occurred outside a guest's hotel but on the hotel property, such as in its parking lot. This study's results showed that 46% (278) of victimizations took place outside the hotel but on hotel property, 24% (140) of victimizations occurred inside the hotel (but not in the hotel room), 11% (64) of victimizations occurred in hotel rooms, and 20% (118) of the police reports listed the location of criminal victimization as unknown. It was reported that 56% (334) of victimized visitors incurred multiple property losses. A further examination of property losses of victims showed that 274 victimizations were monetary losses, such as cash or credit card; 193 victimizations had a loss of electronic merchandise, such as computers; 114 victimizations were related to a loss of precious items, such as jewelry or expensive watches; 96 victimizations were connected with stolen vehicles or vehicle accessories; 52 victimizations resulted in the loss of tools or office equipment; and 141 victimizations had miscellaneous items, such as passports or clothing stolen.

**Table 2**  
**Descriptive Statistics of Criminal Activities Against Visitors and Property Loss (N=600), 2000-03**

Variable	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Victimization by Month		
Year of 2000	181	30.2
Year of 2001	183	30.5
Year of 2002	131	21.8
Year of 2003	105	17.5
Victimization by Month		
January	53	8.8
February	45	7.5
March	51	8.5
April	48	8.0
May	61	10.2
June	48	8.0
July	54	9.0
August	55	9.2

September	29	4.8
October	61	10.2
November	44	7.3
December	51	8.5
Time of Victimization		
Morning (between 6 AM and 11:59 PM)	173	28.8
Afternoon (between 12 and 8:59 PM)	203	33.8
Night (between 9 PM and 5:59 AM)	224	37.4
Type of Criminal Offense		
Robbery	75	12.5
Burglary (vehicle)	181	30.2
Burglary (inside building)	101	16.8
Stolen vehicle	35	5.8
Theft (loss over \$300)	193	32.2
Theft (loss under \$300)	14	2.3
Unknown	1	0.2
Method of Operation by the Suspect		
No force used	48	8.0
Break and enter	87	14.5
Pry and open	78	13.0
Door opening	28	4.7
Snatching and stealing	63	10.3
(Table 2 continued)		
Victim's negligence	102	17.0
Other methods (e.g., fraud)	90	15.0
Unspecified methods	104	17.3
Hotel Locations		
Miami International Airport area	523	87.2
Northside areas	72	12.0
Other locations	5	0.8
Location of Criminal Offense		
In hotel room	64	10.7
Inside hotel but not in the room	140	23.3
Outside hotel but on hotel property	278	46.3
Unknown	118	19.7
Property Loss		
Single-item loss	254	42.3
Multiple-item loss	334	55.7
Unknown	12	2.0
*Type of Property Loss		
Monetary loss (e.g., cash)	274	31.5
Electronic merchandise (e.g., computer)	193	22.2

Precious items (e.g., jewelry)	114	13.1
Vehicle or accessories	96	11.0
Tools or equipments	52	6.0
Miscellaneous loss (e.g., passport)	141	16.2

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Note: There are 334 visitors with multiple-item losses; 870 recorded property losses in total for 589 victims; and 11 visitors who were victimized but showed no property loss in the police reports.

Table 3 displays bivariate correlations (Pearson's  $r$ ) between criminal offenses (robbery, burglary, theft, and stolen vehicle) and victims' demographics (race, gender, age, and residency/country of origin), time of victimization (morning, afternoon, or night), and property loss (single item or multiple items). This study's results clearly showed that robbery was statistically and significantly correlated with victims' demographic factors. In other words, Caucasian or Hispanic visitors, rather than minority (Black or Asian) visitors, were more likely to be victimized by robbery. Female visitors were more likely to be robbed than male visitors in hotels or on hotel property. Elderly visitors were also more likely to be targets of robbery than younger visitors. Results also showed that robberies likely occurred during the nighttime hours, and victims suffered multiple-item losses. Most interestingly, this study showed that there was a relatively strong relationship between robbery and visitors' residency or country of origin. Foreign visitors were more likely to be victimized by robberies than Florida residents or out-of-state visitors. Results also indicated that foreign visitors who were robbed were likely to have multiple-item property losses.

