

TOURISM, PROGRESS AND PEACE



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For Janos Damon
A Holocaust survivor. A peace teacher.
A hero. An inspiration.

TOURISM, PROGRESS AND PEACE

Edited by

Omar Moufakkir

*International Center for Peace through Tourism Research
Stenden University*

Ian Kelly

*University of South Australia
Australia*

CABI is a trading name of CAB International

CABI Head Office
Nosworthy Way
Wallingford
Oxfordshire OX10 8DE
UK

Tel: +44 (0)1491 832111
Fax: +44 (0)1491 833508
E-mail: cabi@cabi.org
Website: www.cabi.org

CABI North American Office
875 Massachusetts Avenue
7th Floor
Cambridge, MA 02139
USA

Tel: +1 617 395 4056
Fax: +1 617 354 6875
E-mail: cabi-nao@cabi.org

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The Editors and Contributors

Editors

Born in Morocco, **Omar Moufakkir** did his primary and secondary education in Casablanca, undergraduate studies in France, graduate studies in the Netherlands and obtained his PhD from Michigan State University (USA) in Park, Recreation and Tourism Resources. He is currently teaching and heading a research group at Stenden University. His research focus is on the relationship between tourism and peace, cross-cultural understanding, and the impact of immigration on destination image and travel propensity. He is also the editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Tourism and Peace Research*.

Omar Moufakkir, PhD, Professor, Institute for Applied Research, International Tourism Management, International Center for Peace through Tourism Research, Stenden University, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands. E-mail: Omar.moufakkir@stenden.com

A former geographer, **Ian Kelly** switched to tourism education in 1990, and directed tourism courses at Monash and Swinburne Universities in Australia before retiring in 2000. He has maintained involvement with publishing, teaching and research in an adjunct capacity at the University of South Australia and edits the annual *Australian Regional Tourism Handbook* for the Australian Regional Tourism Network. His research and writings on peace through tourism date from 1998, and he was appointed coordinator of the IIPT Educators Network in 2005. He is also the associate editor of the *Journal of Tourism and Peace Research*.

Ian Kelly, University of South Australia, Australia. E-mail: iankelly34@bigpond.com

Contributors

Lynda-ann Blanchard is a lecturer at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney; executive member of the National Committee on Human Rights Education; executive member of the International Institute for Peace Through Tourism; coordinator (Oceania/Pacific Region) of TRANSCEND Peace and Development Network; and consultant to the Conflict Resolution Network. She is co-editor of *Managing Creatively: Human Agendas for Changing Times* (1996) and *Ending War, Building Peace* (2009).

Lynda-ann Blanchard, PhD, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, Australia. E-mail: lynda.blanchard@arts.usyd.edu.au

Stephen W. Boyd is professor of tourism at the Department of Hospitality & Tourism Management, University of Ulster (Northern Ireland). His research interests focus on heritage and cultural tourism, World Heritage Sites and national parks, and how communities engage in the development of tourism. He is working closely on research projects with his graduate students on event tourism, food tourism and political tourism.

Stephen W. Boyd, PhD, Department of Hospitality & Tourism Management, Ulster Business School, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland. E-mail: sw.boyd@ulster.ac.uk

Senija Causevic earned her PhD degree in tourism at the University of Strathclyde Business School in Glasgow, UK. She is currently working at the Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh as a lecturer in tourism. Senija's current research is focused on the creation of emancipatory knowledge through critical theory, relational ontology and personal reflexion, exploring the complexities of geopolitical, social, economy and cultural contexts under which tourism exists. The methodology is applied to the discourse of the peace and post-conflict tourism development, the host-guest relationship in the context of diasporas and migration, heritage and contested heritage.

Senija Causevic, PhD, Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh, UK. E-mail: SCausevic@qmu.ac.uk

STCRC in Urban Tourism and Senior Research Fellow School of Leisure, Sport and Tourism, **Deborah Edwards's** interests are in sustainable tourism management, tourists' spatial behaviour, urban tourism, tourism planning, event impacts and volunteers. Deborah is an executive member of the BEST Education Network and the Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Educators.

Deborah Edwards, PhD, School of Leisure, Sport and Tourism, University of Technology, Sydney, Australia. E-mail: Deborah.edwards-1@uts.edu.au

Alon Gelbman is senior lecturer in the Department of Tourism and Hospitality Studies at Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel. His research interests include borders and tourism, urban/rural tourism, international tourism, tourism and peace, and wellness tourism.

Alon Gelbman, PhD, Department of Tourism and Hospitality Studies, Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel. E-mail: along@kinneret.ac.il

Jacqueline Haessly, founder of Peacemaking Associates, joyfully empowers people to value, imagine, promote, protect, preserve and sustain a culture of peace for all the world's people. Her keynote and workshop presentations on themes of peace with justice for business, religious, education, government and community leaders have inspired people on four continents. Her published works include *Weaving a Culture of Peace*; *Peacemaking: Family Activities for Justice and Peace*; and *What Shall We Teach Our Children?* She has contributed chapters on peace and justice to books for families, including *Families as Educators for Global Citizenship*, *Mothering Sons*, and *Mothering Teens*. She also contributed chapters to a number of business-related books on themes of corporate responsibility and spirituality in business, including *When the Canary Stops Singing: Women's Perspectives for Transforming Business*; *Rediscovering the Soul of Business*; *The New Bottom Line*; and *Working Together: Producing Synergy by Honoring Diversity*.

Jacqueline Haessly, PhD, Peacemaking Associates, Wisconsin, USA.
E-mail: jacpeace@earthlink.net

Freya Higgins-Desbiolles is a lecturer in tourism in the School of Management of the University of South Australia. She holds academic degrees in politics and international relations. She came to academia after 10 years working in the development arena with non-governmental organizations such as the US Peace Corps, Community Aid Abroad in Australia and the Global Education Centre of South Australia. Her research in tourism has included a focus on the concerns of host communities, the impacts of tourism, indigenous tourism and justice through tourism. She has recently worked with indigenous Australian communities and Palestinians on projects fostering the use of tourism for community benefit. She has served as an advisor to the Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism and a member of the Executive Committee of the Responsible Tourism Network. Currently she serves on the Executive Committee of the International Institute for Peace through Tourism (Australia chapter).

Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, PhD, School of Management, University of South Australia, Australia. E-mail: Freya.HigginsDesbiolles@unisa.edu.au

Born in Palestine, **Rami Isaac** did his undergraduate studies in the Netherlands, graduate studies in the UK, and has earned his PhD from University of Groningen, in Spatial Sciences, in the Netherlands. He is currently teaching tourism studies and a coordinator of the MA Master in European Tourism Management course at the NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences. He was the external assessor of Bethlehem TEMPUS (2004–2006) curriculum development project in Palestine in the field of pilgrimage, tourism and cultural industries. He is also a research fellow of the Centre for Cross-Cultural Understanding (CCCU) at the NHTV. His

research interest is in the area of tourism development and management, war, conflict and tourism.

Rami K. Isaac, PhD, Centre for Cross-Cultural Understanding, NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, Breda, The Netherlands. E-mail: Isaac.R@nhtv.nl

David Jacobson is professor of economics at Dublin City University, Ireland. He has published widely on industrial and economic geography, and he also has an interest in the tourism sector in Cyprus.

David Jacobson, PhD, Dublin City University, Ireland. E-mail: david.jacobson@dcu.ie

Andrea Kay Smith is Founder and Global Coordinator of Partnerships In Peace. She began her global peace work in 1967 during the race riots in Detroit, Michigan, where she lived, when a vision of global peace appeared in her meditation. After many moves around the USA, she was guided to relocate to Atlanta, Georgia, in 1973 where she became active in many community service groups. In 1980 while receiving a massage, she discerned the name 'Partnerships In Peace (PIP), A Planetary Consortium.' Finally, in 1985, she founded PIP, and joined the Atlanta Peace Coalition. During the Cold War, she organized peace rallies, participated in the Listening Project at the Trident Submarine Base in Kings Bay, and joined Project Peace Tree to offer a cultural exchange for the youth with Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia (an Atlanta sister-city in the former USSR). In 1990, she began planting Peace Poles in Atlanta, which expanded to a Peace Center in Decatur, Georgia, which serves an ever-changing transitional neighbourhood. Andrea is currently producing a documentary *A Way Out*, about her 11-year story of urban revitalization.

Andrea Kay Smith, Partnerships In Peace, A Planetary Consortium, PO Box 18101, Atlanta, GA 30316, USA.

Gail Y. Lash is Founder and Chief Visionary of Tourism For Peace LLC. She began working for conservation after she graduated from Duke University in 1976 with a degree in animal behaviour. Her love of animals led her to work at her hometown zoo in Houston, Texas, and then at Los Angeles Zoo and Zoo Atlanta. Her graduate studies researched ecotourism as a way to both protect wildlife and bring revenue to local communities. Her ecotourism work has taken her to Thailand, Ecuador, Belize, Madagascar, Costa Rica, Brazil, Venezuela, Indonesia and the USA. Her company, Tourism For Peace, was born in 2003 in Switzerland while taking a course on Education For Peace – a programme in Bosnia that put peace concepts into elementary school curricula. Gail teaches classes in peace leadership, has a Labyrinth with a Peace Pole, leads Peace Eco-tours and is working on a series of peace books for children.

Gail Y. Lash, PhD, Tourism For Peace LLC, Atlanta, USA. E-mail: gail@tourismforpeace.org

Darya Maoz received her PhD in Sociology and Anthropology from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She is currently the Head of the

Department of Tourism Management in The Center for Academic Studies, Or Yehuda, Israel. Her research and teaching areas include backpacking, tourism in developing countries, tourism in terror and conflict zones, peace tourism and host-guest contact.

Darya Maoz, PhD, Department of Tourism Management, School of Business Administration, The Centre for Academic Studies, Or Yehuda, Israel. E-mail: daryariva@gmail.com

Ozay Mehmet is Professor Emeritus, Carleton University, Canada, and Dean of the Faculty of Business and Economics, Eastern Mediterranean University, North Cyprus. Among his many scholarly publications is the book, *Sustainability of Micro-States: The Case of North Cyprus*, University of Utah Press, USA (December 2009).

Ozay Mehmet, PhD, Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus. E-mail: ozay.mehmet@emu.edu.tr

Marina Metreveli is the Leading Tourism Specialist in the Parliament of Georgia. She has conducted extensive research in the areas of tourism economics and heritage tourism.

Marina Metreveli, PhD, Sector Economy and Economic Policy Committee, Parliament of Georgia, Georgia. E-mail: marinametreveli@yahoo.co.uk

Bernard Musyck is associate professor of economics at Frederick University of Cyprus. He is a regional economist also working and publishing on innovation and tourism in Cyprus.

Bernard Musyck, PhD, School of Economic Sciences and Administration, Frederick University, Cyprus. E-mail: bus.mb@fit.ac.cy

Alex Nkabahona holds a PhD in Religious Studies and Philosophy from Leuven Catholic University, Belgium. He has since his PhD undertaken specialized short courses and obtained certificates in International and Regional Conflict Management (Germany) as well as Human Rights (Denmark). At Makerere University where he has been since 1997, he was Director of the Masters in Peace and Conflict Studies Program 2004–2007. During the same period, he organized and coordinated an international conference on national reconciliation in Uganda and was part the Educators' Forum Team at the 2007 Kampala International Institute of Peace through Tourism (IIPT) conference, where he also presented a paper. Areas of interest and ongoing research include transitional justice mechanisms, conflict sensitive planning, land conflict mapping in Uganda, and human security and reconciliation as a conflict prevention and mitigation mechanism.

Alex Nkabahona, PhD, Makerere University, Faculty of Arts, MA Peace and Conflict Studies Program, Kampala, Uganda. E-mail: ankabahona@yahoo.com

Stelios Orphanides is an independent researcher. He has participated in a wide variety of research projects, many of which are related to economic aspects of the Cyprus problem.

Stelios Orphanides, Independent Researcher, Cyprus. E-mail: stelios.orphanides@cable.net.com.cy

Vincent Platenkamp studies Sociology and Philosophy at the University of Amsterdam (*cum laude*). In 1988, he started at the NHTV as lecturer in sociology, management and organization, and cross-cultural studies. He was involved in several international education programmes in tourism, leisure and quality management. He earned his PhD on 'Contexts in tourism and leisure. A cross cultural contribution to the production of knowledge' from Wageningen University. Currently he is Associate Professor for the Centre for Cross-Cultural Understanding.

Vincent Platenkamp, PhD, Centre for Cross-Cultural Understanding, NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, Breda, The Netherlands. E-mail: platenkamp.v@nhtv.nl

Nico Schlenkorf is a lecturer in Sport and Event Management. His research focuses on the social and psychological utility of special events, and in particular the role of inter-community sport events in contributing to social development between disparate communities. For several years, he has been involved in sport-for-development programmes in Sri Lanka and Israel. For his long-term contribution to the advancement of social justice, he was awarded the 2008 Human Rights Award by the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS), Australia.

Nico Schlenkorf, PhD, Auckland University of Technology (AUT), New Zealand. E-mail: nico.schlenkorf@aut.ac.nz

Maria Teresa Simone-Charteris is a final-year PhD candidate at the University of Ulster researching the potential interconnections between religious and political tourism in Northern Ireland. Her research interests include cultural and heritage tourism, pilgrimage and religious tourism, political tourism, dark tourism, peace tourism, gastronomy tourism, and sustainable tourism planning and development.

Maria Teresa Simone-Charteris, Department of Hospitality & Tourism Management, Ulster Business School, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland. E-mail: Simone-M@email.ulster.ac.uk

Carla Smith is Atlanta City Council Member of District 1 and has a long history of community involvement, starting in her home state of Texas where she married, then relocating to Cincinnati, and eventually coming to Atlanta. Living in the Woodland Hills–Ormewood Park neighbourhood, she became co-chair of Public Safety for 7 years, and worked for the previous District 1 Council Member Vern McCaty. She continues to be active in SAND (South Atlanta for Neighborhood Development). Because of her grassroots activism, she saw there was a need for more attention to not only Public Safety, but also environment concerns like water, recycling and other issues, so in 2001 she successfully ran for office. Carla has brought many valuable programmes for improvement to her District, like her yearly E-waste day at Turner Field, where people bring old electronics to keep out of landfills, and the Atlanta Peace Trails. Carla Smith, Atlanta City Council Member, USA.

Dallen J. Timothy is Professor of Community Resources and Development at Arizona State University, Arizona, USA. He has written extensively in tourism, and is the editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Heritage Tourism*.

Dallen J. Timothy, PhD, Tourism Development and Management, School of Community Resources and Development, Arizona State University, Arizona, USA. E-mail: dtimothy@asu.edu

Renata Tomljenović is a senior research fellow at the Institute for Tourism, Zagreb. She obtained her PhD from the Griffith University, Australia. Her main research interests, apart from the tourism–peace nexus, include socio-cultural impacts of tourism, cultural/event tourism and community-based tourism planning and development. She is Associate Editor of the journal *Tourism*, one of the oldest academic journals dedicated to tourism and hospitality, and also serves on the editorial boards of several tourism academic journals.

Renata Tomljenović, PhD, Institute for Tourism, Zagreb, Croatia. E-mail: Renata.tomljenovic@iztg.hr

Craig Webster is Associate Professor of International Relations at University of Nicosia, Cyprus. His research interests include the politics of tourism and the political economy of tourism.

Craig Webster, PhD, University of Nicosia, Cyprus. E-mail: webster.c@unic.ac.cy

Yongseok Shin is a chief researcher at Korea Culture & Tourism Institute (KCTI). He studied at Seoul National University in South Korea, and earned his PhD at the University of Waterloo, Canada. He has main research interests in cultural tourism and tourism in North Korea.

Yongseok Shin, PhD, Korea Culture & Tourism Institute, South Korea. E-mail: freestrong@kcti.re.kr

Foreword

Throughout history, humankind has searched for sustainable peace and harmony through the disciplines of political science, geography, economics, sociology and, far too often, the act of war itself. More recently, tourism has been touted as a strategy to contribute to world peace. Tourism does not necessarily contribute to peace but has the potential to do so in so many ways. The struggle of both academics and policymakers has been to distinguish between the myths and realities of the tourism and peace propositions, and most importantly to focus on the strategies that qualify tourism as an agent of peace.

For the first time, academics from around the world have combined efforts to develop a compilation of work that deals specifically with the tourism and peace phenomenon. Representing peace organizations, government bodies and universities, each contributor offers their own perspective. From metropolitan areas to emerging regions like the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Georgia and Cyprus, the book is a frank and open discussion that includes strategies in creating 'active peace'. Each of these contributors offers evidence, examples and hope for a new world based on the ideals of achieving peace with tourism as a powerful working strategy. The work presented in this book is thorough and diverse.

As head of an academic institute and advocate of world citizenship, I warmly welcome this academic initiative and promote it in our classrooms. As the editors of this book would say: there is more to tourism than economics and there is more to peace than the absence of arms. What I can say is that peace and tourism are intertwined and teaching this topic is timely (Klaas-Wybo).

As a media producer, I have been interested in tourism and peace for several years, and I must admit that the book is interesting and timely. The many propositions and views addressed and presented by the contributors make tourism an even stronger peace ally (Sandy).

Klaas-Wybo van der Hoek
Vice-President and Head of Academic
Affairs, Stenden University

Sandy Dhuyvetter
Founder and Executive
Producer, TravelTalkMEDIA

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Second, we would like to thank all those who have given us the courage to delve into such an adventure, especially those from whom we received over 50 chapter proposals. Believing in tourism as an agent of peace is not easy, and writing about it, as you can imagine, is a tedious job.

Third, we are grateful to CABI and Sarah Hulbert for being prepared to take on such a ground-breaking project and take the risk on two relatively unknown writers.

Fourth, our thanks go to Klaas-Wybo van der Hoek and Stenden University for their continual support.

Finally, we should like to thank members of the Tourism4Peace Forum, whose example and courage gave us strength when we had doubts.

In particular, our thanks go to Janos Damon whose candlewick went off this year but whose vision for peace through tourism will continue to light our tourism and peace path.

Introduction

Peace and Tourism: Friends not Foes

OMAR MOUFAKKIR¹ and IAN KELLY²

¹*Stenden University, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands,* ²*University of South Australia*

In every corner of America and all over the world, intelligence and energy are evenly distributed, but opportunity, investment, and effective organizations aren't. As a result, billions of people are denied the chance to live to the fullest, and millions die needlessly every year.

(Bill Clinton, 2007, p. 3)

Peace and Reality

In an exploratory empirical study by Var and Ap (1998) about the relationship between tourism and peace, the *world peace* variable was associated with a high degree of uncertainty, with one-third of respondents providing a neutral response to the statement: 'I believe that tourism promotes world peace'. The authors proposed that this uncertainty might have arisen from a definitional problem with the term 'peace'. They further explained that many respondents may have associated peace with an 'absence of war' and that the concept that would be most appropriate in the context of this study is that of 'harmony and harmonious relations' (p. 54). Therefore, a constructive discussion of peace and tourism demands no less than a definition of peace that is less parsimonious than the 'absence of war'.

There is more to peace than the absence of arms or conflicts. In 1941, Quincy Wright suggested for the first time that peace was a more complicated matter than a mere 'absence of war' (Satani, 2003). The map of war, conflict, poverty, illiteracy, disease, hunger, hatred and revenge has borders only to those who cannot see beyond their comfort zones. Even if there is no armed war or conflict, some people suffer from diseases that are preventable, and some starve to death although there is enough food on earth. Some are denied a decent education, housing, an opportunity to play, to grow, to work, to raise a family, to have a right to freedom of speech, or to take part in their

governance. They are unable to feel peaceful in situations where their human rights and dignity have been violated (Satani, 2003).

Defined passively, peace entails the absence of war, acts of terrorism and random violence. Defined actively, peace requires the presence of justice (Salazar, 2006). On 10 December 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN General Assembly Resolution 217A (III) of 10 December. It is significant to link what happened and did not happen in the world to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 'Peace – the word evokes the simplest and most cherished dream of humanity. Peace is, and has always been, the ultimate human aspiration. And yet our history overwhelmingly shows that while we speak incessantly of peace, our actions tell a very different story' (Javier Perez de Cuellar). The core values of this declaration include non-discrimination, equality, fairness and universality. It is a realistic way to identify the progress of humanity towards a universal family. Article 25(1) reads: 'Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.' Families have been displaced from their home, living in abject poverty and filth, with an extreme feeling of shame, guilt, helplessness and above all hopelessness. Article 25(2) states: 'Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.' Article 26(1) acknowledges: 'Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages.' Based on enrolment data, about 72 million children of primary school age in the developing world were not in school in 2005; 57% of them were girls. Worldwide, 121 million children were out of education. Nearly a billion people entered the 21st century unable to read a book or sign their names. According to UNICEF, 25,000 children die each day because of poverty; 1.2 billion people live on less than \$1 a day, 2.5 billion live on less than \$2 a day, 1.3 billion do not have access to clean water. In 2005, the wealthiest 20% of the world accounted for 76.6% of total private consumption. The poorest fifth represent just 1.5%. Looking at similar figures, 'No planet can survive half slave, half free, half engulfed in misery, half careening along the joys of an almost unlimited consumption – neither ecology, or our morality could survive such contrasts' (Lester B. Pearson, UN General Assembly President). There are *developed* countries, *developing* countries and *underdeveloped* countries. Yet, in reality, the world cannot claim to be developed as long as there is a place somewhere that is underdeveloped, and a people that is suffering unnecessarily.

'Citizens who cultivate their humanity need ... an ability to see themselves as not simply citizens of some local region or group, but also, and above all, as human beings bound to all others by ties of recognition and concern' (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 38). 'The modern world, for all its blessings is unequal, unstable, and unsustainable' (Clinton, 2007, p. 4), and therefore, 'A broad definition of peace refers to peaceful relationships not only between nations, but also

between groups or communities, between individuals, and between people and nature' (Salazar, 2006, p. 322).

Peace has been defined as positive and negative. With its multifaceted nature, peace, however, needs the participation of all people:

If there is to be peace in the world,
there must be peace in the nations.
If there is to be peace in the nations,
there must be peace in the cities.
If there is to be peace in the cities,
there must be peace between neighbors.
If there is to be peace between neighbors,
there must be peace in the home.
If there is to be peace in the home,
there must be peace in the heart.

Lao-Tse, 604 BC (from Tao Te Ching)

Commentators agree that war is incompatible with peace and that the absence of war may be regarded as the basic criterion for peace. However, this does not deny the importance of additional elements such as harmony, justice, goodwill and opportunities for personal fulfilment. Sugata Dasgupta termed the 'absence of war' in developing countries where these elements are lacking as 'peacelessness' (Satani, 2003). Combating peacelessness is a multifaceted task, which must address the existence of poverty, disease, terrorism, environmental disasters, racism, religious fundamentalism, alienation, discrimination, prejudice, ignorance, bigotry and hatred.

Peace may be envisaged as a hierarchical concept (Fig. I.1). Negative peace is nothing more than the absence of physical violence. Positive peace exists where states are working together for mutual benefit. However, just as participation is essential to the success of democracy, *participatory peace* is what makes peace work in a sustainable way. Participatory peace starts with ordinary citizens, but occupies the highest level of the peace hierarchy. It is

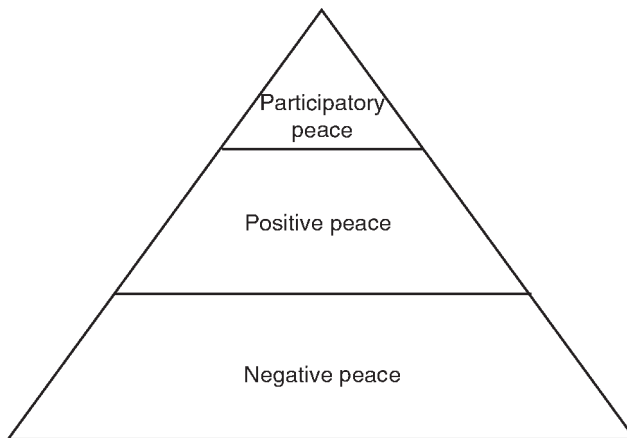


Fig. I.1. The peace hierarchy.

simply defined as a situation in which ordinary people as world citizens work independently and with each other to the extent that peace becomes a chosen way of life. To Bill Clinton, '... there is so much to be done, down the street and around the world. It's never too late or too early to start [for] old, young, and in between, rich, poor, and in between, highly educated, virtually illiterate, and in between' (2007, p. xiv). Peace is too important to leave to politics or business alone.

Galtung (1996) compares peace to a state of health, which incorporates not only the absence of illness but also a physical and mental condition conducive to the avoidance of illness, and argues that to understand health we must understand disease and that to understand peace we must understand violence. He distinguishes cultural violence (cultural assumptions whereby the use or abuse of power is justified) and its expression in indirect or structural violence (repression and exploitation) and direct violence (war and warlike actions). He recognizes that peace is not merely the absence of violence – cultural, structural or direct – and submits that a state of peace exists where conflict is unlikely to occur, or where conflict can be resolved without recourse to violence. He also recognizes that a completely peaceful world is unlikely to eventuate. A realistic objective, however, is to live in a world in which there is more peace and less conflict and violence. It is the central thesis of this book that *responsible* tourism can contribute to that objective.