As Table 3 indicates, burglary was statistically associated with the victims' gender, age, residency/country of origin, and time of victimization. Female visitors, or younger visitors, were likely to be victimized by burglaries. A further examination showed that victim's gender and burglary was statistically and positively correlated (Pearson Chi-Square = 27.33; at 0.001 level; Phi = .22). The victim's age was also statistically correlated with burglary (Pearson Chi-Square = 21.14; at 0.001 level; Phi = .19). Meanwhile, burglaries likely occurred during morning hours rather than in the nighttime. Contrary to victimizations of robberies, the status of residency/country of origin showed a statistical but negative correlation with burglary. In other words, foreign visitors were less likely to be victimized by burglary than Florida residents or out-of-state visitors. However, the visitors' race showed no correlation with burglary. This study showed that theft was the major criminal activity against hotel visitors in the Miami-Dade County. As Table 3 indicates, female visitors rather than male visitors were likely to be victimized by theft in hotels or on hotel property. Foreign visitors were more likely to be targeted for theft than Florida residents or out-of-state visitors. Most theft-related victimizations occurred in the morning hours and resulted in a single-item property loss. This study's results also showed that victims' race and age showed no correction with theft-related victimizations.

Table 3 also illustrated that victimizations from stolen vehicles or vehicle accessories were statistically but negatively correlated with victims' gender, residency/country of origin, and number of items of property loss. In other words, male visitors rather than female visitors were likely to be victimized by vehicle-related offenses. Such vehicle-related offenses were likely to have single-item property loss. Interestingly, foreign visitors rather than Florida residents were less likely to be victimized by such vehicle-related criminal offenses. Results showed that vehicle-related criminal offenses were not correlated with victims' race or age. Time of victimization showed no significant correlation with vehicle-related offense.

**Table 3**  
**Bivariate Correlation (Pearson's  $r$ ) of Hotel Visitors' Demographics and Types of Criminal Offenses**

Variable	Robbery	Burglary	Theft	Stolen Vehicle
Visitor Race	-.11**	.07	-.03	-.08
Visitor Gender	.22**	.22**	.13**	-.11*
Visitor Age	.20**	-.15**	.04	-.03
Visitor Residency/Country Origin	.34**	-.26**	.13**	-.20**



Time of Victimization	.25**	-.13**	-.35**	.08
Property Loss	.24**	.04	-.11**	-.19**

“\*\*\*” means that correlation is statistically significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed).

“\*\*” means that correlation is statistically significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed).

According to the police offence incident reports, the variable of property loss means whether or not the victim had any personal property loss, not how many or what kind of property loss, when he or she reported to the police.

Dependent upon victims’ demographic characteristics and the types of criminal offenses, this study’s results showed a distinctive pattern of victimization against hotel visitors in Miami-Dade County, Florida; that is, foreign visitors were likely to be victims of robbery and theft. A further examination showed that the status of visitors’ residency (foreigner versus American) and robbery was statistically and positively correlated (Pearson Chi-Square = 65.73; at 0.001 level; Phi = .33). Specifically, among the victims, 32% of foreign visitors, and 6% of American visitors were victims of robbery-related offenses. Approximately 76% of foreign visitor victims, compared with only 37% of American visitor victims, had monetary losses due to a variety of criminal victimizations (e.g., robbery) in hotels or on hotel property. Similar to the results for foreign victims, this study’s results also showed that female visitors were likely to be victims of robbery and theft. Statistical analysis (Pearson Chi-Square = 28.09; at 0.001 level; Phi = .22) showed that visitors’ gender (male versus female) was statistically and positively correlated with robbery. Approximately 21% of female visitors, but only 7% of male visitors, were victims of robbery in this study. More than 61% of female victims, compared with 36% of male victims, had monetary loss resulting from criminal victimizations. Such a significant gender discrepancy in victimizations of criminal offenses, such as robbery, indicates that female visitors are vulnerable to criminal activities, even if they remain in the hotel or on hotel property. Results of this study imply that the hotel industry needs to improve security measures, both inside and outside the hotel, in order to protect hotel visitors’ safety and to prevent any property loss due to criminal victimizations.

## CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The hotel industry, undoubtedly, is very vulnerable to criminal activities either against guests or the hotels themselves. The negative impacts of criminal activities on the hotel industry are very serious extending beyond financial losses. This study’s results indicate that the hotel industry in Miami/Dade County needs to establish comprehensive preventive security programs in order to prevent criminal activities against hotel guests, and, in turn, to reduce any potential legal liability incurred by hotels. After September 11, 2001, a study found that hotel security is still alarmingly unequipped to deal with potential criminal activities; 30% of hotels had made virtually no improvement in security procedures, and 60% of hotels had not added any additional security staff (Enz & Taylor, 2002). This study revealed that the Miami-Dade Police Department has aggressively implemented a variety of crime-related preventive programs since the 1990’s that are specifically designed for protecting visitors in Miami-Dade County, but the effectiveness of such preventive programs will be enhanced if the hotel industry can establish a mutual working relationship with the police.