Tourism and Reality

Much has been written about the impacts of tourism, positive and negative, including political, environmental and ecological, social-cultural, and economic aspects (e.g. Archer and Cooper, 1998; Archer *et al.*, 2005), leading to questions about the ability of tourism to bring about the desired changes. Litvin (1998), for example, submits that while tourism is a major beneficiary of peace, it is not itself a contributor thereto, and is not sufficiently influential to dissuade governments or revolutionary groups from implementing policies and practices that involve violence and denial or infringement of human rights.

Kelly (1999) sought a degree of clarification by conducting a SWOT analysis, an examination of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats affecting the ability of tourism to contribute to a harmonious relationship among the peoples of the world.

The strengths of tourism – attributes that help it bring people together in non-adversarial circumstances – include the extent to which tourism has been adopted by individuals as a leisure activity and the development of visitor destinations throughout the world. There is also an extensive network of relationships, facilitated by computerized information technology. However, it must be noted that the scope and depth of tourism can be deemed strengths only insofar as they contribute to the goal of a more harmonious world.

There are widely recognized advantages pertaining to the peace through tourism proposition, including the following:

- Tourism can contribute to development and poverty reduction.
- Developing countries have valuable tourism resources and tourism activity has a strong propensity to expand spatially, including into remote areas.
- The tourism supply chain has a high capacity to support and complement other economic activities, such as traditional agriculture, transport and handicraft.
- Tourism is a labour-intensive sector creating many opportunities for youth and women.
- Tourism is a sector where entry barriers for SMEs (small and medium enterprises) can be low, facilitating involvement in poor areas.
- Tourism can also bring non-material benefits by encouraging community pride in the local culture and appreciation of the natural environment.

Weaknesses relate to those attributes of tourism that hinder its ability to achieve the desired outcomes, and may even create hostility rather than harmony. Some of these stem primarily from the nature of host–visitor contacts and the inequalities associated with many tourism developments and activities.

Threats include developments that are likely to increase hostility among different social groups or contribute to a decline in tourism activity. Brown (1998) cites apparently insoluble problems in the Middle East, the use of tourists as targets or hostages for terrorist groups, the disintegration of countries such as Yugoslavia, the imposition of politics in mega-events such as the Olympic Games, and the continuing use of war as a solution to problems despite improved living standards. Even where peaceful conditions prevail, it is apparent that a major threat to tourism as an instrument of peace is the volume and nature of the demand it generates – a hedonistic, self-indulgent lifestyle, which contrasts sharply with the community conditions in which these expectations are met (Muller, 1997; Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

Opportunities include developments that can contribute to an increase in the ability of tourism experiences to improve relationships among the world's peoples. The world is opening up as information and transport technology reduce the friction of distance. A number of governments have recognized that tourism, which brings economic benefits, requires peaceful circumstances in which to operate effectively. At other levels, tourism initiatives are called upon to break down political and ideological barriers in such places as the Middle East, the Korean Peninsula, Cyprus and Northern Ireland. It is also claimed that as travel becomes a more popular leisure activity, travellers become more confident and sophisticated (Pearce, 1988; Ross, 1994), and are likely to seek more meaningful travel experiences, involving deeper and more extended interaction with host communities. There is widespread promotion of sustainability as an objective and a corresponding increase in adoption of the ecotourism ethic, with its emphases on conservation, education and host community wellbeing. Opportunities also stem from the expansion of tourism education in colleges and universities, providing a channel for the encouragement of enlightened attitudes and appropriate skills in travellers and tourism managers.

The SWOT analysis indicates that, at the very least, there are major difficulties to be overcome in the pursuit of the peace objective. However, it also indicates that:

- There are few, if any, alternatives to match tourism as a generator of intercultural contact.
- Peace-related objectives will only be achieved by purposeful management of tourism directed to enhancing intercultural relations.
- Responsibilities for purposeful management lie at all levels, from individual traveller to national government.

The attention of contributors to this book is directed to building on the strengths, eliminating the weaknesses, taking advantage of the opportunities and avoiding or converting the threats. There are grounds for optimism, some of which are examined in the following chapters. There are, for example, tourism operations devoted to the provision of labour and funding for schools, clinics and solar-power generators in remote areas of Nepal; North American and Australian First Nation tourism developments designed to inform the non-native population and assist with the national reconciliation process; an international network of Peace Museums (as a counter to the more common commemorations of war); cooperative government-sponsored programmes in Central America and South-east Asia; and a growing market for study tours offering meaningful contact with host communities, often in remote locations. These are, of course, not representative of mainstream tourism, but they serve as examples of ways in which tourism can contribute to a better world.

One of the strongest statements concerning the value of travel and tourism is contained in the US Homeland Security Report (2008), 'Secure Borders and Open Doors'. Despite the atrocity of September 11, 2001, which directly affected the hearts and minds of Americans, changed the face of travel and led to questions about the nature of hospitality in all its forms, the report still supports the view that tourism is an open door to the world, a medium for public diplomacy and international outreach, and a powerful response to the challenges of globalism and terrorism.

The report acknowledges the apparent contradiction in the claim that an 'open door' policy can make the USA more, rather than less, secure. It notes that the benefits of increased international travel to the USA exceed visitor spending and the jobs thereby supported, and argues that every international traveller entering the USA is a potential friend. Recommending against 'Fortress America', the report maintains that tourism can bring long-term prosperity and security.

The Progress of Tourism and Peace

It is clear that the pursuit of peace cannot be directed merely to the elimination of war. Measures to bring about a more harmonious world must address the concerns listed above. To continue the analogy with health, if these are regarded as contributors to violence (illness), tourism offers a range of therapies

through which they may be treated. Table I.1 provides examples of how tourism has been associated with peace at the global level.

Interest in the concept can be represented by a U-curve (Fig. I.2). In the late 1980s, there was a degree of euphoric recognition, but in the 1990s, scepticism emerged, followed by almost total rejection. From about 2000, the curve started to move upwards with a revival of interest in the proposition that tourism can in fact contribute to peace. This book is testimony that interest has reached a level of excitement, not only because the call for chapter proposals resulted in more than 50 submissions, but most importantly because of the

Table I.1. Example of World Tourism Organization statements mentioning a link between tourism and peace.

Year	Place	Document	Citation
1980	Manila, Philippines	Declaration on World Tourism	[Tourism as a] ‘vital force for peace and international understanding’
1983	Sofia, Bulgaria	Tourism Bill of Rights and Tourist Code	[Tourism’s contribution to] ‘improving mutual understanding, bringing people closer together and, consequently, strengthening international cooperation’
1999	Santiago, Chile	Global Code of Ethics for Tourism	‘through the direct, spontaneous and non-mediatised contacts it engenders between men and women of different cultures and lifestyles, tourism presents a vital force for peace and a factor of friendship and understanding among the peoples of the world’

Source: Salazar (2006, p. 324).

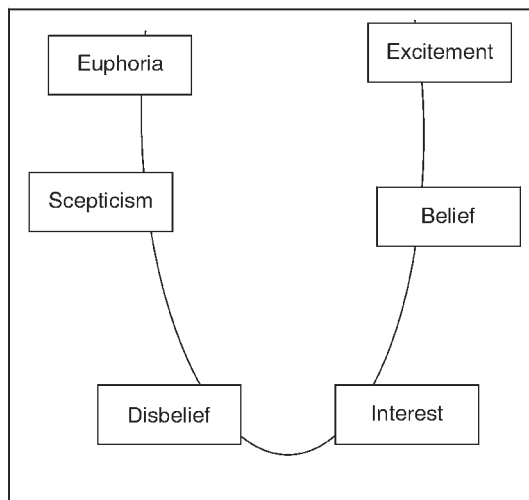


Fig. I.2. Changing views on the concept of peace through tourism.

changing discourse. The discussion has shifted from 'Does tourism contribute to peace?' to 'How can tourism contribute to the multifaceted nature of peace?' Salazar (2006, p. 329) maintained: 'While I am certainly not negating the many possibilities tourism has to achieve such a noble goal, it might be more ethical to simultaneously address the question how we can solve the many problems hindering peace inside the tourism sector'. These considerations advance our understanding of the link between tourism and peace and, more importantly, help in the pursuit of peace through tourism.

The progress of tourism and peace may also be manifested in the increasing number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) directly related to tourism and peace, and the growing interest of tourism academics and practitioners in this phenomenon. Table I.2 presents a sample of organizations (old and new) with a mission or vision to promoting peace through tourism.

Peace and Tourism Education

This book introduces a view of tourism as a potential contributor to harmonious relationships among people, as a human activity capable of generating significant economic and social benefits, and of breaking down barriers created by politics and by differences in culture, ethnicity, nationality, lifestyle and economic development.

It may be argued that tourism educators have a clear responsibility to prepare students for the future. Ellyard (2004) predicts that the major industries of the 21st century will be concerned with human wellbeing, earth repair and intercultural communication, and maintains that tourism can play a central role in these industries. Reference may be made to the functionalist theory, which argues that socio-economic cooperation contributes to community building, that global efforts to reduce poverty can help reduce the tensions that foster conflict, and that global networking encourages international understanding and reduces intercultural misperceptions (Amstutz, 1999). These are appropriate educational objectives to which well informed and appropriately managed tourism can make a positive contribution, and all are consistent with those of the peace proposition.

Perhaps the strongest argument is that inclusion of the peace issue can encourage critical thinking and questioning of attitudes. For example, there are opportunities to involve students in what has been termed 'transperceptual learning' – learning that comes from efforts to perceive reality from the perspectives of others (Crews, 1989, p. 37). They can be challenged to develop relevant case studies, analyse policies and practices for the extent to which they have the desired impacts, and propose more effective alternatives. Poole (2004, p. 37) argues that, 'while poverty, war, intolerance, corruption and cruelty thrive, the future of all nations requires an educated populace with a global conscience, a commitment to social cohesion, economic sustainability, equity, tolerance, peace and justice'. It is submitted here that tourism education can play a significant role in the pursuit of these objectives.

Table I.2. Organizations directly linked to peace through tourism.

Organization	Mission/vision	Source
Tourism4Peace Forum	Offering advanced solutions to mutual challenges and development of activities to strengthen economies and peaceful advancement	http://www.tourism4peace.org/
Tourism For Peace	Our Mission is to build Peace by creating unity between hosts, guests, and the natural environment, worldwide. 'Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding.' Albert Einstein	http://www.tourismforpeace.org/
International Center for Peace through Tourism Research	We will work towards building bridges out of the walls that keep us apart. The ICPTR's objective is to conduct academic research to contribute to the development of tourism as an agent of peace	http://www.icptr.com
EQUATIONS	EQUATIONS envisions a just and equitable world, where all people have the freedom and the right to determine their lives and future. We envision forms of tourism which are non-exploitative, where decision making is democratised, and access to and benefits of tourism are equitably distributed. EQUATIONS believes in the capacity of individuals and communities to actualise their potential for the wellbeing of society	http://www.equitabletourism.org/stage/about.php
CouchSurfing	At CouchSurfing International, we envision a world where everyone can explore and create meaningful connections with the people and places they encounter. Building meaningful connections across cultures enables us to respond to diversity with curiosity, appreciation and respect. The appreciation of diversity spreads tolerance and creates a global community	http://www.couchsurfing.org/about.html/mission
SERVAS International	SERVAS is an international, non-governmental, multicultural peace association run by volunteers in over 100 countries. Founded in 1949 by Bob Luitweiler as a peace movement, SERVAS International is a non-profit organization working to build understanding, tolerance and world peace.	http://joomla.servas.org/content/blogcategory/41/76/

The Study of Tourism and Peace

Since the pursuit of peace is a continuing endeavour, progress through tourism appears to be a never-ending story. Tourism has the potential to contribute to peace in many ways and these must be appropriately investigated and assessed (Fig. I.3). As new forms of tourism emerge, there are new challenges and opportunities, and there is a need for ongoing study to distinguish the myths and empirically verify the realities associated with the progress of tourism as an agent of peace.

Content Overview

Academic research on the connection between tourism and peace has been limited. ‘Right now, peace-through-tourism ideas seem to be sustained more by the sweet dreams and rhetoric from industry representatives and policy makers than by fine-grained empirical research and academic theories’ (Salazar, 2006, p. 330).

The relationship between tourism and peace is not yet established as an academic field of research and much (but not all) of what has been published to

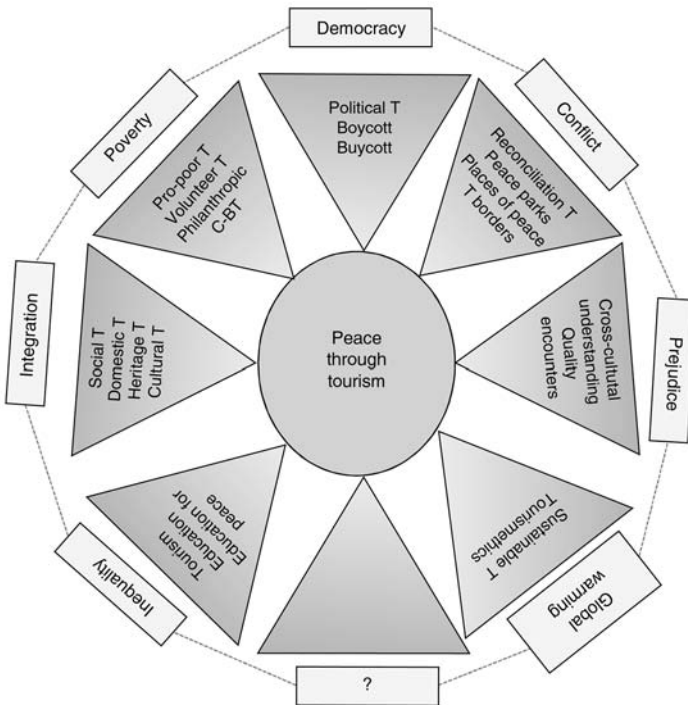


Fig. I.3. Circle of peacelessness and peace through tourism.

date is hypothetical and opinion-based. The editors acknowledge the many myths – weak and strong – associated with the connection between tourism and peace, and argue that these will remain myths unless researchers take a lead in confirming the extent, if any, to which they are empirically supported.

The initiative for this collection emerged from discussions at conferences addressing the relationship between peace and tourism. ‘Tourism can contribute to peace, but how?’ was the question posed by sceptics and believers, an open-ended question not subject to a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer. The chapter submissions were selected for their conceptual and empirical contribution to this discussion.

It cannot be denied that the editors of and contributors to this book have a bias in favour of tourism as an agent of peace. It is apparent that without this partisanship the important issues covered would not have been investigated. However, it is also clear that bias among the contributors does not extend to an unquestioning acceptance of tourism as the answer to the problems of conflict in the world. It is clear that progress towards the peace objective will be partial, painfully incremental and marked by frequent setbacks and failures, but that any progress, no matter how slight, is preferable to a fatalistic acceptance of the status quo.

It will be recognized by readers that the propositions in the book, while generally positive, identify some limitations, but it is our hope that these pave the way for constructive criticism, which advances the cause of peace through tourism. Whereas tourism has been praised as a major force for peace and understanding between nations, the reality is often far removed from this utopian image (Archer *et al.*, 2005); yet our reality is ingrained in dreams, for it is dreams that have given people the audacity to dream.

The objectives of this text are threefold: (i) to identify and learn from examples of a positive relationship between tourism and peace; (ii) to make available the output of and to stimulate further academic research and scholarship focused on the tourism and peace proposition; and (iii) to move on from the original question of whether tourism contributes to peace, to finding ways in which tourism can be managed and conducted to meet the peace objective.

Content Previews

Any organization of a text with chapters is necessarily judgmental (Jackson and Burton, 1999). Topics do not fall conveniently into mutually exclusive sections. Although the 15 chapters in this book fit well within the parts to which they have been allocated, some could have been located in different parts and many have relevance across several parts. The overall organization of a text such as this is a matter of choice. Many chapters touch on ideas that are dealt with elsewhere in the book, perhaps in a more central way. Sometimes, authors have complementing views, others converging. The reader is asked to bear this in mind throughout the text.

Part I. Conceptual framework

Chapter 1 by Jacqueline Haessly provides an academic background on which to build the connection between tourism and peace. The author refers to the suffering stemming from an absence of peace and the challenges to be met in creating a culture of peace. She notes that peace is often defined in negative terms as the absence of violence, and submits that what is required is a more positive approach in which peace is defined by the presence of qualities that contribute to wellbeing at all levels of existence – what people desire rather than what they feel should be abolished. These qualities include a sense of justice, a concern for human rights, caring for the common good and assurance of security. The pursuit of peace requires education and a personal commitment to activism in everyday life. The author argues that tourism, with its basis in hospitality, is one human activity offering an abundance of opportunities for people to practice peace.

Renata Tomljenović (Chapter 2) examines the thesis, central to the tourism and peace proposition, that increased contact among people contributes to better understanding and, hence, more harmonious relationships. She recognizes the ambivalence outcomes of research into a range of tourism experience types and attributes this to a failure to incorporate sufficiently the predisposition of the travellers and the specific nature of the contacts involved. Further study suggests that positive attitude change relates to a number of factors, including the frequency and intensity of host–visitor contacts and, more strongly, tourist satisfaction with the trip. Her findings indicate that there is a role for tourism management in ensuring that traveller objectives are realized and in reducing the barriers to meaningful contact.

The theme of justice in relation to tourism is taken up by Freya Higgins-Desbiolles and Lynda-ann Blanchard (Chapter 3). The authors emphasize the recognition of the right to travel, but point to the factors that restrict the ability of the majority of the human population to exercise that right. Measures to overcome this problem have included social tourism, programmes developed primarily in European welfare-oriented and socialist countries during the 20th century, but the principle on which these were based has been largely superseded since the 1990s by an emphasis on free-market economics and tourism as a business activity. A critical analysis of pro-poor tourism (PPT) and the promotion of peace through tourism leads into an argument for the inclusion of the justice principle in tourism development, and a review of forms of tourism which meet the justice criteria.

Part II. Tourism encounters

In Chapter 4, Senija Causevic focuses on the role of internal political borders following the breakdown of the former Republic of Yugoslavia and the ‘ethnic cleansing’ that accompanied it. The author notes that these are more effective than ‘natural’ borders in precluding cross-border movement and contributing to the growth of national identity, and that some post-conflict borders have

become tourist attractions in their own right. Research into the development of tourism in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina was conducted through participant observation and interviews in which she made use of her native understanding of the region and its people. Initial efforts to develop tourism project partnerships involving people from differing ethnic groups were hampered by suspicion, distrust and a lack of knowledge about 'the Other'. However, there is a perception that tourism is not a threatening activity and some success has been achieved with the help of international agencies. It is hoped that cooperation at the upper levels of tourism administration will be reflected in more cross-border interaction at the personal level.

One of the key hypotheses underlying the peace/tourism proposition is that contacts involving people from differing cultural backgrounds lead to warmer relationships among them. Darya Maoz (Chapter 5) tests this with respect to Israelis and Egyptians in the popular beach resorts of Egypt's Sinai Peninsula. She notes the impact of previous hostilities in contributing to unfavourable stereotypes and attitudinal dispositions on both sides. The author recognizes limitations in the study, such as the power disparity inherent in the guest (Israelis)-host (Egyptians and Bedouins) context, the insularity and short duration of the interactions, and the economic motivation of an exclusively male representation among the Egyptians. Findings indicated that many participants experienced no attitude change and that positive attitude change, when it occurred, was more common among Egyptians. Both groups identified circumstances in which negative attitudes were intensified, and there are suggestions for alleviating these.

An examination of the relationship between tourism and peace has to take into account the role of international borders as marking social, political, economic and environmental contrasts and differences between nations. Alon Gelbman (Chapter 6) traces the origins of borders and analyses border visitor attractions as symbols of interstate cooperation (actual or desired). He differentiates among one-sided attractions (where borders remain closed), those at formerly closed borders (often commemorative in nature) and trans-border peace parks (involving high levels of cooperation in administration and conservation), and emphasizes the importance of the peace element in each of them.

Nico Schulenkorf and Deborah Edwards (Chapter 7) argue that 'peaceful togetherness' among people of differing backgrounds can be achieved if it occurs in appropriate circumstances such as those provided by sport and sport events. They refer to the use of sport as a tool to improve inter-community relations in a number of situations and to its value in providing 'the superordinate goal', which can overcome tensions between disparate groups. While recognizing that sport events can give rise to antisocial behaviour, the authors submit that the language of sport is universally understood and people are brought together in a celebratory environment. An example of the use of sport as social development is a Sri Lankan programme that involves Tamil, Sinhalese and Muslim participants, local and international, in a range of sporting competitions. An investigation was conducted to ascertain the expectations attached to these events and ways in which the positive outcomes could be

enhanced, and a number of strategies were developed. These included a focus on youth, ethnic mixing, community exchange, educational support, networking, media management and business partnerships.

The authors of Chapter 8, Gail Lash, Carla Smith and Andrea Kay Smith, would like to see peace become as central to daily life as the conservation principle. Atlanta Peace Trails (APT) is the outcome of their aim to link downtown neighbourhoods and provide an opportunity for Atlanta residents and tourists to walk, bike, ride and use the inner-city train to visit places of peace in Atlanta, Georgia, USA. A booklet was created that could be carried easily. Its contents featured the location and history of all the Peace Poles, Peace Monuments and Peace Gardens in the greater Atlanta area. These places were grouped into geographical regions and made into eight Peace Trails. Locations include Zoo Atlanta, Georgia Aquarium, The Carter Presidential Center, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center, schools, local shops, churches, community gardens and labyrinths. The booklet has quotations on peace by well-known authors as the dividers between each Peace Trail, and a page listing local and national resources for peace. Assistance can be provided for those wishing to establish peace trails in other destinations.

Part III. Conflict resolution

In Chapter 9, Marina Metreveli and Dallen J. Timothy examine the impacts of war on tourism using the 2008 South Ossetian conflict as a case study. They submit that damage is widespread and varied, and note especially the frequent loss of heritage resources. They also provide a background to the conflict, review the history of tourism in Georgia, a country richly endowed with natural and built attractions, and outline the extent of the damage and the dramatic decline in visitation following the outbreak of hostilities. The authors recognize that the impacts have been somewhat alleviated by the shortness of the conflict and suggest that there may be opportunities to develop visitor interest in war tourism, as has occurred in other destinations. More importantly, they point to the possibilities for tourism to provide a channel for recovery and reconciliation between Georgia and Russia.

In Chapter 10, Rami Isaac and Vincent Platenkamp introduce a concept of problem solving that moves beyond the application of knowledge and technology, and attaches weight to intangibles such as compassion, inner strength and wisdom. They then apply it to the development of tourism in Palestine. They enter the troubled area of Israeli–Palestinian relationships in the wake of the construction of the controversial Separation Wall, designed to improve security in Israel. Given the situation, tourism in Palestine has been seriously damaged, but the authors report on a form of tourism that focuses on offering hope. They review the phenomenon of volunteer tourism by which travellers seek to contribute through unpaid work in fields such as medicine, construction, education, agriculture, the environment and so on. Volunteers reportedly gain satisfaction from the intensity of the contacts they experience

and the understandings gained. The Alternative Tourism group is a Palestinian NGO, which runs tours with conflict-based themes, and whose participants are encouraged to challenge their preconceptions and to assist in volunteer projects.

Omar Moufakkir (Chapter 11) discusses political consumerism as strategy employed to support or denounce a political, social, or environmental action, with an emphasis on the concepts of tourism boycotting and boycotting of the Holy Land. He then offers a re-evaluation of political tourism in the Israeli–Palestinian context, with attention to the conceptualization of peace tourism as the antithesis of politically oriented tourism and denounces solidarity tourism as a form of tourism that perpetuates stereotypes and extends social, political and cultural gaps between belligerent groups, thereby contributing to conflict reinforcement rather than resolution. The author reviews the initiatives of the Tourism4Peace Forum as an example of best practice, reflecting the very essence of the peace through tourism concept.

In Chapter 12, Maria Teresa Simone-Charteris and Stephen W. Boyd examine the rise of political tourism in another location with a troubled history – Northern Ireland. Based on site visits, archival research, participant observation and structured interviews of public and private sector organizations, the authors investigate the role that tourism and, in particular, political tourism plays in fostering peace in Northern Ireland. They argue that, despite the controversy it generates, political tourism contributes to internal peace through projects in which ex-prisoner organizations from opposite sides of the political divide collaborate to deliver tours that provide visitors with a comprehensive picture of the conflict. Additionally, those involved in the Peace Process are cooperating with other destinations that share a similar history of conflict, such as the Basque Country, in order to assist their peace efforts.

Yongseok Shin (Chapter 13) reports on the Korean Peninsula, which has been divided since 1945, and where North and South Korea are still technically at war. Travel between two Koreas was literally impossible, but this changed in 1998 when the Hyundai Group, a South Korean business corporation, sent South Korean tourists by ship to Mt Geumgang, located in North Korea. Support by South Korean administrations was based on the open and progressive ‘Sunshine Policy’, which, for a decade, formed the diplomatic strategy of South Korea toward North Korea. However, the project has suffered from low profitability, political opposition by the conservative party in South Korea and hostile actions by North Korea. The author demonstrates how fragile peace through tourism is without the support of necessary institutions by reviewing the process of the Mt Geumgang project, and by analysing the outputs and what has gone wrong. This in-depth case study illustrates a relationship between peace and tourism, and what might be done to help achieve the peace objective.

Chapter 14 by Bernard Musyck, David Jacobson, Ozay Mehmet, Stelios Orphanides and Craig Webster, looks at the impact of the political situation on tourism and discusses the probable effects of a settlement of the Cyprus problem on the tourism industry in the two parts of the divided island. It is founded upon the hypothesis that a political solution of the Cyprus problem

acceptable to both sides would result in a win-win situation for both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot tourism industries. It is based on a survey of Greek and Turkish Cypriot travel agents, and hotel managers and owners. The survey shows that respondents in the tourism industry in both communities anticipate benefits from a political settlement while expectations in the case of the continuation of the division are less optimistic. The chapter also explores the different structures of governance that would be applicable in Cyprus after a solution and there is some evidence to suggest the potential for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to recognize that their mutual interest prescribes a co-existential, non-antagonistic regime in the tourism sector. Although there are as yet few examples, cooperation between the two tourism industries in Cyprus may lead to concrete economic benefits for both communities and induce a virtual circle of joint actions. To be most effective, these renewed forms of collaboration need to be undertaken as soon as possible, even before a political settlement.

In Chapter 15, Ian Kelly and Alex Nkabahona examine the role of tourism in encouraging reconciliation in the aftermath of conflict. They review the conditions – episodic and prolonged – that have contributed to a need for reconciliation, and the processes by which it has been pursued at national and community levels, and describe a number of situations in which visitor attractions have been developed around a reconciliation theme. Advice is provided on the effective implementation and management of such attractions, and a number of limitations noted. It is recognized that, despite the inevitable focus on the past, reconciliation is more concerned with the future.

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1

Tourism and a Culture of Peace

J. HAESSLY

Peacemaking Associates

Introduction

One of the most significant challenges facing citizens of the world in these early decades of the 21st century is the challenge to live and work together peacefully with others in all arenas of personal and public life. This requires that citizens learn about, value, promote, protect, preserve and sustain a culture of peace in their families, their communities, and in the broader society of nation and world. Emphasizing the importance of this goal, the United Nations General Assembly declared that the first decade of the 21st century be dedicated to education for a culture of peace and non-violence.

The purpose was to promote a culture of peace in all arenas of the global society – the family; the neighbourhood communities where people live, work, play, study, serve and worship; and between and among people in states and nations in the larger global society. This call was made more dramatic following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the USA. Before and in the years following those attacks, hundreds of people in other lands have been maimed or killed as a result of terrorist activities and acts of war.

During these same years, hundreds of thousands of people – mostly children, women, and the elderly or infirm – died from preventable hunger, exposure, disease or abuse in refugee camps, rural villages and urban areas, often with little public notice or outcry. There is a need for people with clear heads, a passion for true justice and a vision for genuine global peace to work cooperatively in examining these causes, putting an end to violence, terrorism and warfare, and bringing about and sustaining a culture of peace.

Acts of violence affect those involved in the tourism industry through the impact on livelihoods dependent on the tourism trade, and on the tourists who would otherwise travel to these communities. These concerns led to the establishment of such organizations as the International Institute for Peace through Tourism, Tourism for Peace, and the International Center for Peace through Tourism Research, among others. This movement now engages people on all continents who recognize the relationship between tourism and peace.

Thus, the declaration of a decade dedicated to education for a culture of peace and non-violence poses special challenges for people who either work in or benefit from the tourism industry at local, national and/or international arenas.

This chapter presents diverse perspectives regarding the concept of peace and its relationship to tourism. First, I review various understandings associated with the term *peace*; question perspectives that consider peace as the absence of conflict, violence and war; and define and describe peace as a presence. Next, I identify five themes important for embracing a comprehensive understanding of peace as a presence. Then, I develop a new paradigm for peace based on principles of peace education and the act of peacemaking. Lastly, I develop the relationship between peace and tourism, and identify peace actions undertaken by those engaged in and affected by the tourism industry.

Conceptualizing Peace

Creating and sustaining a culture of peace depends upon first considering what it is that constitutes peace and then determining what is essential for creating and sustaining a culture of peace and non-violence for all peoples across the generations. But to do so, it is important to give thought to the question: if peace is more than the absence of war, what then is peace? How is peace defined? Described? Conceptualized? Imagined? How, too, is tourism related to peace? These important questions require answers.

Kofi Anan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, offers one perspective. Speaking at the 100th-anniversary gathering of the Hague Appeal for Peace Congress in The Hague in May 1999 to inaugurate the International Decade for Education for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence – an event attended by more than 10,000 government, religious and business leaders, peace educators and activists, youth and ordinary citizens from more than 100 countries – he noted the importance of education for peace. He reported that at any given moment in contemporary history, the peoples of as many as 40 nations are engaged in armed conflict or warfare. A failure to contemplate peaceful possibilities for living with others in the world today results when leaders and peoples of these countries engage in escalating acts of aggression, violence, retaliation, terrorism, counter-terrorism, armed conflict and warfare instead of seeking peaceful alternatives for resolving conflicts. He then reminded listeners that this means that the peoples of more than 160 nations not engaged in armed conflict do exhibit the values, knowledge and skills necessary to resolve potential conflicts peacefully. He lamented that these stories receive so little public attention.

Attention to conflict and war is evident in a review of research undertaken by peace scholars on war, their causes and their resolution (Galtung, 1988; Wallensteen, 1988; Wiberg, 1988). In the eras of the First and Second World Wars, the focus of academic programmes was on war, conflict and international

relations. During and immediately following the Vietnam era, the focus changed to a study of causes and prevention of regional and low-intensity warfare. In the early 1980s, researchers focused on understanding and eliminating the threat of nuclear war. More recently, Peace Studies scholars expanded research to include community, racial, ethnic, tribal and religious conflicts, and intra- and inter-regional violence and terrorism.

Defining Peace as Absence

Peace as more than the absence of war has been described either as negative peace or as positive peace. Researchers credit Johan Galtung with defining negative peace as the absence of war or armed conflict as early as 1964 (Wallensteen, 1988). Other terms used by peace scholars to define negative peace include *non-war*, *mutual deterrence*, *one-sided dominance*, a *truce* or a *ceasefire* (Galtung, 1988; Wiberg, 1988; Brock-Utne, 1989). It has also been described as a state of readiness within and between countries not currently engaged in armed conflict but perpetually armed for battle. The manner in which peace researchers define positive peace is more complex. Positive peace has been described as an absence of structural violence. Structural violence includes the establishment of corporate or state-sponsored social, political and economic systems and policies that result in an inequitable distribution of resources or cause damage to the environment because of pollution and other forms of ecological destruction. Such policies result in physical threats to life related to poverty, hunger, homelessness, a lack of health care and/or environmental pollution, among others. Structural violence also includes corporate or state-condoned discriminatory policies and practices that limit people's freedom to organize, practise religious freedom, access education or employment opportunities, engage in free speech, or travel freely. Such policies and practices threaten or reduce the quality of life for those affected by these practices (Wallensteen, 1988; Brock-Utne, 1989).

The concept of peace as absence of war and violence continues to dominate the thinking of most people throughout the world. For example, even a cursory glance at news reports, peace journals, and the literature and websites developed by peace and justice organizations reveal people calling upon government, business and community leaders to work for peace, but they do so by urging an end to specific practices: stopping the use of child soldiers; abolishing the development, threats and/or use of land mines; eliminating the testing or use of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and ending economic, political and social injustices, and religious, racial, ethnic and gender persecution. Furthermore, they call for a commitment from government leaders to work together to end poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth and resources and to work together with others to overcome personal and structural violence and injustice, seen by many as primary reasons for acts of violence, terrorism and warfare in the contemporary world.

While all these suggestions include actions essential for stopping violence, injustice and warfare, something is missing in these statements: a recognition

that peace is more than an absence. In most cases, even the language is concerned with overcoming violence or injustice, not on promoting peace. These statements focus on actions oriented towards ending something. Putting an end to such acts says little about peace as more than an absence. What is needed are statements calling for visioning, promoting, protecting, preserving and sustaining something, acting for something – and that something is a culture of peace understood as much more than just an absence of violence or war. When peace is defined in terms of what it is not, it violates an understanding that definitions should say what something is, rather than simply state what it is not. Troubled by descriptions of peace as a negative, Cox (1986) writes that such thinking may help people know what to stop doing but not what to start doing, to know what to prevent, but not what to promote. This process prevents people from seeing what peace is or can be in its own right.

Defining Peace as a Presence

Definitions and descriptions of peace as presence can be found in cultures around the world. These can be categorized according to cultural, religious, contemporary and visionary expressions of peace as presence.

The ancient Greeks considered *Eirene* as a time or state of peace, or the presence of a truce between leaders. The ancient Romans described *Pax* as the presence of an agreement or accord between leaders to effect a truce between times of conflict and times of war. Although restricted to accords that limit war, both suggest a sense of peace as more than the absence of war. These concepts of peace continue to influence the thinking about peace for the majority of government and religious leaders and their peoples in the USA and the countries of Europe. There are other terms, however, that move the understanding of peace beyond a sense of truce and accord and toward a richer concept of peace. For example, the preferred terms in India and in the language of Sanskrit is *Santi*, and in Russia, *Mir*. These terms are translated as wholeness, contentment and/or as a profound integration. The Chinese, too, express the concept of peace in this way. Their term, *Ping*, means to adjust, to harmonize and to seek diversity in unity and unity in diversity. In countries in Latin America, the term, *Pace*, has several meanings, including wholeness and goodness of life, while *Amani*, the Swahili word for peace, and *Hotep*, the Kemitic, or ancient Egyptian, word for peace, mean wholeness and fullness of life. These cultural terms reveal qualities commonly associated with peace in the minds of many. Three of the terms, contentment, harmony and goodness of life, suggest personal wellbeing, while the other terms, diversity, integration, unity, wholeness and fullness of life, introduce the concept of societal wellbeing. However, as abstract terms, these terms add little to enrich an understanding of the concept of peace as presence (Macquarrie, 1973; Haessly, 2002).

A search of the written traditions of the world's religions, including the Hebrew, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Native and Christian traditions, and Catholic social teachings, add to an understanding of the concept of peace as presence.

Documents from each of these traditions identify elements essential to understanding both the concept of peace as presence and a style of living reflective of that understanding. The Hebrew term, *Shalom*, the Muslim term, *Salaam*, and the Hindu term, *Shanti*, each means wholeness, fullness of life, completeness, unity, spiritual contentment and a profound integration. Buddhists have no explicit word for peace, and instead express this concept as The Four-Fold Way of right view, right thoughts, right words and right actions, which each affect livelihood, effort and mindfulness. Most faith traditions add the quality of justice to the concept of peace, believed to be essential for a peaceful world. Religious expressions defining or describing peace as presence include the cultural expressions of peace identified above and add two new qualities: completeness and justice. Here, too, there is a suggestion of both personal and societal wellbeing. There is a suggestion, too, that personal wellbeing and societal wellbeing are interdependent. Still, these, too, are abstract terms that add little to enrich an understanding of what it is that makes for peace as presence (Ferguson, 1978; Haessly, 2002).

Contemporary peace researchers are among those who express interest in and commitment to examining peace as more than just the absence of war and structural violence. While some peace scholars defined positive peace as the absence of structural violence, some also offer other, more holistic conceptions of peace. Peace researchers describe peace as the presence of some desirable conditions in society, including integration, justice, harmony, equity, freedom, wholeness, the promotion of the dignity of each person and the wellbeing of all of a society's citizens (Macquarrie, 1973; Wallensteen, 1988; Brock-Utne, 1989). In such a society, human beings can achieve their true potential while caring for themselves, each other and all of creation. Peace with justice has also been linked to both personal and societal liberation. Inner personal liberation refers to a just relationship with one's self and to a sense of peace with all others, while liberation in society refers to just relationships with others and the planet and care for the common good. In the last decades of the 20th century, in both government and religious organizations, 'development' became a new reference for peace.

The focus of contemporary expressions of peace with justice is on social conditions that lead to social wellbeing: human rights, a healthy existence and ecological sustainability, among others. These terms are also abstract. People can philosophize about them. They can recognize that the presence of peace depends upon the presence and expression of these qualities in society, but in and of themselves they do not provide a clear picture of how peace is actualized as presence in everyday life. Moreover, such terms as *desirable conditions*, *freedom*, *development* and the *good society* may have different and even contradictory meanings for differing groups of people. Thus, while they add to an understanding of peace, in and of themselves they do not give a fully developed picture of peace as presence.

Each of the cultural, religious and contemporary expressions of peace as presence hold within them a call for visioning. Stories passed on through the ages from all cultures and religious traditions remind us of the importance of visioning to the human spirit. Stories of a flood, of a peaceful garden, of a

struggle to overcome challenges and to embrace new possibilities are common to many cultures, and reveal the hope that lies in a vision for a new beginning. For peace to flourish in the world, it is important for people both to hold a vision of the kind of world they want, and to articulate their visions of a peaceful world to themselves and others (Polak, 1961; Boulding, 1992; Haessly, 1997, 2002). Visioning is important because if people cannot visualize and articulate their images of a world at peace, this raises questions as to how they can engage in sustained actions that promote, preserve and sustain a culture of peace. How will people know what to do?

Visionary expressions of peace as presence are stated in terms of what people desire, as distinct from what people think needs to be abolished. People with vision believe it is possible to guarantee a world based on values of justice (Mendlowitz, 1975; Mische and Mische, 1977; Haessly, 1993, 2002). In such a world, basic human needs are considered as basic human rights, where each person has the right to live in freedom and with dignity.

Several observations can be made about expressions of peace as presence articulated as vision statements (Haessly, 2002). Here, for the first time, terms explicitly suggest that peace as presence is relational, expressed as care in relationships between and among people, and care for the ecosystem. Terms that express caring relationships among people include qualities of compassion, nurturance, respect and reverence. Second, there are terms suggesting that the creation of more just and caring communities of people occurs when people value inclusion, creativity, sharing, openness, participation, partnership and consensus decision-making. Third, there are qualities that can lead to the creation of a more just society, including conversion, democracy, responsibility, interdependence, solidarity and ecological care. While these terms are also abstract, they do add additional clarity as to qualities helpful for creating a world filled with the presence of peace. Each of these vision statements flows from an image of a world where women and men share equally in creating and sustaining a world of justice and peace.

Each of these terms reveals the potential they have for helping people move beyond an understanding of peace as absence, and toward both understanding and manifesting peace as presence in the world. Such understandings of peace, articulated from the family room, the classroom, the boardroom, the podium, the pulpit and the vast communication systems of diverse lands speaks of new possibilities for peace in our world. When people value peace as a real positive, as a presence in their lives, it is experienced as life-giving, freeing and energizing, with the potential to change both personal and organizational behaviour. Rich possibilities emerge when people come to accept that creating a culture of peace depends less upon an ability to say what the world would look like as an absence of something – conflict, violence and warfare – and more upon what it would look like with the presence of something. This something reveals people engaged in caring relationships, respecting others and working together to care for each other and all of creation.

Proposing a New Way to Conceptualize Peace as Presence

Peace can be conceptualized as ‘the presence of just and faithful relationships with oneself, with each other, among all people within and between nations, with all of creation, and with a Spiritual Being/Wisdom Source/Higher Power who both gives life and gives life meaning’ (Haessly, 2002). This definition implies that peace as presence needs to be both acknowledged and manifested in all the daily activities of each person’s personal, professional and political life. By changing definitions and conceptions of peace and by engaging in processes that lead people to vision, value, create and manifest a culture of peace with justice, people can transform relationships within families, their communities and the world.

Examining Thematic Expressions of Peace as Presence

A close analysis of cultural, religious, contemporary and visionary expressions of peace as the presence of justice reveals the emergence of five themes: (i) attention to just relationships with one’s self, with all others, and with all of creation; (ii) respect for human rights; (iii) care for the common good; (iv) protection of global security; and (v) engagement in just and transforming actions that promote, protect, preserve and sustain a culture of peace. Each of these, as will be seen below, hold relevance for people working in the tourism and hospitality industries.

Supporting just relationships

Just and peaceful relationships are those that are full of the presence of peace! Justice can be considered within the context of the multiple places where people live their lives in relationship with others. Gender, age, race, ethnicity, generation, religion, culture, class, education and ability each affects justice in all relationships because each plays a vital role in how one experiences society, in how one engages with others within that society, and in how one addresses those in positions of leadership and authority within that society.

While just relations begin within each person’s own family, a desire for peace in the world calls for a vision of family that moves beyond the individual family and neighbourhood and into the global arena. Such a vision includes recognition that all people are part of the same human family. This requires acknowledgement of practices that lead to brokenness in personal and societal relations, and a commitment to heal unjust relationships. When considering just relationships between and among all people, there must be recognition of the connection between individual justice and community justice. To this end, people worldwide seek to transform unjust patterns of relating to others on all levels of society, whether domestic, social, racial, cultural, generational, political and/or economic.

Respecting human rights

Relationships between and among people will be just and peaceful to the extent that human rights are honoured. Secular and religious documents link values for just relationships with concern for human rights, the plight of the poor, the oppressed and the dispossessed. The constitutions of many nations, the Bill of Rights of the USA, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act and the Preamble to the World Constitution all promote human rights for a nation's or the world's citizens. Religious teachings, too, such as proclamations of the World Parliament of Religions (Kung and Kuschel, 1993), the World Council of Churches and Catholic Social Teachings affirm basic human rights for all people. Worded differently, in both secular documents and religious teachings the theme is the same.

People have a right to life, and to those things that make life truly human. They have a right to adequate food, shelter, clean air, land, water and other necessities that support life. They have a right to health care, education and meaningful work; access to community, national and global resources and services; and the assurance of personal and community security. All people have a right to relationships based on freedom and responsibility; a right to be treated with dignity and respect; a right to express their religious, moral, ethnic and cultural values; and a right to participate in decisions that affect their lives. People have rights. They also have responsibilities: a responsibility to one another, to families, and to members of the larger society; a responsibility to respect the rights of others; a responsibility to work alone and with others for the common good; and a responsibility to exercise their rights and duties peacefully.

Caring for the common good

The desire to connect peace with justice forms the foundation for thinking about the common good. Care for the common good is a key principle and reflects the social, cultural, economic and political conditions of societies that make it possible for women and men in all societies to reach their full potential. The common good can be understood in two ways. First, a society has a responsibility to provide for the common good of its own citizens. The very purpose of society is to provide for the needs of all of its people. However, individual rights are always experienced within the context of the common good. This is because the good that people secure for themselves, and by inference their families and others within their diverse communities, is only as strong as the good that is secured for all who live and work in those places. All are encouraged to act together to prevent harm and to promote individual and community wellbeing.

Second, societies have a responsibility to band together to care for the common good of all the world's citizens. This responsibility flows from a recognition that all people are connected and interdependent, sharing

membership with the whole human family. Achievement of the global common good is not a concern for individuals or single nations alone. As national and regional wars and natural disasters of the early years of the 21st century reveal, the structures and forms of national governments are inadequate at times to promote the universal common good. Thus, there is a pressing need for international collaboration for justice on a worldwide scale. At such times, government leaders can be urged to cooperate through participation in international organizations such as the United Nations and their specialized agencies, to address global concerns and promote global justice. An international body can promote the international public good by calling for a spirit of international cooperation among peoples of diverse faith traditions, among leaders of local, national and international associations and organizations, among government leaders, and among the citizens of all countries in order to assure care for the public good. A significant component of international collaboration and cooperation is the belief that efforts and results are mutually beneficial for all parties. By caring for and protecting both the individual and the international common good, people will be strengthened in their efforts to promote peace with justice for all peoples of the world.

Assuring global security

Just and peaceful relationships among people, respect for human rights for all people, and attention to the common good can lead to the presence of global security. Global security implies recognition of the universal right to live securely and peacefully as members of one human family. The concept is expressed in diverse ways, including global citizenship, universal citizenship, planetary citizenship, global civic society, a just world order, global interdependence, the global commons, a security community, and more recently, ecological security.

The term *security*, according to Mische (1992), refers to people's desire for human and environmental integrity that is respected by everyone within and between societies and nations. She challenges traditional concepts of security understood as military security, and considers security in terms of a total system that is multi-dimensional in nature, one that requires people to maximize the protection and promotion of human life. She suggests that the achievement of ecological security requires a new paradigm, a new vision, a new understanding and a new approach to security as intentional care for the environment and all of creation. She encourages all people to rethink peace and security in terms of both human and ecological security needs to assure the survival of all life. Human and ecological survival requires that peace and global security be viewed as interrelated, interconnected and interdependent.

Security also requires support for social solidarity. Each person and each government leader is challenged to recognize the interdependence of all citizens of one world and to identify themselves as global citizens. Mische (1992) suggests that this requires that people develop a loyalty to each other and to the universe so deep that it sustains people and all of life for the common

good. This calls for a deeper understanding of what it means to live in kinship with others. Global citizenship requires an understanding of both human and environmental interdependence, an understanding of the ways that people affect the environment and are affected by it, as well as an understanding of the social, political and economic institutions and systems that people have created to meet current and future global needs. The very survival of humanity and all life systems depends upon acting in such a manner as to assure human rights and personal, public and ecological security for all people and all of creation.

Engaging in just actions

Vision statements that call for attention to just relationships, respect for human rights, care for the common good and protection of global security need more than poetic imagery. While there is a need for a vision of a just and peaceful world, it is also necessary to believe that the vision is possible, articulate the vision to others and engage in actions that can help bring the vision to reality. To effect change, people need to focus on three areas. First, they need to articulate their vision that people in this world can live in peace and harmony with others. Second, they need to identify strategies that will enable women and men to work effectively together with leaders of governments and agencies to bring about needed changes. Third, they need to develop effective methods for actualizing their visions and implementing their strategies through the empowerment of people and their organizations.

Vision, strategies and actions are important. So, too, are goals. Peace depends upon a choice of goals that include social, cultural, political and economic wellbeing for the people of all nations, and a choice of means that leads to full participation for all people in decision-making processes that affect their lives. Such a realization of goals can only be accomplished by joint actions. To achieve these goals through peaceful and cooperative means requires that people see themselves as actors working together to create a culture of peace. Such a goal is the realization, the actualization of peace as the presence of just relationships, actualized human rights, care for the common good and the protection of global security.

While there is a call for action to achieve justice, it is not just any kind of action. Actions must be consistent with a call for justice. Just actions must be informed, intentional, direct, planned, reflective and responsible. Moreover, genuine peace can only come about through non-violent action. Non-violent action stresses harmony, open-mindedness and respect for the dignity of each person even when there are disagreements among people about values, ideas and actions (Harris and Haessly, 1997). At this start of a new millennium, it is important to recall the long history of non-violent action in the face of conflict (Sharp, 1973). Just and non-violent actions must also be transforming. Achieving such a peace depends upon the transformation of the political, social, economic, religious, racial and cultural systems and structures, policies and practices that both direct and limit people's lives. Such a transformation

can only occur when there is a vision of what can be, and values to support that vision. Paulo Freire (1973) refers to this as the creative human presence transforming the world through conscious human action. It is this conscious human action that can lead to the creation of just and faithful relationships and just and peaceful communities of people in rural and urban areas throughout the world.

Exploring a New Paradigm for Peace

How do people move from a culture that considers peace as an absence of war and violence to a culture that considers peace as presence, and specifically the presence of justice? This question presents challenges for a growing number of governmental, non-governmental and community leaders for whom peace now is taken to include assurance of basic human rights, the presence of just development, equality, care for the common good, joint problem-solving capabilities and a global security that includes ecological sustainability. To achieve these goals, government officials, along with education, religious, business and other community leaders from countries around the world have responded to the United Nations Declaration to incorporate education about and for peace into the curricula for learners at all grade and age levels.

Educating for peace

Peace educators and peace researchers offer insight into the purpose and goals of education for peace from both local and global perspectives. 'A culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems, have the skills to resolve conflicts and struggles for justice non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the Earth and each other. Such learning can only be achieved with systematic education for peace' (*Declaration*, 1999). Peace education is a life-long process by which attitudes, values, knowledge and skills are passed on between people across the generations, and is essential for both understanding the world in which people live and for learning to live well with others in this world (Boulding, 1988; Brock-Utne, 1989; Whalstrom, 1992; Bjerstedt, 1993; Haessly, 2002; Salomon and Nevo, 2002). For this concept to become the norm, it is important that education at all age levels focus on education both *about* and *for* peace (Brock-Utne, 1989). Education *about* peace is based on facts and interpretations of these facts. Education *for* peace also focuses on values, attitudes and processes conducive to creating an atmosphere that promotes a culture of peace with justice. Education *for* peace promotes both cognitive and affective learning experiences, thus enriching intellectual and emotional development, and fostering attitudinal and behavioural changes essential for living as caring, nurturing, compassionate and assertive people. Education for peace empowers people to go beyond study, research and

analysis; it empowers people to reflect upon personal and public values (Haessly, 2002) and to engage in personal and public actions essential for transforming the world (Thompson Klein, 1990; Reinhartz, 1992; Whalstrom, 1992; Haessly, 2002).

Acting for peace

Peacemaking is a term that has been used to express the values, attitudes, decisions and behaviours that shape the personal, professional and political dimensions of people's lives – at home, in the community and in the world – with reverence for one's self, others and all of creation (Haessly, 1980). Peacemaking as a concept involving more than the absence of war can provide insight into how one might create a culture of peace, for peace, ultimately, is reflected in and experienced through people's decisions and behaviours in their everyday life. The purpose of peacemaking is oriented toward the integration of peace values and actions in all dimensions of human life. The act of peacemaking evokes a sense of positive, engaged human activity in three areas of life: the family, the community and the broader communities of nation and world, and is directed toward both the individual and the common good. Peacemaking is associated with the acts of making that are common to the care of members of one's family and household: preparing and serving meals, cleaning, making repairs and resolving simple conflicts. Peacemaking also relates to one's professional activities: caring for someone's physical and emotional wellbeing, tending the farm, teaching a class, offering shelter, designing a park, or building a structure.