One of the important findings of this study is that foreign visitors are vulnerable to robbery and burglary in the hotel setting. Foreign visitors are likely to have monetary losses, either cash or credit card, if they are victims of robbery or burglary. The characteristics of foreign visitors, such as language barriers or the carrying of a significant amount of cash, may increase the odds of victimizations, such as robbery. Criminal activities against hotel visitors, as this study’s results indicate, occur when opportunities arise. Most offenders are very difficult to identify and not likely to be apprehended by the police. This study found that more than 58% of victimizations against the hotel visitors occurred outside the hotel, such as in parking lots. Other visitors’ characteristics, such as gender, are also

significantly correlated with criminal victimizations. This study's results also showed that female visitors were likely to be victimized by robbery and burglary. These results clearly suggest the need for Miami-Dade County hotels to increase security measures in order to protect the safety of the hotel guests and to prevent property loss.

### **Recommendations for Management**

The study's results, then, clearly demonstrate the importance of security-related measures by hotels to protect the safety and security of their guests. Previous studies have also shown that industry-wide, hotels need to adopt a comprehensive approach to address security-related issues in their hospitality setting. For example, Harris (2002) suggested several approaches to enhance hotel security. These approaches include employing security guards, increasing staff training, and adding security equipment (e.g., closed circuit TV systems or electronic access control systems). Pizam (1999) suggested that effective preventive measures should include legislative measures and law enforcement. Other crime prevention measures are also important for protecting the hotel visitors, including Crime Prevention through Environment Design (CPTED), installation of security devices, employee security training, and safety and security awareness for the tourists. The present study's results demonstrate the reality of security needs and security improvements in the hotel industry if it wishes to provide a secure environment for the hotel visitors. The present researchers also strongly recommend that hotel management implement effective and proactive prevention procedures to further secure hotel visitors' safety and property.

The present researchers suggest the following enhancements for the safety of hotel guests:

- **Establish effective and proactive prevention procedures.** The hotel should provide a 24-hour security patrol, both inside and outside the hotel. The frequency and intensity of the security patrol should be sufficient to deter the vast majority of potential crimes occurring on or near the hotel's property. In order to increase the law enforcement function, the hotel may consider hiring off-duty police officers, if possible, to handle hotel-related security and criminal activities on hotel property. The hotel's staff also needs to understand how to provide assistance to visitors victimized by a variety of criminal activities on hotel property, as well as how to report crimes to the police.
- **Enhance awareness and education about safety.** Hotels should emphasize employee safety and security training on a regular basis. Hotels should also update all security-related information to increase the awareness of potential criminal activities against hotel visitors. A hotel can also provide its visitors with detailed safety and security tips, either via hotel circuit TV or brochures placed in guestrooms, to further enhance guest safety awareness.
- **Work cooperatively with the police and the local community.** It is essential for the hotel and its security staff to develop a close relationship with the police and the local community to design a comprehensive crime prevention program to prevent crimes against the hotel's guests and businesses. In other words, good communication with local residents and police can effectively provide hotels with more updated crime-related information in the hotel areas so that the hotels can increase security measures or adopt strategies for minimizing crimes. Such collective and cooperative relationships between hotels and the police will definitely increase the deterrent effect on potential criminals and significantly reduce criminal activities.
- **Invest in more effective technology to secure the safety of the hotel and visitors.** With new technology readily available, hotel management should allocate a certain percentage of financial resources to equip the hotel with advanced security tools, such as closed-circuit surveillance cameras and electronic locking systems. Such technological devices can also assist law enforcement in apprehending criminals engaged in any criminal activities against the hotel visitors on the hotel property.
- **Consider other options to reduce potential criminal activity.** The hotel also needs

to be aware of the importance of physical design to reduce potential criminal activities against the hotel visitors. Design enhancements may include installing more lighting devices and surveillance cameras in the parking areas or locking down unmonitored hotel entrances after hours. Ascertaining if people entering hotel elevators after hours are indeed registered hotel guests and refusing to allow food delivery vendors on guestroom floors can also increase security.

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