Peacemaking is also a community-building activity. Individuals and families in communities worldwide gather to make and share a community meal, raise a roof, bring in a harvest, celebrate a birth, a marriage or a death, commemorate important community events, or clean up after natural or human-made disasters. When done with attention and care, each of these can be named as acts of peacemaking, expressed in the way that people live and work with and for others in caring and responsible ways in their homes and local communities. Each is as vital to the creation of a culture of peace with justice as are acts of protest at the local level, or negotiation and compromise at the highest government levels.

Peacemaking also holds a place of importance in the work of the United Nations. As leaders and participants of tribal, religious, ethnic, cultural, social or political groups who have been in conflict with each other come to recognize the importance of working together for the common good, they put aside their differences, and direct their energies to meet both group and common goals. When people act without threat of force or outside intervention, and when they act with care for themselves, each other, and the ecosystem, they are engaged in acts of peacemaking.

Exploring the Connection Between Peace and Tourism

Tourism occurs when people of all ages and ability levels choose to travel from one location to another to visit with family and friends and for the purpose of play, study, work, business, pilgrimage and/or service. Tourist destinations, such as parks, recreation centres, museums, resorts and hiking trails, can be located within walking distance from one's home or across the ocean. Whether one travels a short distance or many miles, whether one travels alone, with family members, with friends, colleagues or even strangers, whether one visits a major theme park or finds refuge on a hidden back-packing trail, travel in the 21st century generally entails encounters and interactions with peoples of diverse ages, ethnic backgrounds, cultural heritages, spiritual traditions, ability and educational levels, and interests.

Travellers may undertake new experiences; gain knowledge of other cultures, regions and countries; discover the importance of caring for the environment; develop new friendships; and in the process, promote peaceful relations among people. Travellers also contribute to the economic growth and development of a community and a region when they spend discretionary funds to provide for a variety of needs, such as food, shelter, clothing, equipment, transportation, recreation, cultural and educational activities, and even souvenirs. Economic development, especially when the development aids in poverty reduction in a local community, helps to promote a culture of peace.

Tourism aids in creating a culture of peace in a number of other ways. People engaged in any dimension of the vast tourism, hospitality, recreation and sports industries seek to provide a welcoming experience for travellers, much like the peacemaking activities experienced within a family: offering information, food, shelter, comfort and relaxation. People within the tourism industry are also working together within and across regions to establish policies that lead to the abolition of armed conflicts, violence and warfare; promote ecological sustainability; and assure the welfare of all members of local and global communities.

Education for and service toward a culture of peace have been primary goals of those engaged in any dimension of the work of generating peace through tourism, including those associated with academic departments that educate our young for service in the hospitality, tourism, sports and recreation industries. Faculty and students who share a commitment to the purposes and goals outlined here have a unique opportunity to infuse peace values throughout a student's educational experiences.

Those who work in the tourism industries, as well as those who enjoy the services and benefits of these industries, have been gathering over the past 25 years with heads of state, government, business and community leaders, spiritual and religious leaders, peace researchers and peace educators, and ordinary citizens to broaden their understanding of the concept of peace as more than the absence of war and violence, and to examine best practices important for promoting a culture of peace through tourism. Today, supporters

of the concept of peace through tourism includes ministers of tourism at the state, national and international level; leaders and managers of local, national and international travel agencies, resorts, hotels, transportation systems, sports and recreation establishments; members of the news and travel media; faculty and students at academic institutions; and tourists themselves. All are united in seeking to promote a viable peace while reaping the joys and benefits associated with travel and recreation.

In what ways, then, does tourism both benefit from and promote a culture of peace and non-violence? At all levels, people engaged in the movement to promote peace through tourism seek to:

- 1.** Honour spiritual traditions, reclaim sacred spaces, and work with others for the development, protection, preservation and support for sacred sites and pilgrimage trails;
- 2.** Acknowledge and protect diverse cultural spaces and traditions, assure diversity in all areas of the tourism industry, encourage travel for people with disabilities, and work with others for the development, protection, preservation and support for cultural heritage sites;
- 3.** Reduce poverty by hiring people from local communities, paying just wages and supporting the development of local and micro-businesses that contribute to and benefit from the tourism industry;
- 4.** Eliminate conditions that lead to acts of armed conflict, violence, terrorism and warfare, provide training in conflict resolution and non-violence, and work with government and community groups to restore areas damaged by warfare;
- 5.** Promote sustainable development by planning development projects with care for the ecosystem in mind, protecting endangered plant and animal species, and supporting just environmental principles and practices;
- 6.** Educate people about fragile ecosystems by promoting ecotourism;
- 7.** Promote and preserve a culture of peace by involving local people in decision-making process regarding development and tourism, assuring safe passage for all travellers across borders, boundaries and barriers, supporting businesses whose leaders engage in socially, economically, politically and environmentally responsible business practices, installing Peace Poles, and establishing Peace Parks and Peace Gardens as visual expressions of peace in the world.

Theweleit refers to engagement in such activities as ‘caring labor’, which, he suggests, ‘is a way of living, a way of thinking, [and] a way of producing’ (1993, p. 289). Throughout the world, people working in all elements of the tourism and hospitality industries are engaged in examining values, attitudes and beliefs, and participating in actions needed to create a culture of peace. They seek to identify potential win–win solutions to critical social, economic, political and environmental problems in the world, and continue to meet with others to expand their thinking about peace as a vital dimension of the tourism industry. Such activities are only a few of the many currently engaged in by people who share a commitment to reduce the incidence of violence, terrorism and warfare, and who are now working at local, national, regional and international levels to promote a culture of peace for all peoples of the world.

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2

Tourism and Intercultural Understanding or Contact Hypothesis Revisited

R. TOMLJENović

Institute for Tourism, Croatia

Introduction

The belief that travel facilitates understanding between people of different racial, cultural or national origin and promotes world-peace is widespread and time honoured, echoed in poems and proverbs and advocated by the political, civic and church leaders (Hunziker, in Krippendorf, 1987, p. 57; Holland, 1991; Knopf, 1991). The arguments of the tourism–world peace nexus rest on three basic assumptions: first, that tourism brings people in contact with each other, second that such contact is sufficient to bring about a greater understanding and mutual liking between the people and third, that this increased liking will lead to world peace. The bases of the first two assumptions lie in the contact theory of social psychology, which, in its fundamental form, simply states that contact between different ethnic groups will improve intercultural attitudes and reduce intergroup tension. Mounting empirical evidence suggests, however, that for such a desirable outcome the contact situation has to include certain augmenting factors – intimate and voluntary contact among participants of equal status, who share common goals within a supportive social atmosphere (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969, 1976; Pettigrew, 1986). Where these factors are lacking, contact either fails to change attitudes or reinforces those initially held (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969, 1976; Pettigrew, 1986).

The many critics of the tourism–world peace nexus have argued that these features of the contact situation are seldom present in tourism settings. They maintain that tourists have fewer and less intensive encounters with hosts than is often assumed. It is suggested that, rather than facilitating such encounters, the tourism industry erects barriers between tourists and hosts in order to maximize its profit (Cohen, 1972; de Kadt, 1979; Nettekoven, 1979; Bruner, 1991) and that promotional material and travel press predispose travellers to a narrow view of the host country (de Kadt, 1979). Furthermore, to develop an

appreciation of their hosts, tourists have to be motivated by a desire to learn about foreign people and places, a rare condition given that most modern-day tourists are driven primarily by a need to escape their daily environments (Graburn, 1978). Apart from the lack of contact opportunities and the motivational drive on the part of the tourists, there are many factors in the actual contact situation that undermine the potential for the development of greater mutual understanding. For instance, the short and transient nature of travel (Sutton, 1967), language barriers and cultural differences (Pool, 1965; Taft, 1977; Hewstone and Brown, 1986) or the disparity in status between tourists and their hosts (Pool, 1965; Sutton, 1967) all intervene to limit meaningful contact. Limited contact opportunities and the superficial nature of the contact has resulted in critics suggesting that travel merely confirms travellers' preconceptions and reinforces the attitudes initially held (Cohen, 1972; de Kadt, 1979; Nettekoven, 1979; Smith, 1989). Cohen (1972) went one step further by asserting that travel has the potential to perpetuate, rather than destroy, the misconceptions travellers have about foreign countries.

The third assumption in the tourism–world peace argument is that the increased mutual liking is of sufficient political relevance to bring world peace. Critics have, again, debated this proposition by pointing out that it is possible to like but not respect certain national groups (Pool, 1965) and have questioned how likely it is that national pursuit for security and power, as well as ideological differences underlying most armed conflicts, will disappear if only people get to know and like each other (Kelman, 1962, 1965). Although it has been argued that tourism is a beneficiary of peace, rather than a catalyst for creating peace (Burkart, 1988; Litvin, 1998), it is difficult to deny the latter to the extent that tourism facilitates the creation of international social networks, strengthens the commitment to the internationalist ideology (Kelman, 1962, 1965) and helps people appraise information originating from other countries more rationally (Crawcour, 1977). Thus Kelman (1965) and Pool (1965) have argued that the question of the beneficial role of travel should go beyond increased mutual liking but instead the real question should be the extent to which travel reduces ethnocentrism and moves travellers towards the multicultural end of the spectrum to exhibit a willingness to understand foreign people on their own terms.

The empirical evidence is limited in scope and it has produced contradictory conclusions that support or refute either side of the debate. There has been a tendency to draw inferences about travel in general from a narrowly defined traveller population, such as mass organized tourists. To fill this gap, the aim of this chapter is to draw upon existing theory and empirical evidence in order to provide a framework for investigating the influence of travel on intercultural understanding, specifically investigating the nature and quality of contact in a range of tourism settings and the role of contact in the post-trip evaluation of the host country and its residents. In this chapter, background information that is necessary to put the research objectives into context is provided, followed by discussion of the main dimensions of tourist–host encounters in terms of the contact hypothesis and traveller's individual characteristics that influence this process. A model for analysing the relationship between tourist characteristics,

tourist–host encounter situations and changes in international understanding is presented and tested. Finally, the implications of these results and some concluding comments on the tourism–world peace nexus is provided.

Encounters Between Tourists and Their Hosts or Contact Hypothesis in Tourism Settings

Although the belief that, through contact, people will get to know and understand each other better is hardly a novel proposition, it was formalized into a hypothesis only in the middle of the 20th century by Allport (1954, 1979), which states that the intimate contact in socially supportive atmosphere with participants of equal status engaged around some common goals is likely to result in positive outcome. There is also a general agreement that under certain unfavourable conditions, contact actually has an adverse effect, increasing prejudice and distrust rather than leading to mutual respect and liking. Typically, unpleasant, involuntary or tension laden contact, those situations that promote competition, where norms and values are objectionable to the one or both groups, lead to adverse effects. Increase in prejudice is also expected where group members are in a general state of frustration, such as a recent defeat in an armed or political conflict, or economic recession, or where a minority group involved in the contact is of a lower status (Amir, 1969, 1976).

Although emerging from the socio-political milieu of the USA, the contact hypothesis has been tested and mostly supported in a range of situations and across a variety of national settings, such as youth summer camps in Israel (Amir and Garti, 1977), Hindu minority and Muslim majority groups in Bangladesh (Islam and Hewstone, 1993), international resident students in Australian universities (Nesdale and Todd, 2000), Western Europeans' attitudes towards the guest workers and migrants (Pettigrew, 1997) or German children's level of prejudice against Turks (Wagner *et al.*, 1989). While these examples in effect relate to the host's reactions to the visitors, support for the contact hypothesis also comes from studies of visitors' reaction to their hosts. In this group, focused mostly on students going abroad for an extended period of study, results are also generally supportive of the contact hypothesis (i.e. Kamal and Maruyama, 1990; Stangor *et al.*, 1996).

Findings, however, become somewhat confusing once the focus of attention shifts to the relatively short stay in the host country, such as students on educational tours or organized mass tourists. Steinkalk and Taft (1979) reported that the attitudes of Australian teaching college students on a 4-week educational tour to Israel worsened as a consequence of their experience, even though the tour offered many contact opportunities. Moreover, only a third reported developing more tolerant attitudes to others, while their appreciation of Australia increased as a consequence. Pizam *et al.* (1991) evaluated the attitudes of US students on an educational tour to USSR. Following the trip, students thought that Soviet people were more reliable, but that the government was less concerned with the welfare of its people than its socialist roots implied.

Confusing or negative patterns of attitude shifts is even more pronounced in those few studies investigating reactions of the typical organized mass tourist. Anastasopoulos (1992) surveyed Greeks visiting Turkey, while Milman *et al.* (1990) investigated the attitude change of Israelis visiting Egypt. In both cases, participants in the organized bus tours were sampled and both Israelis and Greeks returned home with predominantly unfavourable impressions of their hosts. Although it might be too ambitious to expect favourable shifts in attitudes because of a single short visit against the background of long-standing history of conflict as in the above examples, Pearce (1982a, 1982b) observed the same pattern of results among British tourists on organized holidays to Greece and Morocco. In both instances, their attitudes moved in a negative direction, particularly regarding Moroccans.

Although quality contact leads to improved attitudes towards the outgroup providing the contact conditions facilitate meaningful contact, the empirical evidence suggests that support for the contact hypothesis is decreasing, as encounters between members of different groups become shorter and more transient. However, these later examples suffer from a methodological weakness as contact was only inferred, rather than actually measured. Although this practice is widespread within research in the field (Smith, 1994), such evidence, however, cannot be considered to be a true test of the contact hypothesis. Thus, if the question asked is simply whether, by the sheer virtue of travelling, one gets to like the hosts, then the answer is negative and the scepticism of those critical of tourism being the peace industry is justified. However, in the arguments of both proponents and opponents of such a proposition, it is clear that contact is considered a crucial mediating variable in the process. In such circumstances, another set of questions should be asked – are there any opportunities for contact and if there are, are they of sufficient quality to result in a favourable contact outcome?

Critics have argued that there are very few contact opportunities in tourism setting, but their thinking is guided mostly by tourist typologies, which do not stand up well to empirical testing (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1987, 1991). Thus, between the polar ends of those fully organized mass travellers, observing the foreign lands from the shelter of the environmental bubble, and those wanting to immerse themselves fully in local cultures exists a variety of different travel behaviour types. There are those that choose a novel environment within the shelter of a tour group (Mo, 1991), those that seek immersion in a local culture but choose relatively familiar destinations (Hsieh *et al.*, 1994), or those that choose novel physical, but familiar, social environments (Ross, 1997). Given such a degree of fuzziness in tourist behaviour and the inability to predict it from such intuitive factors as the degree of travel organization, it is argued here that the amount of contact opportunities will be proportional to the length of stay at the destination country and the amount of activities tourists are engaged in during their travel (Debagge, 1991; Freitag, 1994). However, the language barrier will moderate these opportunities where it is present and, as such, the extent of the language barrier should also be measured, rather than assumed.

In addition to these factors, critics have argued that contact in tourism is not of a sufficient quality to result in a favourable shift in travellers' post-trip

attitudes. These arguments are less easily challenged as the transience and non-repetitive nature of travel do restrict contact intimacy, while cultural distance has the potential adversely to influence both the quality of contact and the contact outcome. Nevertheless, there is tentative evidence that, in tourism encounters, contact is beneficial in creating favourable post-trip attitudes. Fisher and Price (1991) tested relationship between visitors' motivations, contact, trip satisfaction and the post-trip attitude change. The major finding was that the post-trip attitude change was proportional to the extent of interaction with hosts. Gomez-Jacinto *et al.* (1999) applied the Fisher and Price's model to the longitudinal data set of foreign visitors' attitudes to Spain. They also found favourable shifts in attitudes to be proportional to the amount of contact with hosts. Similarly, Pizam *et al.* (2000) examined the social contacts of working tourists and found that the contact intensity was related to the liking of Israelis people and more favourable attitudes towards them. In the similar vein, Tomljenović and Faulkner (1999) investigated a role of contact in a fully organized mass-tourism setting and found that, although the contact was limited to superficial encounters, the travellers' post-trip attitudes improved. The fact that the attitudes shifted in positive directions, despite the largely superficial nature of their contact, raises the possibility that findings generated in more classical contact settings (i.e. race relations in the USA or students on a prolonged stay abroad) are of limited generalizability in the tourism settings.

The focus so far has been on the nature of the tourist–host contact itself and the situational variables that may facilitate or impinge on the contact frequency and quality. For the process of contact and changes in attitudes following the contact, it is equally important to consider characteristics of individual travellers, such as their initial attitudes, motivation for travel and their personality predisposition. The influence of these on the quality of contact and on the contact outcome is the focus of the following section.

Individual Difference Among Travellers: How do They Influence the Contact Experience?

The individual's reaction to contact and subsequent shifts in attitudes is determined by various factors rooted in the personality structure of every traveller. First, the major factor determining the frequency and quality of contact with local residents is the type of motivation to travel. The critics of the tourism–world peace nexus commonly assert that the primary force in making people travel is their desire to get away from their daily routines (Cohen, 1974; Nettekoven, 1979; Krippendorf, 1987). However, tourist motivation research has revealed that it is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon (Crompton, 1979; Iso-Ahola, 1982; Fodness, 1994; Ryan and Glendon, 1998). Motives of escape, relaxation, prestige and regression are likely to lead to contact avoidance or predisposition to superficial encounters with hosts. Likewise, enhancement of kinship relations may also have a detrimental effect on the

contact with hosts, as the family members are focused on building up their respective relationships. To the extent that those influenced by exploration and 'evaluation of self' motives are inclined to explore and try out new situations free of the social roles constraints imposed in everyday life, this group may be receptive to host contact. However, two questions remain to be answered – what proportion of travellers are actually motivated by such motives as education and culture learning, and what explanatory power does motivation have (Pearce, 1982a)?

Beside motivation, another important aspect is the direction and strength of the initial attitudes. Evidence to date suggests that attitudes most amenable to change are those held with least conviction and that these usually strengthen following the trip (Pearce, 1982a; Milman *et al.*, 1990; Anastasopoulos, 1992). As tourists generally avoid areas towards which they have hostile feelings, their attitudes towards the destination country and the host nationals tend to be neutral to slightly favourable. This tendency might be even more pronounced in travel settings designed to maximize the contact opportunities. The experience of the Australian students (enrolled in the Japanese language and culture programme) on a cultural immersion tour through Japan, involving home stays, who have at the outset perceived Japanese favourably and the trip in itself had little impact on these perceptions, gives some support for this proposition. It has been suggested that travellers who are highly motivated by cultural learning and open to intercultural contact would benefit the most from the travel experience in terms of gaining an improved understanding of another culture and increased intercultural tolerance. It might be that the individuals having these qualities at the outset are more likely to enter educational programmes, read literature and view media, and participate in this kind of travel experiences. Travel then simply contributes by reinforcing their established beliefs (Tomljenović and Faulkner, 2000).

Arguably, this introduces a tautological element into the problem, to the extent that pre-existing favourable attitudes are instrumental in bringing one into contact with locals and, consequently, one emerges from the contact with attitudes that have strengthened in a favourable direction. However, positive attitudes are much easier to change into negative ones and, furthermore, there are many more situations amenable to disconfirming positive rather than negative traits. The travel experience, in reinforcing the initially slightly favourable attitudes, should still be regarded as a positive outcome of the trip (Rothbart and John, 1985). This is especially so if bearing in mind that, in a foreign country, tourists have to cope with many new, unfamiliar and unpredictable situations and stimuli (Taft, 1977; Furnham and Bochner, 1982; Pearce, 1982b; Furnham, 1984).

Furthermore, the initial attitudes are related to ethnocentrism and prejudice – a set of attitudes rooted deeply into one's personality structure. If travel is to have a meaningful impact on the process of intercultural understanding, it is precisely these attitudes that have to be modified (Kelman, 1962, 1965). Yet ample evidence has indicated that such attitudes are motivational force in some people and are generally related to the faulty reasoning and simple cognitive processes that tend to collect only information that confirms one's position

and, in the face of ambiguity, quickly reduce everything to the black and white world-view. If this is so, such attitudes are almost impossible to modify regardless of the quality and nature of the tourism experience. Others have found that travel through foreign lands makes people more sophisticated in judging others, introduces cultural relativism and enhances intercultural understanding (Welds and Dukes, 1985; Carlson and Widaman, 1988; Dukes *et al.*, 1994) while, at the same time, reduces social anxiety (Britt *et al.*, 1996; Stangor *et al.*, 1996; Tomljenović and Faulkner, 2000).

Contact Hypothesis Tested: Australian Outbound Travellers

So far, the research evidence on the nexus between travel and increased intercultural understanding has been inconclusive, and arguments mostly rhetorical. Those sceptical of tourism's contribution to intercultural understanding and, subsequently, world harmony, have argued that contacts facilitated through tourism do not feature the augmenting factors drawing their examples from mass tours to, predominantly, less developed countries. Those heralding tourism as the world's great peace industry rested their arguments on the type of travel that has contacts purposefully built into the itinerary. However, the issue has not been studied systematically. As already alluded to, the research that does exist in this area suffers from methodological and theoretical weaknesses. Methodologically, existing research has utilized small, single-case and generally unrepresentative samples of participants on education study trips or on fully organized and escorted mass-tourism tours. Theoretically, contact itself was not measured in these studies, with the contact hypothesis applied only as a *post hoc* explanatory device. To overcome these limitations, a study of Australian outbound tourists – with large number of participants and a variety of travel arrangements – was designed to test the contact hypothesis in a tourism setting. Details about the study are available in Tomljenović (2002).

The investigation was structured to provide answers to the following key questions: (i) what was the nature of the contact between travellers and their hosts among the sample of the general travel population? (ii) what role did motivation, travel organization, initial attitudes and travellers' personality and socio-cultural orientation have on travellers' contact with the local population? (iii) did travellers change their post-trip attitudes towards their hosts and in what direction? and (iv) what was the role of contact with locals in the process of post-trip attitude formation?

Travellers in this study were internationally oriented with a corresponding low degree of prejudice and ethnocentrism. They were also extroverted and considered themselves confident when dealing with new situations. Their attitudes towards the country in general, as well as towards the host nationals, as in previous studies (i.e. Milman *et al.*, 1990; Pizam *et al.*, 1991; Anastopoulos, 1992; Stangor *et al.*, 1996), were slightly positive. In addition, the respondents were uncertain of the extent to which the host people

were a homogeneous group as well as about their knowledge of the host country.

While travellers personally benefited from the trip, returning home even more extroverted and confident with heightened awareness of international issues, the trip contributed very little to any improvement in post-trip attitudes. The host people remained equally culturally distant as at the outset, and travellers were equally unsure whether to view the host people as a homogeneous group or not. Surprisingly, the trip has neither contributed to an increased knowledge about the host country nor has it affected post-trip attitudes towards the people. The travellers only changed their opinions about the country in general which moved from the favourable to slightly less, but still, favourable end of the scale. This trend towards the negative shifts in attitude was also observed in the studies focusing on organized mass tourists (Pearce, 1982a, 1982b; Milman *et al.*, 1990; Anastasopoulos, 1992), thereby raising the possibility that the manner of travel organization is irrelevant in the formation of post-trip attitudes.

The first important finding emerging from this study was that the travellers are generally interested to interact with locals and found it relatively easy to strike up a conversation with them. Furthermore, they have not perceived their travel arrangements, regardless of whether they travelled independently or as a part of a tour group, to be detrimental to their contact with local residents. The second important finding was that, with 50% reporting making friends and further 40% chatting with locals frequently, contact is more frequent and more intimate than the literature on the topic would suggest. While very few of these contacts were judged as very intimate, nevertheless a large proportion of the sample considered these intimate to some extent. Arguably, some of these contacts were an outcome of the earlier formed social ties (i.e. attending a wedding, meeting girlfriend's family), but some of these contacts were also meaningful, impromptu contacts with locals.

Those more likely to interact with local residents were those likely to engage in a larger number of activities as well as those already familiar with the destination through previous visits. These activities open up social opportunities while the familiarity with destination increases awareness of them (Stokowski, 1992; Prentice *et al.*, 1994). Likewise, according to the prediction, contact was more intense among those motivated by a desire to learn about new people and places and interact with locals, while desire to escape routine and relax had an adverse relation on contact. Finally, initial attitudes towards the people and the country, followed by travellers' extroversion and confidence in new situations, also predicted contact well. An unexpected finding was that contact was more intense where the host population spoke English well rather than in the English-speaking countries. A possible explanation for this is that in English-speaking countries travellers may satisfy their curiosity from a variety of sources, whereas in non-English-speaking destinations they have to rely on personal contacts.

As proposed, contact helped explain the pattern of post-trip attitude formation. Although, in general, travel has had no effect on post-trip evaluations of the people visited, those having contact with them returned home with their

initially slightly positive attitudes further strengthened. In addition, those having contact with locals returned home more extroverted and confident and, as individuals having these characteristics are more prone to contact with locals, it is likely that these would also be motivated to make contact with locals on their future travel.

Satisfaction with the travel experience has an important bearing on post-trip attitude formation. In fact, the satisfaction with the trip significantly related to the travellers' post-trip evaluation of the country visited as well as to the travellers' intercultural orientation, while contact had no bearing on these. Furthermore, satisfaction also had a strong relationship with post-trip attitudes to the people, although contact still emerges as a significant predictor after the satisfaction has been accounted for.

The contact appears to be important in the post-trip evaluation of the host people and, although it was not related to the ethnocentrism or prejudice, contact had a bearing on travellers' intercultural orientation as well as increasing their extroversion and confidence in new situations. What was also confirmed in this study was that although satisfaction with the overall trip is an important factor in post-trip attitude formation process, it was the only significant factor in the formation of the attitudes towards the country. Although the favourability of this attitude generally decreased, those satisfied with their experience returned home more favourably disposed towards the country visited.

This study has generated two important insights. First, it has dealt with the nature of the contact with locals among those that travel individually, and revealed that the contacts with hosts are relatively frequent and reasonably intimate, while travel arrangements in general are not impediments to these contacts. Second, it provides tentative support to the argument that travel-facilitated social contacts are beneficial in the formation of the post-trip attitudes. However, given its dependency on the satisfactory experiences, it appears that the implications of this study are more significant for the tourism industry and destination managers than for the broader issue of tourism and intercultural understanding. The tourism industry has vested interests in promoting contacts given that these contacts result in the higher overall satisfaction achieved and, to a degree, both the contacts and satisfactory experience, may facilitate repeat visits as well as favourable word of mouth. The industry also would benefit by attracting those who are motivated to interact with locals and thus obtain better insight into the culture of the place, as these people are predisposed to contact and return home with improved post-trip attitudes towards the country in general.

A Model of Trust: Host Interaction of the Contact Hypothesis Revisited

According to the preceding discussion, the factors influencing contact opportunities, the type of contact and the contact outcome in travel settings, can be grouped in several categories: (i) factors pertaining to the nature and

extent of the travel organization; (ii) factors relating to the nature of a destination in terms of the cultural distance, language barriers and the travellers' own familiarity with that destination; (iii) the travellers' own interest in interacting with local people (expressed through their travel motivation); (iv) the travellers' personality characteristics such as their cognitive complexity, mental rigidity and tolerance to ambiguity, as well as their self-esteem and extroversion; (v) particular attitudes towards host nationals and their country (in terms of their direction and strength); and (vi) socio-cultural attitudes of tourists that are rooted deeply in their personality structure, such as ethnocentrism, prejudice or nationalism versus cosmopolitanism, intercultural tolerance and international orientation. This set of relationships is summarized in the model presented in Fig. 2.1.

Several of these factors present a departure from the standard contact hypothesis. The first departure from the standard approach in testing the hypothesis is the need to ascertain contact opportunities. The empirical evidence (Steinkalk and Taft, 1979; Pizam *et al.*, 1991; Anastasopoulos, 1992; Tomljenović and Faulkner, 1999, 2000; Tomljenović, 2002) demonstrates that relying on indicators such as the degree of travel organization or the nature of the accommodation establishment are unreliable estimators

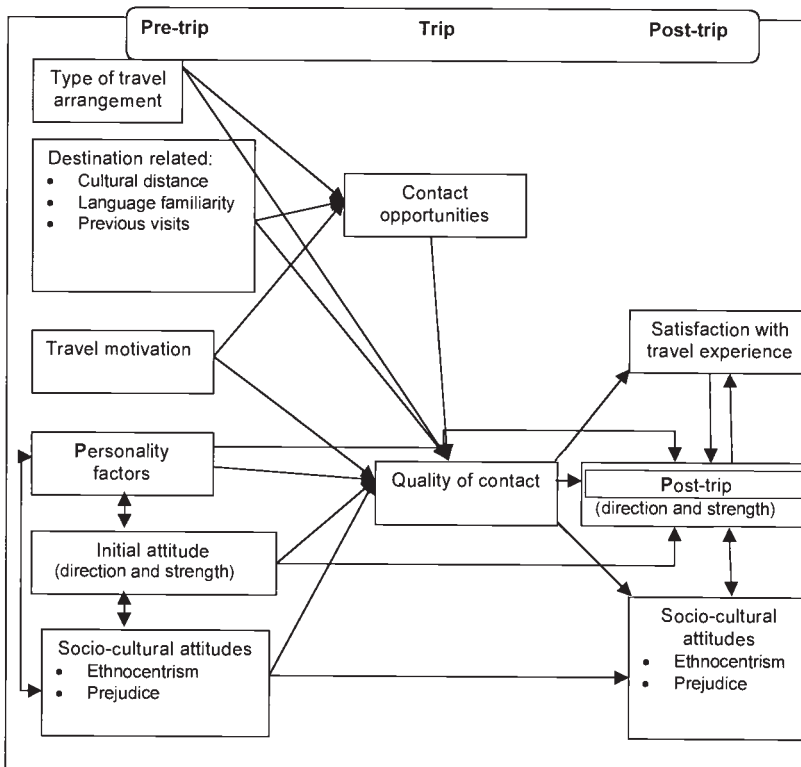


Fig. 2.1. A model of the contact hypothesis in tourist–host interactions.

either of the contact opportunities or, for that matter, the type of contact itself. It is more likely that the travellers' familiarity with the destination, their length of stay and their activity pattern, that is the number and variety of activities engaged in while at a destination, have a significant bearing on the contact opportunities.

The second departure is introduced by the need to redefine the notion of the quality contact in tourism settings. Traditionally, quality contact is assumed achieved where there was intimacy between participants of equal status, and common goals within a supportive social atmosphere. Critics argue that these conditions are absent in the tourism setting. However, in the few studies where contact was actually measured (Fisher and Price, 1991; Gomez-Jacinto *et al.*, 1999; Tomljenović and Faulkner, 1999, 2000; Pizam *et al.*, 2000; Tomljenović, 2002), the results were supportive of the contact hypothesis, indicating that favourable contact conditions are, in some form, present in the tourism settings or operate in different ways in such settings. It is likely that travellers are aware of the limitations imposed by their role as a temporary visitor to the host country and will redefine a notion of contact intimacy as a result. In such circumstances even short conversations where travellers have an opportunity to obtain first-hand experience of the local people and customs, and deepen their understanding of the hosts' way of life may be considered as 'intimate' by travellers.

The third departure is the proposition that other conditions of the contact – the existence of common goals and equality of status – will have limited influence on the perceived contact quality in tourism settings. What is important in the travel setting is the extent to which the immediate travel party supports or discourages contact with hosts. Although it is partly determined by the social norms governing contact with a particular group, encouraging or discouraging the contact may be independent of the social attitudes towards the hosts. This might be the case when a travel party is focused on building up their relationships, when parents of teenage children restrict contact for the fear of their safety, or when an introverted partner inhibits the other in contact with locals.

However, the nature of the travel arrangements still needs to be taken into consideration. These factors have an influence on the amount of the perceived contact opportunities but have a little bearing on the quality of the contact itself. However, both the contact opportunities and the contact itself is affected by the nature of a destination, including its familiarity, cultural distance and language barriers. Cultural distance and language barriers are likely to have an adverse effect on the quality of the contact itself. Although it may be argued that perceived cultural differences, embedded partly in linguistic differences, might influence contact opportunities, it is more likely that they will have a stronger effect on the quality of the contact. A traveller may recognize contact opportunities, but may not be able to act upon them due to the lack of common language while the cultural differences may limit the scope of commonality between the host and guest leading to the quick exhaustion of the conversational topics.

Finally, the fourth addition to the classical contact hypothesis is the inclusion of motivational forces underlying the travellers' destination choice.

Higher socio-cultural motivation leads to a desire for contact and an identification of contact opportunities that could facilitate fulfilment of these needs. Furthermore, these motives are more prevalent in the general tourist population than is often assumed, and the trend is likely to continue in the future.

The extent to which travellers seek out encounters with locals and turn these into rewarding, quality contacts also depends on personality characteristics such as their self-esteem, social anxiety and style of cognitive functioning. These have an effect on the contact, on the travellers' initial attitudes as well as on their socio-cultural orientation in terms of prejudice or ethnocentrism. In particular, self-esteem and social anxiousness are likely to impinge on the quality of contact, while the style of cognitive functioning will affect the way information obtained from the contact is processed and whether initial attitudes are retained or modified. Individuals with cognitive functioning characterized by mental rigidity, intolerance to ambiguity and low level of cognitive complexity are likely to find support for their initial position. The extent to which contact takes place and influences post-trip attitudes depends on the direction and strength of initial attitudes. In general, the attitudes that change the most are those held with less conviction. Extremely negative attitudes are likely to lead to the avoidance of contact or would, at best, affect the contact quality. Empirical evidence indicates that these attitudes could be worsened in the absence of contact while, providing that the contact actually takes place, they are moved towards a more favourable end of the spectrum. The extent of this shift is proportional to the nature of the contact.

The next group of variables relates to social attitudes deeply rooted in the personality structure, such as prejudice, ethnocentrism or nationalism. Amount and quality of contact will be proportional to a person's socio-cultural orientation in terms of their attitudes to people different from themselves (ethnocentrism and prejudice). Contact improves these further. Change in these attitudes depends on the strength with which individual travellers hold them, with the biggest change expected from those moderately ethnocentric, intolerant and prejudiced in response to the travel experience itself but, more likely, the contact with host nationals.

Finally, besides the improvements in post-trip attitudes and those deeply rooted socio-cultural orientations such as prejudice, discrimination or racism, the extent of overall satisfaction with the travel experience is an equally important outcome in tourism setting. This is especially so as this dimension has important consequences for both the tourism destination and for tourism product planners. Empirical evidence indicates that those reporting contact with local residents returned home not only with improved post-trip attitudes but also more satisfied with their overall travel experience. Contact is one of the factors influencing satisfaction with the overall travel experience. To the extent that the contact has facilitated the overall satisfaction, it is expected that the travellers' post-trip attitudes be improved.

Conclusion

Travel has, historically, been viewed as a tool of fostering intercultural understanding. In spite of the importance of understanding tourism's role in fostering intercultural understanding, this issue has not previously been studied systematically. The review of empirical evidence presented in this chapter, together with results of the Australian study, clearly demonstrate that change in attitudes towards hosts is difficult to predict. However, once the contact with host nationals is accounted for, the results are more conclusive. Those travellers who engage in social interaction with local residents returned home with improved post-trip attitudes, and it appears that as much as two thirds of the international travelling population, at least on long-haul trips, seeks out contact with hosts, motivated by a desire for cultural enrichment. It also appears that in a travel setting, contact does not need to possess the augmenting factors stipulated by the contact hypothesis. It appears that the pleasant contacts, supported by the travel party are sufficient to bring about favourable change in attitudes. In reality, tourists appear to have neutral to slightly positive attitudes towards the country they are going to visit and any form of pleasant and friendly contact with local residents is likely to result in new knowledge, impression and insights that then contribute to formation of the favourable post-trip attitudes.

When it comes to the predictors of contact, the research evidence seems to contradict a range of arguments by both the proponents and the opponents of the tourism–intercultural understanding nexus. First, the proponents argued that quality travel, i.e. travel that facilitates intercultural contact, is likely to foster intercultural understanding and mutual appreciation, while the opponents point to a number of barriers to contacts under the more typical mass travel arrangements. It might well be that culture immersion travel settings attract those who are already more interculturally tolerant and positively inclined towards such forms of intercultural experiences. While this need not always be the case as such travel experiences may vary greatly, further research is required to investigate this notion. At the same time, the research evidence demonstrated that those wishing to interact socially with the host will find ways to do so regardless of the restraints that travel arrangements imposed on their time and spatial behaviour questioning the validity of the argument regarding the travel industry's detrimental role in facilitating social contacts between tourists and their host in general, although such could be the case in particular circumstances.

Another barrier to contact with locals was considered by the critics to be the travellers themselves who are often considered not to be particularly interested in meeting local people nor in learning about places that they visit. Instead, critics argue that most travellers are driven by a desire to escape their daily routine. Even if escape is a travellers' primary motivation, it does not necessarily lead to other motives, such as learning about different cultures, being unimportant. The recent trends in fragmentation of tourism demand, giving rise to many different types of travel experience, would lead to an

increased proportion of travellers searching for meaningful experiences through contact with some aspects of the host culture.

Finally, travellers' personality characteristics and their initial attitudes towards people visited have also clearly exerted an influence on the contact outcome. Thus, initially favourable attitudes to the host country overall led to more intense contacts with locals. The same can be observed for those with a more sociable and extroverted personality. This introduces a dilemma regarding the practical value of such contacts, if it is those who are already favourably inclined to the host at the outset that get to know them personally and through which contact reinforces these attitudes further, especially bearing in mind that the contact has minimal, if any, influence on more deeply rooted social attitudes such as ethnocentrism, racism or intercultural orientation. However, there is evidence that travellers who have, at the outset, relatively low level of ethnocentrism and heightened international orientation, are self-confident and outgoing, and these personality characteristics correlate positively with their travel experience. However, it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether their initially open-minded and relaxed attitudes that have brought them further afield or whether the cumulative effect of travel has resulted in formation of these attitudes.

Thus, the evidence presented here gives only a tentative support for those claiming that contacts facilitated through travel increase intercultural understanding. The evidence compiled here is perhaps more important for the tourism industry overall and for destination management and promotion in particular as claims that the tourism industry impedes the contact with local residents can be rejected. The arguments of those who have criticized the tourism industry for erecting barriers between travellers and their hosts might be valid for the prevailing style of travel organization some 20 or 30 years ago, but many modern-day tourists seek personal enrichment and cultural insights while travelling (Poon, 1994, 1998). In response to the changing expectations of travellers, the tourism industry throughout the developed world is seeking to restructure itself so that is able to provide tailor-made travel arrangements while retaining economies of scale (Petrillo, 2002).

The question remains whether or not the tourism industry could justifiably be called the world peace industry. To draw inferences to the issue of the world peace and harmony it has to be demonstrated that contacts at the individual level, such as those facilitated through travel, have an effect on the foreign policies mostly determined by the governments (Kelman, 1965). The recent occurrence of the ethnic violence and the small-scale armed conflicts perhaps best illustrate that, when there is a conflict over major political issues, these individual contacts are probably of little value.

It is another question altogether whether tourism fosters intercultural understanding. In general, the evidence to date indicates that this is also not the case, as post-trip attitudes have shown an inconsistent pattern of change. However, if the question is whether tourism contacts are beneficial to this process, then the answer is clearly more positive. The fact that favourable post-trip attitudes were a consistent outcome of contact with the host population regardless of the destination choice or travel arrangements, suggests travel

clearly has a role to play in this regard. These changes, however, are very subtle and a large proportion of travellers are not able to ascertain the nature and degree of these changes. Furthermore, travellers do not report an increase in knowledge about the country visited following the trip or a change in their perceptions of the host nationals as a homogenous group. In some instances, the trip has not contributed to the lowering of perceptions of the cultural distance between travellers and the country visited. If the host nationals are continually perceived to be similar to each other, it means that they are continually perceived by travellers in a stereotypical fashion and the fact that they remain to be perceived as culturally different as at the beginning of the travellers' journey questions the extent to which travel has resulted in a better understanding of travellers and their hosts.

There are some indications that travel may have some cumulative effect on the deeply rooted social attitudes of ethnocentrism and intercultural orientations. Because of the methodological difficulties associated with this problem, it is difficult to determine whether travel was an outcome or a consequence of these attitudes. To ascertain this, it would be necessary to compare those that have not travelled overseas with those that are embarking on their first overseas travel, but this poses some significant challenges in terms of population definition and sample design. In any case, more studies, guided by the model proposed here, coupled with refinement of the contact measures and enriched through employing a qualitative research design, are needed. Post-trip focus groups or in-depth interviews would enable researchers to obtain better insights into the nature of experiences and their relevance to the impressions formed about people and country visited. Another avenue of further research could also be to compare how well tourist travel facilitates intimate contacts compared to other practices that could be initiated within a country's multicultural policies to foster intercultural understanding and appreciation.

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3

Challenging Peace through Tourism: Placing Tourism in the Context of Human Rights, Justice and Peace

F. HIGGINS-DESBIOLLES¹ and L. BLANCHARD²

¹*School of Management, University of South Australia,* ²*Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, Australia*

Introduction

Because tourism most frequently concerns the pleasure and leisure pursuits of the world's privileged, it is seldom placed in the context of human rights, conflict resolution, justice and peace. However, it must not be forgotten that the right to tourism and travel are implicitly enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) and is promised by a social tourism movement that has been active in countries throughout the world and promoted globally by the International Bureau of Social Tourism (BITS).

While the dominance of neo-liberalism since the 1980s has allowed the social welfare aspects of tourism to be overshadowed by its financial market potential, peace and justice advocates should not allow these developments to go unchallenged. This chapter reviews tourism's capacity to contribute to human well-being, human rights recognition, conflict resolution, justice and peace. It will take a critical perspective, challenging the tourism industry's public relations agendas of peace through tourism and pro-poor tourism (PPT) whose promise remains unfulfilled in a world of structural inequity and injustice. This analysis develops an understanding of how tourism can be harnessed to achieve important humanitarian goals, including peace, justice and respect for human rights.

The Human Right to Travel and Tourism

Whereas much of the discussion of tourism focuses on its ability to provide fun and/or fulfilment (Butcher, 2003) or focuses on its characteristics as an 'industry' (Smith, 1988), this chapter argues that tourism should also be understood in the context of human rights. Since the founding of the modern

tourism phenomenon in the mid-1800s, tourism has been seen as a potent social force of considerable significance (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). Fulfilment of the human right to travel is promised by a social tourism movement that has been active in countries throughout the world and promoted globally by the BITS. However, with the dominance of neoliberalism since the 1980s, the social welfare aspects of tourism have been overshadowed by its market imperatives. A critical human rights perspective challenges the tourism industry's public relations agendas such as 'pro-poor' and 'peace' tourism. In a world of structural inequity, these agendas remain unfulfilled.

Tourism has been credited with numerous positive impacts, including contributing to self-fulfilment (UNWTO, 1999), economic growth (UNWTO, 1999), Developing World development (UNWTO, 1980), environmental sustainability (UNWTO, 1995) and even world peace (IIPT, n.d.). The positive impacts of tourism are potentially so powerful that the right to travel and tourism have been incorporated in key international documents including, for example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966; the United Nations World Tourism Organization's (UNWTO) Tourism Bill of Rights; and Tourist Code of 1985 and the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism of 1999.

Indeed, 2008 marked the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948). As an international standards setter, this document has two passages that underpin the right to travel: articles 13(2) and 24. Article 13(2) states: 'Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country' (UN, 1948), which O'Byrne describes as underpinning the human right to travel (2001, pp. 411–413). Combined with article 24, which states 'everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay' (UN, 1948), this significant international document is credited with situating travel and tourism as part of human rights.

The justification for asserting such new rights can be gleaned from the words of the UNWTO, which declare tourism's potential value in 'contributing to economic development, international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all' (UNWTO, 1999). Making such important and varied contributions to the human good, tourism and travel are uniquely worthy among 'industries' to be accorded human rights status. The Manila Declaration on World Tourism states:

Tourism is an activity essential to the life of nations because of its direct effects on the social, cultural, educational and economic sectors of national societies and their international relations. Its development is linked to the social and economic development of nations and can only be possible if man [sic] has access to creative rest and holidays and enjoys freedom to travel within the framework of free time and leisure whose profoundly human character it underlines.

(UNWTO, 1980)

In the most recent code promulgated by the UNWTO, the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, section seven entitled 'right to tourism' specifies that 'public

authorities' should support social tourism initiatives, 'which facilitate[s] widespread access to leisure, travel and holidays' (1999).

Tourism for All: the Forgotten Promise of Social Tourism

The precepts of modern social tourism were laid early in the 20th century when the principle of paid leave for workers was adopted. For instance, French trade unions, as early as the implementation of paid leave in the 1930s, were promoting not only the value of tourism for relaxation from work but also for development of the mind and the body (Ouvry-Vial, cited in Richards, 1996, p. 157). As Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) has explained, the marketization of tourism in the current neo-liberal era has resulted in a failure to give social tourism initiatives the proper recognition they deserve. Nonetheless, social tourism has a rich history in Eastern and Western European countries and points to the way that the right to travel and tourism could be facilitated for those least able to fulfil it. The basic principle of social tourism is 'access to travel and leisure opportunities for all' (BITS, n.d.). It is the role of public authorities supported by civil society organizations to ensure that all citizens are able to fulfil their right to travel and thereby to tourism.

One form of social tourism has been developed in the socialist countries. Unlike the tourism phenomenon in capitalist societies where tourism symbolized freedom, choice and individualism, in some of the socialist countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact, tourism was geared to serving socialist needs. These ranged from provision of rest and relaxation for the workers of socialist production in order to enable their future production, to fostering communist solidarity by touring fellow communist countries, to use of tourism as 'socialist education' for youth (Allcock and Przeclawski, 1990, p. 4).

Social tourism has also extended beyond the socialist and centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe. As mentioned earlier, France has a long tradition of social tourism through the trade union movement. But France has been joined by other Western European states such as Germany, Switzerland, Portugal and the Scandinavian countries in subsidizing transport, maintaining 'social resorts' and funding youth camps, to name only a few. Two outstanding examples include Reka of Switzerland and ANCAV *Tourisme et Travail* of France. Even the USA, one of the main proponents of neo-liberalism, has social tourism schemes such as the youth camps of the Young Farmers Association, which have been devised for rural youth to enjoy the learning and recreational capacities of tourism.

There is also an institutional structure to promote the values of the social tourism movement. The BITS is an umbrella structure for national social tourism organizations to cooperate on the development and promotion of social tourism. It was founded in 1963 in Brussels and now represents members from around the world and also 12 governmental authorities. BITS is also charged with representing the issue of social tourism to such bodies as the UNWTO and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization. BITS has formulated a strong argument for the right of *all* to tourism, travel and leisure on its website and exhorts governments in particular to move beyond 'recognition of the right' to actual pragmatic programmes to enable all to enjoy the exercise of their right (BITS, n.d.).¹

Tourism for All: Tourism for the Privileged?

A right to travel and tourism is not universally enjoyed. It is estimated that more than a billion people live on 'less than one dollar a day' (World Bank, 2005). While organizations promoting Developing World development argue that the concerted efforts over the past three decades have reduced the number of people living in poverty, even members of the World Bank's Development Research Group freely admit that, while the number living on less than one dollar a day has reduced, the number living on less than two dollars a day has risen and what progress has been made has been 'highly uneven' as, for example in the case of sub-Saharan Africa (Chen and Ravaillon, n.d.). While the jury may be out about the success of the poverty alleviation agenda of development, there is no question that only a minority of privileged people from the developed world and the elite of the developing world are able to fulfil their right to tourism and travel. In this divide between the developed and the developing worlds, the former provide the vast bulk of international tourists and the latter increasingly serve as their hosts.

At the moment, the obligation to fulfil the precepts of social tourism is given to governments and this blocks the likelihood that such rights will be truly universally provided, as many developing countries are still unable to meet their citizens' most basic needs let alone fulfil a right to travel. Therefore the precepts of social tourism cannot be implemented universally until the fulfilment of the right to development is honoured, as demanded in the concept of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and as outlined by such agreements as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

The NIEO was demanded by the newly independent countries of the developing world as a systemic programme to bring just relationships to an increasingly interdependent but very unequal world. Tourism was an important component of the vision of the NIEO. For example, the Manila Declaration of the UNWTO in 1980 declared in its opening statements:

Convinced ... that world tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order that can *help to eliminate the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries* and ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social progress, in particular of the developing countries ... Aware that world *tourism can only flourish if based on equity* ...

¹ The previous two sections of this chapter are reprinted from Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, More than an industry: tourism as a social force, *Tourism Management* 27, 1192–1208, 2006, with permission from Elsevier.

and if its ultimate aim is the improvement of the quality of life and the creation of better living conditions *for all peoples*.

(UNWTO, 1980, emphasis added)

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, there has been an extraordinary advance in the spread of the ideology of neo-liberalism. According to Stilwell, neo-liberalism's 'core belief is that giving freer reign to market forces will produce more efficient economic outcomes' (2002, p. 21). Such outcomes are not merely economic. In the mid-1990s, Stephen Gill's paper 'Globalization, market civilization, and disciplinary neoliberalism' characterized the current era as an attempt to impose a 'market civilization' on global society:

The present world order involves a more 'liberalized' and commodified set of historical structures, driven by the restructuring of capital and a political shift to the right. This process involves a spatial expansion and social deepening of economic liberal definitions of social purpose and possessively individualist patterns of action and politics.

(1995, p. 399)

Stilwell claims that neo-liberals advocate 'free market' policies in order to unfetter capitalist economies from excessive interventions by governments in economic matters, the latter being a product of the policies of the 'welfare state' supported since the 1950s and which neo-liberals view as stifling economic efficiency. With the rise of the 'Washington consensus', these neo-liberal policies now have global reach as developing countries are urged to adopt such policies by international financial institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the development banks. Stilwell claims that the outcomes of neo-liberalism have 'reoriented' governments:

The economic activities of government are not reduced, only reoriented towards directly serving the interests of business; they become less concerned with progressive income redistribution and the amelioration of social problems arising from the operations of the market economy. The policies certainly create winners and losers whatever their effectiveness in relation to the dynamism of the economy as a whole: the removal of regulations protecting employment conditions predictably leads to more unevenness of employment practices and greater wage disparities; the relaxation of environmental controls leads to environmentally degrading activities; and the withdrawal of redistributive policies leads to growing problems of economic inequality and poverty.

(2002, p. 22)

Stilwell (2002, pp. 14–16) demonstrates the interrelationship between economy, society and ecology wherein lie the possibilities of distributional equity, ecological sustainability and the quality of life (Fig. 3.1). However, this model of political economy is challenged by the current dominant neo-liberal order, which overemphasizes economic considerations and does not promote equity, sustainability and quality of life. It is within such a context that contemporary tourism now operates. Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) has examined the effects of marketization on tourism and has argued that it has created a discourse of 'tourism as industry', which serves the 'needs and agendas of leaders in the tourism business sector' to the detriment of understandings of the social capacities of tourism.

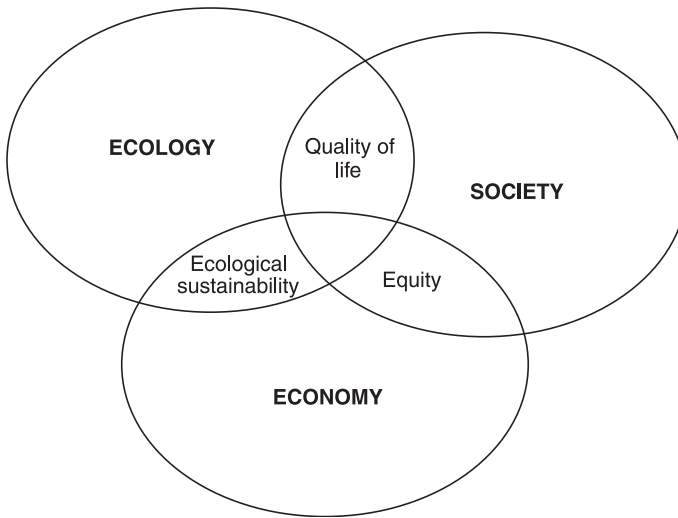


Fig. 3.1. A model of interdependent systems: ecology, society and economy. *Source:* Stilwell (2002, p. 14).

Tensions are clear. While neo-liberalism demands that the benefits of tourism are allocated according to the 'invisible hand' of the market, the discourse of tourism as a 'human right' demands a social tourism agenda, which requires continued intervention by governments and communities to ensure that tourism contributes to a better quality of life and an equitable sharing of tourism's bounties. However, vigilance is required to uncover such tensions. For example, although the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism may idealistically commit to social tourism, it was forged after the demise of communism and the triumph of the 'Washington Consensus'. So, not surprisingly, its preamble states: 'the world tourism industry as a whole has much to gain by operating in an environment that favors the market economy, private enterprise and free trade and that serves to optimize its beneficial effects on the creation of wealth and employment' (UNWTO, 1999). As a result, social tourism is left to the purview of those governments who are wealthy enough to create social tourism programmes for their citizenry. We apparently now accept the rhetoric of a universal right to travel and tourism but we demonstrate no eagerness to make it a reality for the majority of the world's inhabitants who are hemmed in by their poverty. In fact, if the poor and traditional peoples who serve as an attraction in the developing world decided to forsake their slotted role as hosts to the privileged, the scope and regulation of contemporary tourism would have to be seriously rethought. Could the UNWTO and the stakeholders who assisted in the drafting of the much-supported Global Code of Ethics for Tourism be accused of hypocrisy for formulating a provision on social tourism and espousing the right to travel when they know such rhetoric is unrealistic within the current market reality? An investigation of the industry's rhetoric on poverty alleviation and peace

through tourism suggests that such hypocrisy is not just limited to the social tourism sector.

Pro-poor Tourism: Putting the Poor First or Good PR?

The PPT initiative is a recent phenomenon. PPT is not a specific product or niche sector of tourism but an approach to tourism development and management that claims to 'enhance the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people, so that tourism's contribution to poverty reduction is increased and poor people are able to participate more effectively in product development' (PPT, n.d.). While PPT has only been explored since 1999, case studies are numerous including Wilderness Safaris and Sun City in South Africa, the St Lucia Heritage Trail and the Uganda Community Tourism Association. PPT proponents also recognize the 'economic benefits generated by PPT may not reach the poorest-workers and entrepreneurs are unlikely to be from the poorest quintile' (Bennett *et al.*, 1999, p. 36). Mowforth and Munt have provided a brief but insightful critique of the PPT initiative and conclude that it needs to be viewed in its context of promoting the 'expansion of capitalist relations' (and the growth of the tourism sector) and how this might 'undercut "sustainable livelihoods" and exacerbate, rather than alleviate, poverty' (2003, p. 273). Even a brief analysis of PPT indicates that the pro-poor potential of tourism is exceedingly limited in its ability to make even the slightest dint in global poverty. For instance, Sun International, owner of Sun City and 'one of South Africa's largest hospitality companies', is operating on lands 'alienated' from the Batswana tribes and now offers them such PPT opportunities as manufacturing the paper used in their business cards (Sun City Resort, 2005).

The potential for PPT to make a considerable contribution to the public reputation of the tourism sector is much more impressive. This is perhaps the explanation for the UNWTO, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) and the International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT) making PPT central pillars in their policies and publicity. It is not coincidental that the poverty alleviation commitment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) coincided with the virulent protests of the 'anti-globalization' movement, which has threatened the momentum of the marketization agenda since 1999 in Seattle. The UNWTO mirrors the WTO in calling its pro-poor agenda 'liberalization with a human face'. Much like sustainability, the pro-poor initiative could be characterized as good public relations to prevent measures that might be imposed that would have a meaningful and negative impact on the industry's interests and operations. Perhaps even more importantly, it shows that the institutions of tourism, similar to the institutions of world trade, are quite concerned that their critics are threatening to win the 'hearts and minds' of the silent majority and therefore such efforts have to be pre-empted by a 'simulation of virtue or goodness', such as a rhetorical commitment to poverty alleviation.

Justifying Tourism: the Peace Through Tourism Agenda

Peace through tourism focuses on the kinds of tourism that are conducive to promoting more peaceful relations. A founder of the peace through tourism movement, Louis D'Amore, described it in multidimensional and positive terms: peace within ourselves, peace with other people, peace between nations, peace with nature, peace with the universe and peace with our God (1988, p. 9). The most conventional way to interpret the relationship between tourism and peace is to assert that the cross-cultural encounter of international tourism fosters more harmonious relations. Academic debate on the topic of peace through tourism has centred particularly around whether peace and tourism are related in a causal or a co-relational way (Litvin, 1998) and on whether or not tourism contributes to attitudinal change in people who travel between hostile nations (e.g. Pizam, 1996). Tourism's potential to promote 'human security through international citizenship' (Rees and Blanchard, 1999) is yet to be explored.

However, a critical investigation of the IIPT suggests an unreflective approach to the topic. Sections of the IIPT website, particularly those on the previous conferences and summits reveal the rhetoric of sustainability and poverty alleviation through tourism (IIPT, n.d.). Yet IIPT global summits and conferences are held in luxury resorts, do not appear to interrelate with local communities (Ndaskoi, 2003) and offer little evidence of sustainability options (such as a carbon-offset fee) attached to registrations. This suggests the IIPT is also engaged in the 'simulation of virtue or goodness' in its promotion of peace tourism.

An alternative view of peace necessitates distributional equity, ecological sustainability and a good quality of life for all. Following Gandhi's unequivocal assertion that peace must be 'based on the freedom and equality of all races and nations', analysts such as Stuart Rees (2003, p. 20) speak of peace with justice other than simply in terms of conflict prevention and resolution. It is this notion of 'peace with justice' that informs our discussion. When approaching tourism from such a stance, a key question is how can tourism be harnessed to achieve important humanitarian goals, including peace, justice and respect for human rights?

Justice Through Tourism

Lanfant and Graburn suggest alternative tourism could become 'the tourism in the promotion of a new order' (1992, p. 92). Justice tourism best exemplifies this goal. Holden's description of justice tourism is 'a process which promotes a just form of travel between members of different communities. It seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality amongst participants' (cited in Pearce, 1992, p. 18). A useful conceptualization of justice tourism emerges from the theorization of the ethics of tourism, which has appeared in more recent times (e.g. Hultsman, 1995; Smith and Duffy, 2003; Fennell, 2006). In Hultsman's attempt to develop an ethical framework for tourism, he

explores what 'just tourism' might mean (1995). He advocates developing a 'principled' practice and 'ethicality' in tourism (Hultsman, 1995, pp. 559–562). Fennell (2006) and Smith and Duffy (2003) provide invaluable insight into the complexities of applying an ethics of justice to tourism in their brief examinations of Rawls' 'theory of justice' (1971). Using social contract theory, Rawls developed a theory of justice suggesting a '... fair distribution of power, goods, and so on within and between societies' (Smith and Duffy, 2003, p. 92). Given that tourism can be considered a justice issue (Fennell, 2006, p. 102), justice tourism has recently emerged as a phenomenon worthy of further analysis.

Scheyvens describes justice tourism as 'both ethical and equitable' and says it has the following attributes: 'builds solidarity between visitors and those visited; promotes mutual understanding and relationships based on equity, sharing and respect; supports self-sufficiency and self-determination of local communities; maximizes local economic, cultural and social benefits' (2002, p. 104). Scheyvens outlines five forms of justice tourism which include the 'hosts' telling their stories of past oppression, tourists learning about poverty issues, tourists undertaking voluntary conservation work, tourists undertaking voluntary development work and revolutionary tourism (2002, pp. 105–119). Kassis adds that at the global level 'justice tourism is a social and cultural response to the policy of cultural domination as reflected in the globalization of tourism' (Kassis, n.d.).

The reality tours of the American non-governmental organization (NGO) Global Exchange (GX) serve as illustrations of justice tourism. Founded in 1988, GX is an international human rights NGO dedicated to 'promoting social, economic and environmental justice around the world' (GX, n.d. a). Its involvement in tourism is geared towards social justice education and activism:

The idea that travel can be educational, transformational and positively influence international affairs motivated the first Reality Tours in 1989. Unlike traditional tourism, Reality Tours promotes socially responsible travel as our participants build true 'people to people ties'. Reality tours are founded on the principles of experiential education and each tour focuses on important social, economic, political and environmental issues. When you journey with us you will meet the people, learn the facts first hand, and then discover how we, both individually and collectively, contribute to global problems and how we can enact positive change.

(GX, n.d. c)

The variety of tours offered by GX are numerous and changing. One recently developed tour is the 'Beyond Tourism' tour to Jamaica, which focuses upon the reality of this tourism-dependent economy (GX, n.d. b). Other itineraries include Cuba, Afghanistan, Bolivia, Venezuela, Chiapas, Mexico, Iraq, Palestine and China.

Specific examples of justice tourism such as Oxfam Australia's Community Leadership Program indicate that the global change required is not only helping the poor in the developing countries achieve better standards of development but also changing how the privileged in the developed countries live their lives by suggesting ways they might re-orient their consumer and market-driven

lifestyles (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, p.11). Justice tourism can act as a catalyst for alternative globalization by promoting an awareness of the unsustainability and dissatisfaction that accompanies capitalist-driven consumerism. Such a shift is evident in the observation of a young volunteer tourist who said:

It [the volunteer tourism experience] made me a lot more critical of a consumer's society. I think there are a lot of things here that are all very nice and convenient and are good for status. But there are a lot of things we just don't need.

(cited in Wearing, 2002, p. 250)

Because tourism engenders social and ecological crises as a result of its adverse impacts, it has received vocal and sustained criticism from both the NGO sector and community groups. Protest at a global level emerged at the World Social Forum convened in Mumbai, India in 2004. At this meeting, tourism was put on the agenda of the WSF for the first time as a Global Summit on Tourism was held. The theme was 'Who really benefits from tourism?' The summit issued a call to 'democratize tourism!'. One NGO participant, the Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism (ECOT) called for a tourism that is 'pro-people' (ECOT, 2003). Attendees at the meeting released a statement of concern and formed a Tourism Interventions Group (TIG, 2004). This group clearly positioned itself in opposition to the processes of capitalist globalization and corporatized tourism:

We decided to strengthen and uphold the grassroots perspectives of tourism, which positions our interventions against those of the World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) and other mainstream definitions of tourism policy and development. As the [UNWTO] is now a specialized UN agency, we will address its new mandate and take forward civil society engagements to democratize tourism.

(TIG, 2004)

However, the TIG also made very clear that it supported the aims of other new social movements gathered at the WSF. They claimed:

Highlighting tourism issues within a multitude of anti-globalization and human rights movements such as those related to women, children, *dalits*, indigenous people, migrants, unorganized labour, small island, mountain and coastal communities, as well as struggles related to land, water and access to natural resources, is crucial to sharpen local struggles and community initiatives of those impacted by tourism. Networking is at the core of future strategizing to identify areas of common concern, forge alliances with like-minded individuals, organizations and movements and influence tourism policy agendas. Democracy, transparency and corporate and governmental accountability in tourism will be placed high on the agenda for concerted action and strategic interventions.

We look forward to working in solidarity with local community representatives, activists and researchers from various parts of the world to strengthen our struggle and develop strategies for a tourism that is equitable, people-centred, sustainable, ecologically sensible, child-friendly and gender-just.

(TIG, 2004)

These references to justice demonstrate efforts to secure a more equitable, alternative form of tourism. It remains to be seen how successful the TIG will

be in drawing global attention to the negative impacts of corporatized tourism and the positive potentials of justice tourism in contributing to an alternative global order. But there is little doubt that their efforts will continue to promote a vision that 'another world is possible'.²

Summary

This chapter has been concerned with unmasking the rhetoric of the human right to travel and tourism and highlighting some aspects of the reality of its implementation. Current rhetoric about social tourism, PPT and peace through tourism propounded by the industry is a public relations strategy. Such a strategy pays undue reverence to the market imperatives for tourism rather than teasing out the social imperatives, such as social justice and ecological sustainability. The inequitable living conditions, in which the interests of business and markets are allowed to override the survival of peoples and the integrity of the environment, and in which contemporary tourism now 'flourishes', cannot be ignored. We must begin to consider tourism in the context of human rights and social justice. Examples, such as the reality tours of GX or Oxfam's significant volunteer projects give substance to the idea of human rights, justice and peace through tourism. In addressing structural inequalities by 'promoting social, economic and environmental justice around the world' (GX, n.d. a) and confronting poverty by re-orienting consumer and market-driven forces (Oxfam Australia's Community Leadership Program, n.d.), such initiatives challenge the tourism industry's rhetoric of pro-poor or peace tourism. Coordinated analysis and action between human rights advocates and tourism analysts is needed to ensure that future tourism development is geared to fulfilling fundamental human needs, securing equity and justice and thereby assisting in the attainment of peace. From this perspective, tourism may address local efforts to realize human rights and social justice rather than make grandiose claims about the universality of 'peace'.

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² The latter half of this paper is based on earlier work published in Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, Justice tourism and alternative globalisation, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 16, 345–363, 2008, with the permission of Multilingual Matters.

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4

Tourism which Erases Borders: an Introspection into Bosnia and Herzegovina

S. CAUSEVIC

Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh, Scotland

Introduction

The representation of borders and national identities in the field of border studies saw a commendable growth at end of the 20th century (Van Houtum, 2005). Minghi (1963) classified borders as being natural and political; natural borders were usually seen as 'good' borders, political borders as 'bad' borders (in Van Houtum, 2005). In the current discourse all the borders are seen as political, thus the presence of natural borders was denied. Current discourse is thus focused on the construction of these political borders, emphasizing the story and the form of border representation. However, the first borders that ever existed were natural ones. Van Houtum (2005) therefore argues that the current research focus is overlooking the fundamental determinant, which has led to the separation between natural and non-natural borders.

Although the notion of national identity in Europe was defined during the Romantic Era in the 18th and 19th centuries (Mazower, 2000), West Balkan territory has lagged behind this process. In the early 1990s, when the iron curtain disappeared and the expansion of the EU became a prominent political theme, former Yugoslavia was immersed in a heavy nationalist rhetoric and political conflict, whose result was the demarcation of the new political borders.

This chapter deals with the newly constructed internal political 'borders' of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), which divide B&H citizens by their ethnic background, thus recreating the unfinished discourse of a national identity. Tourism is seen as the discourse under which the importance of the natural borders can be recreated, and as such, a tool for enhancing the process of social reconciliation in this divided country.

Tourism and Borders

This section presents a discussion of political borders, seen through the tourism-centric lens. Urry (1990) argues that in their search for pleasure, tourists are looking for different, unusual and surprising experiences. Timothy (1995) and Timothy *et al.* (2004, p. 83) argue that the political borders of a country are very often one of the main points of tourism interest and attractions, especially if the settings on the other side of the border are perceived as different and unusual. However, in the 21st-century globalization, some of the previously significant borders have become heritage sites. For example, the border that divided East and West Berlin and 'Checkpoint Charlie' has developed into a tourist attraction (Light, 2000), and makes up an inclusive part of Berlin's city tours. Berlin's Mauern Museum (Wall Museum; Hildebrandt, 2005), opened in 1962 in the apartment from where the view on the then 'active' border crossing between East and West Berlin was provided. Nowadays, the museum contains memorabilia on the cold war, human rights and division. The official border between Slovenia and Italy, the border between western European countries and former Yugoslavia, was established post-Second World War. It ceased to exist in March 2008. A national ceremony was held at the Slovenian Airport, Brnik, in order to celebrate Slovenia's becoming a part of the Schengen Agreement (Bartolj, 2008). Besides official ceremonies, theatre performances were held on its former site, performing the process of border crossing during the time when 'communist' Yugoslavia still existed. Since the borders created during the cold war era have become heritage sites, there has been an increased interest in examining what lies behind the 'active' borders, which still have implications for daily life within certain societies. Research has been carried out on the Green Line (Atilla Line), which divides the island of Cyprus into separate sectors with Greek and Turkish ideological dominance (for instance Timothy, 1995; Mansfeld and Kliot, 1996; Altinay *et al.*, 2002; Theodoulou, 2003; Timothy *et al.*, 2004; Alipour and Kilic, 2005; Altinay and Bowen, 2006). Similar interest lies in the border between North and South Korea, found in work pioneered by Hall (1990), and Kim and Crompton (1990), and continued by Kim and Prideaux (2003, 2006) and Kim *et al.* (2007).

Tourism research related to post-conflict political borders is usually focused on the travel between the countries or into political systems within the countries. The research focuses on actual travel between the subject countries or territories that used to be in conflict, for instance Greek Cypriots going to Turkish-administered territory (Theodoulou, 2003; Timothy *et al.*, 2004); Greeks going to Turkey (Anastasopoulos, 1992); or South Koreans visiting Mt Geumgang, situated in North Korea (Kim *et al.*, 2007). As a result, the findings are, at best, only partial, showing that on certain occasions the relations become better, and on others they do not. For instance, Milman *et al.* (1990) argued that Israeli students, when visiting Egypt, did not as a result improve their opinions of Egypt. Anastasopoulos (1992) noted very similar findings based on the results of Greeks' visits to Turkey, as did Pizam *et al.* (1991) on US students' attitude to the former USSR. These results tend to confirm that single trips do not usually ameliorate visitor opinions of a territory.

Other research is focused on examining high-level political economy, legal frameworks and their influence on tourism development. For example, Ioannides and Apostolopoulous (1999) and Altinay *et al.* (2002) argue that a federation between South (Greek dominated) and North Cyprus (Turkish dominated) would be the most desirable outcome for the travel industry. Altinay *et al.* (2002) argue that economic integration with Turkey cannot bring huge benefits to Northern Cyprus tourism, as North Cyprus cannot compete with Turkey's well-developed tourist industry and competitive pricing. Therefore, a federation with South Cyprus may result in a more positive image of North Cyprus. Doorne (1998), Hall (1994) and Altinay and Bowen (2006) note difficulties in reconsolidating the tourism industry in Cyprus caused by a power struggle and provoked by strong nationalism politics. These two societies of North and South live on the same island, but are partitioned by different objectives and expectations, which are deepening the borders through constant exercising of national sentiments. Healthy cooperation has not been achieved due to national pride and its strongly vocalized sentiments. Many of the studies mentioned argue that the projects set on the governmental level could not bring their desired results because of the complex politics surrounding the issue. The same studies examine political frameworks, yet hardly any research examines the perspective of the common people and possibilities for some cooperation between the partitioned territories and communities. Social psychology studies (e.g. Islam and Hewstone, 1993; Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000; Brown and Hewstone, 2005) argue that basic contacts cannot bring about better understanding between community members. Instead, individuals need to develop frequent high-quality contacts through working together, or through the achievement of a certain common aim (Cehajic *et al.*, 2008). Amir (1969) argues that the interaction of functionally important activities leading to common goals of higher importance to the group is important in the process of reconciliation. Promoting intergroup contact favours beneficial changes, which bring about quality contacts, as argued by Brown and Hewstone (2005). Travel alone is superficial, and can rarely address social change and reconciliation. Cehajic *et al.* (2008) suggests focusing on common identities, not differences, through establishing a common goal and a common identity, and launching the possibilities to work together. To illustrate this, Belfast marks the cooperation between former nationalist and unionist prisoners (Causevic and Lynch, 2008). Both nationalist and unionist (West Belfast and Shankill), communities find themselves in similar social settings, i.e. both communities are characterized by similar social problems of unemployment, social exclusion and the presence of former political prisoners. These issues helped the communities studied to relate to each other more easily. According to a Belfast City Council Report (2006), both West Belfast and Shankill boroughs are included in the worst 10% in the UK. Finding a common base, even a negative one, such as a social depravity, facilitates a partnership. As Selin and Chavez (1995) argue, crisis provides a point to commence a partnership. Partnership between the Shankill and West Belfast areas resulted in a new tourism product, which initiated reconciliation among these divided communities.

According to Hall (1994), tourism is seen as benign, and in that sense it is

not perceived as a threat to the current system of values and beliefs, thus positioning tourism as the favourable activity in the social reconciliation process. According to Montville (1987), there are two diplomacy channels. Track-one diplomacy is the official government channel. Track-two diplomacy is the unofficial channel characterized by people-to-people relations. This chapter focuses on B&H and its attempts to achieve social reconciliation through tourism activities. It takes into a consideration that these cross-'border' relationships do not improve via a single trip between territories and that the laws and regulations are conflict-inherited, thus not able to facilitate the process of tourism development. Therefore, the focus is on enabling tourism to facilitate social change.

Methodology and Data Collection

This chapter is a part of a larger thematic analysis, whose purpose was to explore the issues of a post-conflict tourism development in B&H, *borders* being one of the identified themes. The data was collected using unstructured and minimally structured personal interviews during August, September and October 2006 in B&H. The research included roughly around 50 interviewees whose background ranged from tour operators, government advisors, international aid agencies, academic institutions, consultants, ground handlers, travel agents, tourism ministers and tourism offices. The interviews were conducted in Bosnian. If the interviewee's native language was not Bosnian, the interviews were conducted in English. Most of the interviews took place in Sarajevo. Other interview locations included Bihac, Banja Luka, Jajce and Mostar. Interviews were enriched through overt participant observation of the guided tours, which provided the study with sufficient detail to enable a robust understanding of the data and in order to link the main findings with the theme of borders.

The complexity of socio-cultural and geopolitical settings in B&H urged an alternative approach to the analysis. Critical theorists like for instance Horkeimer (in Finlayson, 2005), argue the need to create knowledge through the process of the creation of social and political conditions closer to humans, and through that process enrich the knowledge and consequently transform society into a better one. The study's purpose was to create new knowledge through the emancipation of previously marginalized societies. In this case, the B&H citizens being the periphery to Ottomans, the Hapsburg Empire, both Eastern and Western Europe, and now the EU, were marginalized for centuries (Bec-Neumann, 2007). In this sense, the current research places tourism in the middle of a social and political discourse, thus giving a voice to marginalized and peripheral theories, peoples and places, i.e. seeing the same problem, but from a different, less featured perspective, thus contributing to the wider theoretical understanding of an issue.

One of the non-mainstream methodological approaches taken includes the primary researcher's own personal reflection and introspection. According

to Meyerhoff and Ruby (1992), reflexivity is the process by which the researcher understands how his/her social background influences and shapes his/her beliefs and how this self-awareness pertains to what and how he/she observes, attributes meanings, and interprets the action dialogue with the informants. Essentially, this is a form of deep participant observation, whereby the researcher has been fully immersed into the situation as a ratified insider, giving unique access and insight that would not be available to outsiders.

Personal reflection gives an insight into the way the researcher constructs reality in order to write about it. Second, it reveals the social background of the researcher, which helps to explain how the researcher perceives and constructs the social settings contained in the study. The researcher's Bosnian background, through the personal reflection of this type, has been able to enrich this study by bringing an additional first-hand insight into the argument. An example of a previous study, which brings a researcher's personal reflection into the process of building a theory is Ateljevic's and Hall's personal reflection (Hall and Ateljevic, 2007) into the links between the macho gaze and Croatian nationalism embodied into the relationships between gender and tourism. In addition, Dunkley (2007), while researching a thanatourism experience, embodied her own reflexive account acknowledging herself as a part of the thanatourism subculture she was researching, thus enriching the study by bringing her own voice into the process of creating theory. Without acknowledging personal reflection, these new theoretical concepts would risk becoming inaccessible. Therefore, reflexivity is incorporated into other techniques in order to enrich the research with an additional voice and to make the theory stronger via an insider perspective.

Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Construction of the Borders

AVNOJ (Antifašističko V(ij)eće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije, translated as: 'Anti-Fascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia') was the political umbrella organization for the national liberation councils of Yugoslavia in order to administer the territories liberated from the Nazi and Fascist forces. On the second AVNOJ conference (29 November 1943), the Yugoslav Federation, in which the southern Slavic peoples would live in six constituent republics with equal rights, was created. The State Anti-Fascist Council for the People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH) was formed in 25 November 1943 under the AVNOJ, as the administrative umbrella organization. ZAVNOBiH defined that not a single part of B&H may be separated as an exclusive territory of one of the peoples of B&H (Lavic, 2008, p. 121).

As a response to the rising nationalism in Yugoslavia in 1974, a new Constitution was introduced. The Constitution allowed a referendum and the possibility of independence to any of the Yugoslav Republics, i.e. Slovenia, Croatia, B&H, Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia, if they were discontented with the Federation. The constitution became a critical factor in understanding

the essence of the Yugoslav conflict (Malcolm, 1994; Clancy, 2004). After B&H proclaimed its independence and became a valid member of the UN, the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) fell under the command of the late Slobodan Milošević (Sell, 2003) and became empowered by various paramilitary groups (Bec-Neumann, 2007). Beside defending Serbian positions, it had also actively sought out the extermination of other ethnicities (ICTY General Krstic verdict, 2001; Barker and Sivakumaran (2007), resulting in a direct aggression on B&H during the period from April 1992 until December 1995, when the Dayton Peace Agreement was introduced.

Bosnian external borders remained as they used to be during the time of the Yugoslav Federation (1974 Constitution). However, its internal political 'borders' are the result of the Dayton Agreement, and had existed never before. Today's B&H is an institutional melting pot of government and administrative structures, laws and regulations, and artificial borders, whose functioning and interconnections are, at the very least, complex and difficult to comprehend. B&H now has three levels of authority, as well as the international body, Office of the High Representative (OHR), whose role is to envisage the consolidation and the implementation of the Dayton Agreement.

B&H consists of three nations. These are Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. Before the conflict, Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs lived together; there were no 'ethnically clean' territories in B&H; as Stojanov (2004) illustrates, the Bosnian ethnic map was like a leopard skin, with a large proportion of mixed marriages (Malcolm, 1994). Within the government of B&H, there are always three presidents (one Bosniak, one Croat and one Serb). B&H is divided into two entities. These are Republic Srpska (49% of the territory of B&H) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (51%) (Dayton Peace Agreement, 1995). The entities' government is more powerful than the central government (Figs 4.1 and 4.2), and functions like a set of states within a state.

As a result of the ethnic cleansing of Croats and Bosniaks, the Republic Srpska (RS) entity is mainly inhabited by Bosnian Serbs (Riedlmayer, 2002; ICTY Plavsic Guilt Plea Statement, 2004; Lambrichs and Thieren, 2005; Lavic, 2008). The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a counterpart of the RS. It is now inhabited mainly by Croats and Bosniaks (Fig. 4.1). Besides two entities, Brcko District is a part of B&H but not included in the Dayton Agreement. It borders both Serbia and Croatia, thus being assessed as strategically important to all three sides (Jeffrey, 2006). Currently it functions as a multi-ethnic District, under the provision of the international community and the OHR (Farrand, 1997). The Federation of B&H (one of the entities) is further divided into cantons, depending on whether the area is inhabited by Bosniaks or by Croats. Cantons have their own parliament, government, regulations and legal functions. The RS entity does not have any cantons. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the RS and the Brcko District, together constitute the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has been an independent country since March 1992.

It emerges that the Dayton Agreement was a good way of stopping the conflict at one time, but it has also 'legalized' the aggression and ethnic cleansing (e.g. Campbell, 1999; Bringa, 2005). It could be argued that the



Fig. 4.1. Bosnia and Herzegovina after Dayton Agreement 1995.

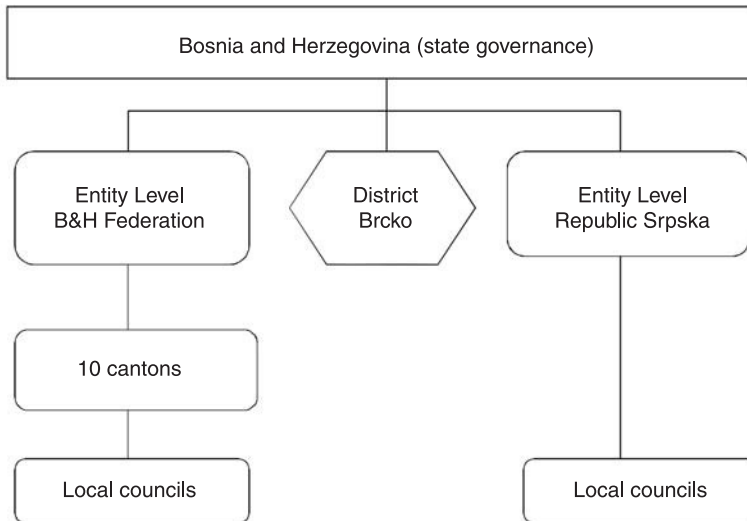


Fig. 4.2. Bosnia and Herzegovina government structure.

new political system has enabled hardcore nationalist parties to gain power and control, resulting in the relationships between different ethnicities in B&H to remain very vulnerable (Lavic, 2008). An institutional phenomenon, which feeds the nationalist rhetoric in B&H (Brkic, 2008), is the school segregation. There are two schools that are situated under one roof, i.e. from one door the Croatian children enter the school and from another the Bosniak's enter. The organization for European Security and Cooperation (OSCE) call these institutions a 'phenomenon'. Brkic (2008) challenges the legacy of the educational system in B&H, as it has been divided into 13 small systems, which are not connected by any means. Institutionally, and from early childhood, the children in B&H are exposed to 'a language of hate' (Smajic, 2007). The entities' laws, regulations and the education system do not correspond to each other, thus making cooperation and healthy business relations difficult to achieve (Dahlman and Ó Thuathail, 2005). The consequence of this is that the people who live in one entity have ceased communication and relationships with the other.

According to Cehajic *et al.* (2008), low levels of social reconciliation in B&H are due to the current political environment, which does not facilitate the process. The Dayton Agreement did not implement any reforms; the country is still run by the laws and regulations whose only purpose was to stop conflict. Instead of providing a platform for social inclusion and reconciliation, the Dayton Agreement ghettoized B&H citizens into enclaves of Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, disabling the country's progress, in a political, economical or socio-cultural context. Positive effects on a process of social reconciliation have not yet been addressed. The potential solution for this problem will further be examined taking into an account the possibility of enabling individuals from different entities to work together, based on the projects that are enhancing tourism development in B&H.

Research Findings: Internal Borders

Although in the same country with no visible physical borders, one can easily understand whether one is in the Federation or in the RS. There is a sign which says 'Welcome to Republic Srpska', and furthermore, all other road signs are written in the Cyrillic alphabet (the Federation uses the Latin alphabet) (Figs 4.3 and 4.4).

In the RS, some argue that it is better that the signs are written in Cyrillic, some argue that they should be written in Latin alphabet because of the foreign tourists who find it challenging to read the signs written in Cyrillic. The compromised solution was agreed in 2007 that all the road signs in both RS and the Federation of B&H should be written in both Latin and Cyrillic alphabet. The project is set to last 5 years. However, it appears difficult to accomplish the agreement because of the politicization of the issue. Furthermore, each new sign will cost approximately US\$730, which will be financed by public money (e-novine, 2009).



Fig. 4.3. Welcome to Republic Srpska. *Source:* Author 2006.



Fig. 4.4. Road sign in Republic Srpska. *Source:* copyright Iva Gruden 2008.

The informants for the current study reported that when it comes to tourism, people are less aware of national barriers, which normally prevent the development of cohesive relationships between the entities. The process of tourism inclusion on a political and socio-cultural scene in B&H is scrutinized, with a focus on projects that urge the creation of the partnerships between the citizens of B&H, regardless of their ethnic background. At the moment, these projects are usually mediated by international agencies, as because the different laws and regulations in the entities and cantons in B&H, it is difficult to initiate these contacts without a mediator. These difficulties emerge at the beginning of a project because of a lack of trust between participants. Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs in B&H no longer live alongside one another. As a result, they do not know each other. Furthermore, this is a relatively poor area, with a great majority of people used to having a better quality of life in the former Yugoslavia, according to the study informants. People had jobs, relatively comfortable lifestyles and were free to travel and work abroad. One interviewed tour guide from Sarajevo said:

Look at the statistics; the majority of people in Sarajevo and Bosnia lived better before the war than they live now.

15 391–392 (September 2006)

Disputes and distance between citizens are not necessarily always attributable to nationalist and sectarian ethics. If individuals from each of these entities do not perceive that they can directly gain from it, they will not initiate a partnership, especially with someone they do not know or who they feel they cannot trust. When a partnership based tourism project commences, the first question asked is, *who are those others?* People feel vulnerable where trust is lacking. This may also be amplified by a lack of knowledge about ‘these others’, for instance, an interviewee (I40, International donor agency), said:

Every problem is automatically attributed to nationalism. People sometimes put up barriers to cooperation due to economic reasons, not ethnicity. Unfortunately it is always easier to say ... yes, this is because of the ethnicity, but once that first barrier is broken, [sic] no problems anymore.

I40 210–212 (September 2006)

Furthermore, it appears more interesting to the media to report about heavy nationalism than to view the issue more holistically, i.e. as the outcome of fear and ghettoized societies languishing in poverty. However, if the partnership survives this first stage, it may become successful, as an interviewee from the International donor agency reports (example from tourism project):

There was a sort of distance in the beginning, but it is much better now than it used to be. Our first meeting was in 2003 and I do not want to say that it was awkward, but they were probably thinking ... who were those others? But afterwards, it was fine. The silence was broken.

I22 105–108 (September 2006)

Successful Projects

Cooperation between entities is possible despite irrational administrative borders and unregulated issues. If all sides perceive that a suggested project is worth doing, they may cooperate. Informants gave an example of a successful co-production of the tourism-themed TV show *Tourism Plus*. Public TV channels, one from RS (RSTV) and one from the Federation (FTV) established cooperation. The show was broadcast in both entities. Through that show, people were able to perceive another, more positive perception of their country. Furthermore, the cooperation between RS and the Federation is publicly broadcast which shows the working together relationships to all communities in B&H. An international agency was engaged in this project, helping with the initiation, breaking the first barriers, and identifying the partners. I22 (International donor agency), reports:

If the project is good, people cooperate. RSTV and FTV made an agreement about co-producing *Tourism Plus*, a TV show about tourism in Bosnia. They go from place to the place and show the tourist spots, and have interviews with the people who work in tourism. Those who are closer to the location, cover the particular settings. People cooperated really well.

I22 (September 2006)

Another example of a successful cooperation based on tourism, can be found in the 'Wine Roads' project. The wine producers from both entities participate in the project, which is intermediated by an international agency. The informant, the regional tourism office vice president and project manager (I39) reports:

Trebinje¹ is included in our Wine Road project. I know it is in another entity, but we have to include him² as well. Those political borders are awful. Now we should not include him just because he is in RS? I cannot work like that.

I39 (September 2006)

Trebinje is in the RS, and needs to cooperate with the Mostarsko–Neretvanski Canton in the Federation as well as with Dubrovnik, which is situated in Croatia. However, institutional regulations necessary to support that cooperation do not exist. At the time of writing, the cooperation between Trebinje (RS), Mostar (Federation) and Dubrovnik (Croatia) is characterized as an underground movement by some of the informants (I25 consultant and academia):

We cooperate with Trebinje region which is RS. The problems come when we have to talk about politics. It is like we are doing some kind of an underground movement. I believe that once people realize the importance of this cooperation, it will influence the political sphere as well.

I25 (September 2006)

¹ Situated in RS.

² Wine producer from Trebinje.

Finding an alternative approach in order to institutionalize a partnership between divided communities is a necessity. The informants for this study reported that they need support from the international agencies in their attempt to initiate the first contact and commence the project. To reiterate, in B&H, there is a lack of trust between people, but it cannot be said that this lack of trust is related only to nationalism. This lack is more to do with an absence of reciprocal knowledge, and so trust between entities needs to be rebuilt. Tourism projects are the first to be able to be implemented because of tourism being understood as rather benign (Hall, 1994) and therefore may allow national pride to be put into another outlet. A further characteristic of tourism is that it operates in the sphere of natural borders, which are more important than those political ones created on war inheritance and political treaties – the argument which has, according Van Houtum (2005), been taken away from the discourse on borders.

Further Development

The development of intercommunity relationships prompted by tourism has made an impact on the political relationships within the country (see I25 156–160, consultant and academic).

In tourism trade fairs, the country is presented as B&H. In fact, both the Federation and RS put nationalistic sentiments on hold when it comes to tourism discourse. Even before the central Tourist Association of B&H was founded, both entities launched a project in 2001 known as 'putting Bosnia on the tourism map' (Van Eekelen, 2001). This project presented B&H as one destination. When cooperation began in 2001, RS did not have a Tourism Board, so it formed a body to enable cooperation between the Ministry of Trade and Tourism in RS and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism in the Federation. In addition to this, the umbrella organization that regulates and controls cooperation was established at state level in September 2003 (Tourism Association President, 2006, personal communication). This can all be observed in two ways. First, cooperation between the entities is complicated, even if the stakeholders are motivated to cooperate. Lots of time, work and money is spent on the creation of the administrative conditions under which cooperation would be possible. Second, tourism decisions are still made at the level of the entities and tourism laws in the RS and the Federation do not correspond to one another, bringing many challenges to the tourism sector in B&H. However, cooperation between the entities at the institutionalized level (e.g. ministries in charge of tourism and tourism offices on the entity level) functions exceptionally well, taking into an account the complexity of the circumstances under which this takes place, as one of the informants (I1, advisor) in B&H argues:

I've been here for almost 15 years ... it's the only time I've seen RS and Federation work perfectly together. RS Ministry of Trade and Tourism and Federation Tourism Association have not only great personal relationships, but

also great professional relationships. We presented B&H abroad together, it's worked extremely well the cooperation has been very friendly, very correct, it has been very fair.

I1 (September 2006)

The informants perceive it easier to promote and rebrand the country if it is done at the state level, arguing that there would be a duplication of the work and costs if the promotion were done separately. Although the promotion of the country is done on the level of the state, there are no laws that would regulate the tourism industry at this level. Therefore, promoting the country on the state level requires cooperation. Instead of starting with development of the product, the need is to equalize the laws and regulations first. As a result, the process of tourism development has been slow and expensive. These arguments are illustrated by the informant below (Travel agent, I11):

Federation has a separate law, RS has a separate law which regulate tourism in RS, but there is nothing to regulate our cooperation.

I11 (August 2006)

When it comes to tourism development, in the case of B&H, natural borders are more important than the artificial political ones. The nature of tourism in B&H requires cooperation. It is difficult to divide natural features such as rivers and mountains. The tours start in one entity and end in another. The project of four rafting rivers in B&H, for instance, needs to include cooperation, because the rivers flow through both entities.

We linked the guys from Banja Luka, Bihac with Drvar. They now help each other whenever it is necessary and do not need us there anymore. We provide support if there are any interesting projects they would like to initiate. The last one was the certification of the skippers. Through that program, they met the guys from Tara and Neretva and now they want to create a project which is called 4 rafting rivers in B&H and they work on it now.

I22 (International donor agency)

Conclusion

Although the findings suggest that people are ready to work together in tourism settings, the culture of disharmony is still present. The biggest challenge comes surprisingly from younger generations, especially those educated in the time after the Dayton Peace Agreement and the OSCE phenomenon called 'two schools under one roof', which actually represents the segregation in schools. Each canton in the Federation, RS and District Brcko learn a different syllabus in schools. This prompts new generations to trust only the people in their own ethnic/regional group. This approach erases trust between communities and distances people from one another; hypothetically, it may cause future disputes. Therefore, the process of social reconciliation needs to be addressed as soon as it is possible. Social reconciliation in a post-conflict B&H is difficult to achieve because of B&H's constitution being based on the ethnic division

principle (Brown and Cehajic, 2008). This principle does not allow quality contact to happen. In order to achieve economic prosperity, the phenomenon of reconciliation needs to be addressed first. However, it will not happen easily, as B&H citizens are institutionally and ethnically divided, and do not trust each other. The informants for this present study suggested that building up trust between people is the most important segment in developing tourism. Change will not happen through a single trip, or simple contact between groups that used to be in conflict. Contact needs to be frequent and multiplex in order to increase out-group trust and empathy (Cehajic *et al.*, 2008). Moreover, change will not come from official political circles, but through contact between ordinary citizens. Therefore, this research argues that vital change can be achieved through track-two diplomacy described by Montville (1987), i.e. a bottom-up approach. Inspired by Ateljevic (Hall and Ateljevic, 2007; Ateljevic, 2009), the researcher's personal account was reflected upon. Memories of war, and post-war hostile rhetoric communicated through the media, contrasted to what was seen on the ground, where people showed a readiness to work together. Through tourism projects it appears easier to address the lack of trust as the 'politics' behind tourism are natural resources. It is not easy to label the intangible concept of nature itself as being Bosniak, Croatian or Serbian. This makes tourism ideal for creating a dialogue, and addressing the issue of a post-conflict reconciliation. Although natural borders, according to Van Houtum (2005) are not that important in border studies, it does not mean that they need to be marginalized. Tourism in B&H enhances the recreation of the natural borders. In the scope of natural borders, Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs in B&H understand each other and cooperate well.

At present in B&H, the main power of tourism lies in a fact that it urges cooperation, and facilitates frequent and quality contacts between B&H citizens, regardless of the entities to which they ultimately belong. Tourism is understood as frivolous (Hall, 1994), which opens up the possibility of covert enhancement of trust between the divided individuals. However, tourism is usually recognized as an economic generator, but if reconciliation does not occur, it is difficult to achieve much economic development as cooperation is blocked. This research argues that tourism needs to have its place, not only as an economic enhancer but as a political tool, as it is positively correlated to common identity and trust, pursuing much-needed social reconciliation. This is the role of tourism development in B&H.

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5

Warming Up Peace: an Encounter between Egyptian Hosts and Israeli Guests in Sinai

D. MAOZ

*Department of Tourism Management, School of Business Administration,
The Centre for Academic Studies, Or Yehuda, Israel*

Introduction

Contacts between tourists and hosts often involve face-to-face encounters between people from differing cultural backgrounds (Reisinger and Turner, 2003, p. 38). Such contact may result in positive attitude change in the way in which tourists and hosts view one another (Taft, 1979; Pearce, 1982), give them an opportunity to learn about other cultures and foster social interaction (Bochner, 1982). It may also result in the development of friendships (Pearce, 1988) and psychological satisfaction. It was noted that the longer and the greater the intensity of the social interaction the more positive is the change in attitudes (Li and Yu, 1974; Pizam *et al.*, 2000).

Other studies have claimed that the contact between tourists and hosts is superficial and influenced by images, stereotypes and symbols (Hofstede, 1997). Several studies show that the intergroup contact provided by tourism does not guarantee positive attitude change (Amir and Ben Ari, 1985, p. 112; Milman *et al.*, 1990; Pizam *et al.*, 1991) and may even result in a negative change in attitudes (Brewer, 1984; Anastasopoulos, 1992). Encounters between working tourists, for example, and their hosts are less likely to be positive as they are based on economic interests that may cause tension (Uriely and Reichel, 2000). The contact between tourists and hosts from different cultures can create communication problems, misunderstandings, dissatisfaction and tension due to numerous cultural differences (Pearce, 1982).

However, despite the possible negative outcomes, tourist–host contact seems to have more advantages than disadvantages. It can provide a chance for reconciliation and softening of negative attitudes and images, and potentially contribute to peace and international understanding (Edgell, 1990, p. 1). This chapter will examine the change in attitudes, stereotypes and images that occurred as a result of Jewish–Arab encounters in the beach resorts of Egypt's

Sinai Peninsula. The objective of this study is to examine, using contact theory, the interaction between rival groups in a temporary but stable tourism-related contact, and its effects on reducing prejudice and negative stereotypes.

Historical Background

In 1979, the Camp David peace treaty was signed between Israel and Egypt, mandating the withdrawal of Israel from Sinai Peninsula, which was seized from Egypt in the Six Days war of 1967. The agreement determined that: 'Israel will withdraw all its armed forces and civilians from the Sinai behind the international boundary between Egypt and mandated Palestine ... (T)he permanent boundary between Egypt and Israel is the recognized international boundary between Egypt and the former mandated territory of Palestine ...' (Lapidoth, 1986, p. 35). Israel withdrew from Sinai in 1982 and in 1988 also from the controversial region of Taba, including the two Israeli-built tourist facilities (Kemp and Ben-Eliezer, 2000; Timothy, 2001, pp. 24–25).

The Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty of 1979 not only marked an end to a state of war but it also set in motion links involving economic cooperation and interdependence. These links, it was hoped, would promote the so-called 'New Middle East' vision based on mutual economic benefits. Regional tourism development was widely viewed as a key link between Israel and its Arab neighbours – Egypt and later Jordan (Hazbun, 2002) – and as a stimulus to economic cooperation. This viewpoint is summarized by Patrick Clawson in a 1994 report assessing the prospect for tourism development and economic cooperation in the New Middle East:

Tourism offers a wide variety of opportunities for the economic development of the Levant. More importantly from the perspective of the international community it holds the prospect of demonstrating the material rewards of Arab–Israeli peace. Many of those rewards will come automatically, as a more peaceful environment encourages more visitors and stimulates private sector investment in tourism facilities ...

(Cited in Hazbun, 2002, p. 330)

Moreover, the Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty offered the two peoples the first opportunity for contact. Israelis and Egyptians became free to visit each other's countries, formerly enemy territories and objects of hostility.

Nevertheless, the peace between the two countries remained frozen or 'cold', characterized by the absence of war and threats, but also by distrust (Podeh, 2007). Very few Israelis chose to visit Egypt and even fewer Egyptian citizens paid a visit to Israel. Contact between Israelis and Egyptians hardly occurs in either country, and most of it takes place in the Sinai Peninsula, between thousands of Israeli tourists and a few hundred Egyptian locals, mainly service providers, police officers, soldiers and clerks. Sinai is Egypt's premier tourist destination outside the Nile valley, thanks to its unique combination of Red Sea coral reefs, desert scenery and Bedouin culture, and the fact that it is distant from the fundamentalist Islamic areas of the southern Nile (Shackley,

1999, p. 544); 320,000 Israelis visited Sinai in 2003, and 397,000 in 2004. The numbers dropped to 264,000 in 2005 and 191,000 in 2006, but in 2007 they rose again to 260,000 (with a 2-week visa supplied at the border). Although Sinai was a very popular beach resort during Israeli occupation, there were never more than 100,000 Israeli recreational tourists per year during the 1970s and early 1980s (Rabinowitz, 2004).

Several events contributed to the slowdown in Israeli tourism to Sinai. The first, termed 'the Ras Burka disaster', occurred in October 1985. An Egyptian soldier, who lost his family in the Yom Kippur war (1973), killed seven Israeli tourists, five of them children, in Ras Burka beach. Fifteen years later, on September 2000, the second *Intifada* began – an uprising of Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank – causing a significant reduction in Israeli tourism in the peninsula, especially during the years 2000–2002.

On 7 October 2004, a major terrorist attack occurred in two very popular beach resorts in Sinai, killing more than 30 people, 13 of whom were Israeli tourists, and injuring more than a hundred (*Maariv*, 2004, p. 2). In multiple bombings in the Sharem A-Sheque area, more than 80 people were killed and at least 200 injured (www.ynet.co.il, 23 July 2005). All those events caused major alarm among Israeli citizens, numerous warnings from the Israeli government and a significant decrease in the numbers of Israeli tourists (Rabinowitz, 2004, p. A7). However, although 77% of Israelis declared they did not intend to visit Sinai any time soon after the first terrorist attack, about 10,000 Israelis visited Sinai during the Purim holiday of March 2005 and about 28,000 during the Passover holiday in the following April (Levi Stein and Shtern, 2005; Levi-Brazilai, 2005; Urieli *et al.*, 2007).

The Contact Hypothesis

The contact hypothesis, presented by Allport (1954), can be applied in a tourism context. Although this application has been criticized (Turner and Ash, 1975), the theory is popular, as it demonstrates tourism's potential for facilitating understanding and peace between nations (Bleasdale and Tapsell, 1999).

According to the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969), intergroup contact can be effective in reducing negative stereotypes and prejudices, provided certain conditions are met. First, the two groups should be of equal status in the contact situation. Contact involving unequal status may result in strengthening existing negative stereotypes. Second, the contact should involve personal and sustained interactions between individuals from the two groups. Third, effective contact requires cooperative activities to achieve mutual goals (Sherif, 1966). Fourth, there should be consensus among the relevant authorities on social norms favouring equality (Amir, 1969, 1976). In a recent reformulation of the contact theory, Pettigrew (1998) added a fifth condition stating that the contact should have the potential for the formation of friendship with members of the other group.

A large body of research on intergroup encounters has attempted to assess empirically the results or effects of planned intergroup contacts or encounters, and to define the conditions in which an encounter is effective in reducing hostility (Amir, 1976; Horenczyk and Bekerman, 1997; Maoz, 2000a, b). Several works of research and reviews of research present broad empirical support for the contact hypothesis (Amir, 1969; Wood and Soleitner, 1996), provided contact takes place within those conditions prescribed by the theory as conducive to positive outcome.

Jewish–Arab Encounters in Sinai

Although extensive research has been carried out on the effects of contacts or encounters, notably few attempts had been made to examine contact between individuals from two different and rival nations. Contact between Israelis and Egyptians differs from other situations described in the literature on contact theory for four major reasons:

- 1.** The two nations differ greatly in their culture, history, religion and political background;
- 2.** Prior to the treaty a state of war had existed for about 30 years;
- 3.** The peace between the two countries remained rather ‘cold’ and the relations distant; and
- 4.** Terrorist attacks aimed at Israelis visiting Egypt enhanced mutual suspicion, mistrust and hostility.

It is, therefore, doubtful that mere contact between individuals from the two nations can improve their attitudes towards each other (Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985, pp. 105–106). Nonetheless, if we expect tourism to be a force for peace, conflict needs to be included in the debate (Askjellerud, 2003).

This study focuses on encounters between Jewish-Israeli tourists and Arab-Egyptian hosts and examines whether they helped reduce negative attitudes, images and stereotypes. It is recognized that the encounters involved asymmetrical power relations and unequal status, with hardly any previous interpersonal relations and with no institutional support (Allport, 1954; Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985, p. 107). In the context of this reality of conflict and asymmetry, and in the light of years of mutual hostility and mistrust, it is intriguing to find out whether the encounter succeeded in reducing mutual negative attitudes.

Method

In line with the grounded theory tradition (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), we used an inductive approach involving qualitative methods and ethnographic research in attempting to determine how various participants in the encounters constructed their perceptions of each other. The data presented here are based

on fieldwork conducted from mid-2004 until 2006 by the first author in popular resorts along the beach stretching from Taba (on the border with Eilat, Israel) to Nueiba (a big city in Sinai, 65.2 km from the border). This includes numerous small stretches of beach, each slightly different from the other, with mid-range to high-class hotels alongside *hushot* camps, comprising 10–20 huts, made of bamboo and tree branches and costing \$2–8 per person per night.

To assess the changes in attitudes and perceptions of Egyptians by the Israelis and Israelis by the Egyptians, 62 in-depth interviews and informal conversations were conducted – 33 with Israelis and 29 with Egyptians. In addition, a questionnaire, including 72 questions, was completed by 489 Jewish-Israeli tourists on the border of Taba, during Passover, 2005. The Israelis were all tourists of different ages (mainly in their 20s to early 30s) and the Egyptians included waiters, managers, officers, drivers and other employees in the tourism industry. All the Egyptian interviewees were men, as Egyptian women are missing from the tourism industry. The Egyptians did not fill in a questionnaire, and most of the interviews with them were informal, as the author did not want to reveal her identity as an Israeli researcher. The atmosphere, especially after the terror attacks, was tense and characterized by suspicion and mistrust (Uriely *et al.*, 2007). This, no doubt, affected the credibility of the study, but it could not have been done differently. All the interviews lasted a minimum of 40 min, and covered topics related to perceptions of symmetry between the groups; mutual attitudes, perceptions, images and stereotypes; goals and motivations and relations between the two national groups in the encounter.

The interviewees were asked to describe their attitudes, opinions and images of the other party and to define the other's characteristics and traits. In particular, the participants were asked (in the interviews as well as in the questionnaires) to determine whether they think their attitudes and images towards the other were changed after the encounters and to estimate the direction of the change (positive or negative). The answers were, of course, subjective, and reflected the way in which the interviewees constructed identity, not only of themselves (Desforges, 2000; Elsrud, 2001), but also of the other. These constructions may not indicate the 'accurate' and 'precise' attitudes of the hosts and tourists (Dann, 1981, pp. 209–210), but it is claimed that reality is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Hence, the participants were regarded as people who actively interpret and construct reality and in particular their mutual perception of each other.

The questionnaire responses were examined and a value allocated to each answer. The written data were analysed to identify recurrent themes and patterns related to mutual attitudes. In keeping with the approach recommended by qualitative researchers (Glaser, 1978), the researcher returned to collect additional data from the field after the initial analysis and formulation of categories and explanations. The additional data were collected by means of more interviews and follow-up conversations with various individuals. The initial categories and explanations were checked against the additional data in order to test their validity further. The study also relied on participant observation as a tool to stress the cultural context of touristic experience and to analyse

better the encounter. The first author was a participant-as-observer, gaining an insider's perspective on the phenomenon. This proved to be a great advantage, as it served to break the ice with fellow Israeli tourists (Spreitzhofer, 1998, p. 981) and especially with the local Egyptians. It should be noted that the authors are Jewish Israelis, and therefore may be influenced in their research and writing by their personal and national identity.

Results and Discussion

The Israeli–Egyptian encounter

The encounter between Jews and Arabs takes place in an isolated environment of relative symmetry and friendliness, necessary for fostering rapprochement and cooperation. However, the deep-seated tension between the peoples and a degree of suspicion and mistrust are still apparent in the encounter, and the underlying uneasiness is not removed (Cohen, 1971, p. 218; Maoz, 2000a). Given this in-built tension, it is crucial to examine the attitudes that exist within the groups. Studying the change in attitudes as a result of the encounter could contribute significantly to our understanding regarding the evolution of intergroup contact in general and in tourism specifically.

One of the conditions posited by the contact hypothesis is the equal status of the two sides. Only under conditions of symmetry is the encounter assumed to induce a positive change in attitude and weakening of stereotypes (Patchen, 1995). In most encounters examined there were usually a few dozen Israelis and very few Egyptians, sometimes only one person. One would expect an Israeli hegemony to be reflected in the outcome of the encounter.

There is no consensus among the relevant authorities on social norms favouring equality (Amir, 1969, 1976). Former studies have shown that Israelis tend to believe they are intellectually superior to Arabs (Bizman and Amir, 1982; Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985). On the other hand, some Israelis believe the Arabs are superior to them in the social domain and that they are warmer and friendlier (Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985). Israelis who participated in the investigated encounters were tourists, and most of the Egyptians were 'professional hosts' – waitresses, clerks, hotels and camps' owners and their employees – as well as officers and police officers, usually stationed at the border. Most of the Israeli tourists were from middle to upper class and of Ashkenazi origin (92.2%); 77.5% of those who completed the questionnaire declared an average or higher salary; 41.7% had a bachelor's degree and 12.5% a master's, while only a few of the Egyptian hosts declared an academic education (but could not find an alternative job in Egypt because of very high unemployment there).

Israelis in Sinai do not meet farmers and village people, only a specific group of service providers. Nor do they meet intellectual Egyptians. Egyptian tourists usually travel in the heartland or to the fancy Sharem A-Sheque beach resort, where Israelis rarely go. Most of the Egyptians in northern Sinai are from lower and middle classes. Israeli tourists in Sinai do not see modern Egypt

(Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985, p. 107; Uriely *et al.*, 2009) – the advanced industry, new Cairo suburbs, shopping malls, new cars, etc. Their encounter with Egyptians takes place in beach resorts that combine high-class hotels with very basic huts, sea and sand. Bedouins meet Israelis usually in the Huts areas, while other Egyptians usually meet them in hotels and relatively high-class restaurant areas.

Effective contact requires cooperative activities to achieve mutual goals and dependence on one another's efforts (Sherif, 1966). Most of the encounters investigated were based on a mutual economic goal, but not a political one. The Egyptians serve as hosts and their goal is to attract as many Israeli tourists as they can, who demand cheap but good-quality services and goods. Most meetings take place in a relaxed atmosphere on the beach, but those which take place at the border are usually tense. In most encounters, the participants mainly discuss topics related to the vacation – the beaches, the facilities, the food. Small talk is very apparent. Discussion of the external political conflict is mostly excluded from the conversation, especially by the Israelis who do not wish to discuss such issues (Maoz, 2000b; Uriely *et al.*, 2009). Ignoring discussions on politics and the fact Sinai is loaded with Israeli food and culture makes the peninsula seem like a detached environmental bubble, shut off from outside disturbances. Gali, 30, an Israeli tourist (all names are fabricated), described Sinai as an 'ex-territory ... it is a bubble ... a place which does not belong really to anyone ... no-man's land ...'. Most conversations between the parties are in English and in Hebrew. Arabic is hardly spoken between Israelis and Egyptians, but a few Arabic words are interwoven in their conversations.

This pattern of Jewish dominance appears primarily when individuals deal with neutral subjects or carry out joint tourist activity (Maoz, 2000b). Israelis, as guests, expect to be served and indulged by the Egyptians, while the Egyptians usually show a great desire to please them. However, a second and perhaps more interesting pattern of Arab power emerge in encounters between Israeli tourists and Egyptians who own or run a hotel. These interactions serve as a source of empowerment for Arab men and offer them an opportunity actively to express their masculine identity and their advantages over the tourists. Many hotel owners and managers are highly admired by Israeli tourists, who try to befriend them.

A very important condition in the contact hypothesis is that the contact should involve personal and sustained interactions between individuals from the two groups. These interactions, according to Pettigrew (1998) should incorporate the potential for the formation of friendship with members of the other group. To what extent are friendships created between Israelis and Egyptians in Sinai? How frequent are personal interactions there? What exactly does the term 'friendship' mean to them? These questions were directed towards both Israelis and Egyptians, and the answers were not identical.

There are two kinds of Egyptians according to Israelis' perception – the soldiers, officers and clerks at the border, whom they always meet, but for a brief time, and the managers and employees on the beaches. The encounter with Egyptians in official roles takes place in a stressed, formal and negative atmosphere where Egyptians serve as official representatives of the Egyptian

government. No personal connection is created. However, close relationships may occur if the Israelis choose to live in hotels or eat in high-class restaurants, usually owned by Egyptians, or in hut camps of which most are owned by Bedouins. Formal, distant and cold relations with the Egyptian officials are replaced by informal, friendly, often warm relations with Egyptians working in the tourism industry. The encounter with the latter usually takes place in a relaxed and positive atmosphere – on the beach or in a restaurant, where the Egyptians function as service providers.

Many Israeli tourists come to Sinai on a regular basis – 25.5% a few times a year, 27.6% once a year and 21.3% every couple of years, usually for 3–5 days; 54.8% of them stay in a *Husha* (a local bamboo hut), 11.9% in a bungalow and only 27.6% in a hotel (the rest on the beach or in other places). Thus, they have the opportunity to form close friendships with the locals. Nevertheless, only 11.6% of the Israelis who filled out the questionnaires claimed to have an Egyptian friend: 5.4% have only one friend, and the rest – 6.2% – two friends and more (almost 1% claim they have more than 10 friends!). Indeed, most of the interviewees did not term the relations they have with the Egyptians as ‘friendships’. A few made a point of stressing that the relationships formed there are not ‘regular friendships’. David, 52, who has visited Sinai on a regular basis, twice a year for the last 14 years, said, ‘There is of course a difference between friendships formed here and the ones I have in Israel ... here they are not really friendships ...’. Shlomo, 47, has visited Sinai 20–30 times already and says ‘Certain friendships are formed ... if I am asking for special things he [the Egyptian] will do them for me like moving to another bungalow, eating something special, ordering me a cab ... my daughter had real friendship with his daughter, kissing and hugging ... but friendships here are not like the ones in Israel, mainly nice, light conversations ...’.

Most Israelis do not befriend the local Egyptians, and some express a degree of resentment. According to the questionnaire’s results, 88.4% of the Israelis have no Egyptian friends at all. Yasmin, 32, who has been visiting Sinai on a regular basis since 1993, says about the Egyptians she meets there, ‘I never make any contact with them. I don’t like being around them, they do not induce a good atmosphere. I don’t know what they think about us. I don’t think they like us.’ Noa, 30, her second time in Sinai, says, ‘I don’t have relations with the locals here. I do not make any effort to get to know them, I don’t do anything to make it happen.’ But she adds that: ‘if the initiation would come from the other side I may cooperate.’ Daniel, 26, who has visited about 20 times, talks about the language barrier, but adds that ‘Even if there was a translator I would not be interested in getting to know Egyptians. Bedouins – yes.’ And Moran, 22, says, ‘The locals are naggers, always coming, sitting beside me and harassing ... I am not interested in befriending them, this is not the purpose of my visit’. Almost all the Israelis investigated expressed resentment towards the clerks, police officers and soldiers they meet at the border and at other official encounters. Eyal, 35, says, ‘I don’t like the Egyptians at all ... I usually meet the officers and policemen ... they harass us, they are harassers, harass in checking for weapons and drugs, making trouble for Israelis and for Bedouins.’

Egyptians, on the other hand, tend to brag about their close relations with Israelis and tight friendships. About 70% of the interviewees claim to have created close friendships with Israeli tourists and it was not uncommon for them to show the first author photos, business cards and letters that 'proved' their claims. Hassan, a man in his 30s, who owns a tourist shop in Tarabin Bazar, said, 'I have many friends from Israel. During my birthday the telephone does not stop ringing.' Hassan told about his former Israeli girlfriend and declared he wants to marry an Israeli woman. Said, a hotel manager in his 40s, says he has '... many relations, a few good friends. They call, send mail'. Ahmad, 24, a waiter says: 'I have 20 Israeli friends, maybe more, people I correspond with by e-mail. I opened three e-mail accounts for that purpose, because there is not enough place in one. I have some very good Israeli friends, they are closer than brothers, real friends'. It is also not uncommon for Egyptians to adopt Hebrew or western names and to pretend to be oriental Jews (Cohen, 1971, p. 223) or just Israel-lovers.

Many Egyptian interviewees made a clear distinction too between different kinds of Israelis – Israeli soldiers, official clerks and politicians, whom they perceive in a negative way, and Israeli tourists visiting Sinai, described in a more positive way (Urieli *et al.*, 2009). A clear distinction was drawn between: 'The soldiers and the rest of the Israelis ... they are different. Soldiers do not have feelings' (Muhamad, a waiter). The interviewees rarely saw the contradiction in their perception – the fact that most Israeli tourists serve or have served in the Israeli army at one point in their lives. Muhamad was asked how he refers to Israelis who are both tourists and soldiers, and answered (after reflecting on the question): 'Those who serve in the army are just following their orders'.

Both sides declare that Sinai is their first and only opportunity to meet the other. Ilan, 27, an Israeli tourist said, 'I am lucky to have the opportunity to meet Egyptians face-to-face ... this time I even met Egyptian tourists for the first time ... and the meeting made me think how much it will be theoretically great to meet such people, and that communication is very important.' Mussa, a waiter in his 20s said, 'The first time I met Israelis was in Sinai. I realized then that they are human beings, that you could talk to them.' The encounter, many say, has contributed to a change in their former stereotypes, attitudes and images of the other side. How does the encounter change former mutual attitudes? In what direction do they change? These questions will be discussed in the next section.

Change in attitudes

Previous research suggests that initial attitudes may influence both the amount and the direction of attitude change in interethnic contact (Amir, 1969). In a former research project, it was found that Israelis' perceptions of Egyptians changed after encounters with them in a negative direction in the intellectual dimension along with positive change in the social dimension, and that the change was related to the direction of the original attitude. Initial positive beliefs

about Arabs' social skills and negative beliefs about their intellectual abilities tended to gather strength after a visit to Egypt (Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985). In the current research a dual process was found – a positive change of old negative beliefs, based on stereotypes and on the media, along with a smaller number of cases of strengthening of initial negative beliefs.

We will divide this section into two sub-sections. The first will discuss the change in images and attitudes of the Israeli tourists towards their hosts and the second will concentrate on the change in attitudes of the Egyptians towards their guests.

The Israeli change of attitudes

Over two-thirds (69.3%) of the Israelis who answered the questionnaires said the encounter with the Egyptians did not change their attitude towards them. Some of the interviewees expressed indifference towards the Egyptians. Those were usually the ones who were not interested in forming any kind of contact with the locals. They declared they had no interest in the Egyptians, their personality or character and had no wish to get to know them. Some did not care if their hosts were Bedouins or Egyptians and could not tell the difference. Many of them preferred to disregard political issues while in Sinai (Maoz, 2000b). Gali, 30, said: 'I don't think about politics. I don't know whether the owner of this place is Egyptian or Bedouin and I don't care ... I have no opinion about the Egyptians, I know nothing about the Arab world.' It is interesting to note that Gali regarded herself as 'extremely left wing' in her political views, but claimed she would rather leave her political views behind while in Sinai.

Nevertheless, in most cases Israelis did have opinions about their hosts, which were frequently negative: 28.3% of the ones who filled the questionnaire did not agree with the statement 'In my opinion, the Egyptians can be trusted'; 56.3% did not agree with the statement 'I feel understanding towards the Egyptians'; 33.7% did agree with the statement 'In my opinion, most of the Egyptians hate Israelis'; 13.8% admitted to feeling angry towards the Egyptians; while 9.3% declared feeling hatred towards the Egyptians.

Israelis carry bad memories from several wars with Egypt and from more recent dramatic and fatal events. The Israeli participants tended to mention those events frequently. The older Israelis talked more about the wars while the young ones tended to mention occasionally the first terror attack, in which 13 Israelis were killed. Many saw the Egyptians as violent, aggressive and repressive prior to the encounter. Some of these images were intensified after the encounter with them. At the same time, a different process occurred more frequently: many Israelis developed more positive attitudes towards the Egyptians due to the contact. Initial positive beliefs about Arabs' social abilities tended to gather strength after the visit to Sinai while negative beliefs about their violence and rudeness intensified too. The Egyptians' intellectual abilities were viewed in a more positive manner, unlike former findings (Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985).

A negative attitude change

Initial negative beliefs about the Egyptians' violence, aggressiveness and rudeness were reported as intensified by only 3.9% of the tourists who filled out the questionnaires. In most cases, encounters with the Egyptian soldiers, police officers and official clerks were the ones that intensified those negative images. Often these are the only Egyptians an average Israeli tourist will meet, as many Israeli tourists, mainly young ones, choose low-class hut camps owned by Bedouins and Sudanese. Egyptians in official roles are perceived as annoying, obnoxious, violent and harassers. They are seen as people who intentionally work slowly with the purpose of testing the Israeli tourists' patience. 'I don't know the Egyptians', says Yasmin, 45, who has been living in a Sudanese camp in Sinai for the last 4 years, 'I only know the policemen and clerks. They are very slow in everything and I don't like them. They are exactly as I thought they would be.' Uri, 33, feels 'tension in the air, anger, in spite of the peace' whenever he meets Egyptians at the border. 'They represent the establishment, you meet them at the border in the role of banker, policeman, customs-officers, the bureaucracy. I thought they were obnoxious and I was proved right.'

Ilana, 30, has 'very few interactions with them, mainly at the border. There I experience them as violent, arrogant, rude, chauvinist and intrusive ... they are very unpleasant, not smiling, very impolite, almost Nazis, talking Arabic, wearing uniform and carrying rifles like a Nazi. There is something in their power position that makes them like that.' Many Israelis mention bad experiences they had at the Egyptian border. Daniel, 26 says, 'They are greedy, violent, express aggressiveness. I had a fight with a policeman, he wanted my passport and I wouldn't give it in his hand ... it made me realize they are as aggressive as some say.' Some, like Daniel, have met Egyptian officers and police officers who demanded extra money in return for small favours – *Bakshish* in Arabic. Most of the Israeli interviewees, although using this habit for their own benefit (like skipping the line) expressed deep resentment towards this phenomenon.

Many Israelis perceive Egyptians as very slow and apathetic, inefficient and lazy, a belief which stems from watching them at the border. Tali, 57, is sure that their slowness represents their will 'to repay us for what we did to them in the wars'. She was sure prior to visiting Sinai that 'they hate us ... it penetrated my head in '56 when my father fought in brigade number 7 ...'. She tries to be objective, but can't forget 'my friends who were killed in Egypt in the '73 war.' Her daughter – Moran, 22 – does not mention the past wars between the countries, but still thinks 'the Egyptians are rude and apathetic ... five clerks at one table standing around one clerk who writes ... it strengthens all the stigmas about them'.

Moran, like other women, talk about the locals' gaze – a term less known to tourism scholars (Urry, 1990; Maoz, 2006), which was frequently used by the Israelis interviewed. Ilana, 30, talks about 'the way they look at me, the duration of time, staring. In Israel it is not acceptable. They gaze at you, penetrate your body'. The gazing Egyptians can be those on the border, but

not necessarily. 'I felt them staring at me on the poolside', tells Ira, 31, 'I was uneasy, though somewhat flattered'. Yasmin, 32, mentions the gaze too as intensifying previous negative images; 'I don't like the Egyptians, how they look at you, give you a feeling they hate you ... I hate the way they stare at me. It is a reminder for me that I don't like them'.

A positive attitude change

Over a quarter (26.8%) of the Israelis who answered the questionnaires and about one quarter of the Israeli interviewees said the encounter with the Egyptians has changed their attitude towards them in a positive direction. Yoav, 35, second time in Sinai, said in his interview, 'I did not know Egyptians until now and I adopted all the stigmas and stereotypes from the media, like they did ... Here I have the first opportunity to meet them as human beings and to talk to them. I found out many things about them'. Most Israelis did not meet Egyptians prior to visiting Sinai and their attitudes towards them stemmed primarily from the media. These attitudes, as Galia, 37, diagnosed them, were rational, while the encounter induced emotions. 'There is a great difference between hearing about the Egyptians and actually meeting them', she says. 'When I read about them in the paper it is mainly rational ... [but] the personal encounter with an actual face, a person, arouses me emotionally ...'.

Most of the positive change of attitudes was reported by people who declared they had formed relations with the Egyptians, and not by those who only met them at the border. The encounters the Israelis have with Egyptians do initiate change towards more positive attitudes, but the change is usually limited to two domains. The Egyptians are considered friendlier and warmer than before the encounter and in some cases more modern and intelligent, especially when the encounters were with Egyptian tourists or hotel owners. Asaf, 32, thought 'the Egyptians are less modern and intelligent than us', but found out that 'they are an educated nation, professional, scholarly'. He also indicates that 'in Israel they say the peace is cold and that Egyptians don't like us, but I don't think so. I feel their warmth here ... the fact that they make an effort to protect me, and that they let me be here, makes me happy ... I find them sincere, warm and mature people.'

Ilan, 27, who made an effort to get to know the Egyptians says, 'I thought they were less modern, a Muslim country ... but they are very much like us ... there are western Egyptians here who speak English and just like us want the same western education.' Ilan met a few Egyptian tourists and 'was sure they were Israelis ... they look like us and dress like us ... and it made me think'. Many, like Ilan, saw some similarity between themselves and the Egyptians. Yoel, 51, said, 'Our mentality is Arabic too. Warmth, honour, the importance of respect and family ...' Shlomo, 47, who befriended Egyptians in Sinai says, 'They are a great nation, happy people, happy to assist ... nice, tolerant ... western and friendly ... they are very much like us mentally and spiritually ...'.

Mainly men expressed a positive change in their attitudes towards

Egyptians. Israeli tourists in Sinai meet primarily Egyptian men, as we indicated before, and many Israeli women feel uncomfortable in their presence. The contact should involve personal and sustained interactions between individuals (Amir, 1969, 1976) and to bear the potential for the formation of friendship with members of the other group (Pettigrew, 1998) in order to be effective in reducing negative attitudes. Those two conditions are rarely met in the interaction between Israeli women and Egyptian men.

The Egyptian change of attitudes

The Egyptian interviewees were more politically oriented than most of the Israelis. They expressed a greater willingness to discuss current political issues and a wider knowledge about Israel. Most regard politics as a very important element in their attitudes towards the Israelis. The Palestinian issue, the peace process in the Middle East, relations between Israel and Egypt all serve as crucial elements in their attitudes towards Israel in general and towards Israelis in particular. The past wars between the two countries bother them less than the current political situation. This is probably the reason for the difference between them and the Israeli tourists in regard to the way the contact affected them. Initially Egyptians hold far more extreme attitudes about the Israelis than those the Israelis hold of them, but the change in their attitudes towards Israelis due to the encounter is also far more apparent.

A negative attitude change

It seems as if the initial attitude was so negative that it could not get any worse. Most Egyptians are influenced by extremely negative images of Israel that the Egyptian media portray. The main image that was intensified due to the encounter is the one that sees Israelis as arrogant. About 40% of the interviewees, mainly service providers, claim that Israelis think they are superior to them and therefore demand submissive behaviour. Muhamad, a waiter in his 20s, says, 'Many of them think they are better than us, that we don't have any culture, nothing, primitive.' Before he came to Sinai he hated the Israelis, now he has some Israeli friends, but still thinks many of them are arrogant. 'Dealing with them as tourists reveals some bad, some good.' He too talks about the Israelis' gaze. 'I can see their arrogance in their look and behaviour.'

Said, a hotel manager, holds two academic degrees and still feels Israelis look down on him. 'Israelis are nice and friendly ... but they think they are intellectually superior to us.' Yusuf, an Egyptian in his 20s who works in a hotel says, 'Israelis like to humiliate, demand, rebuke ... [they are] too aggressive.' Many Egyptians claim they have to adjust themselves to the Israelis' needs in order to appease them. In this respect, the encounter does not fulfil the first rule of the contact hypothesis. The two groups are not of equal status within the contact situation (Amir, 1969, 1976). One party is inferior to the other, a fact that might be inherent in any tourism encounter. The hosts will

always be the side who has to serve and indulge the guests. This may result in strengthening existing negative stereotypes.

A positive attitude change

Egyptians use harsh words in order to describe their attitudes towards Israelis prior to the encounter. They portray Israelis as devils, demons and monsters. Mussa says, 'Before I came to Sinai I thought the Israelis were the Devil, I never met them, just read about them in the papers, saw them on TV, heard from people. All the people on the street [in Egypt] hate them.' When they enter the encounter they are very suspicious and detached, but slowly they get to know the Israelis and in many cases change their attitudes positively. About 60% of the Egyptian interviewees declared more positive thoughts about the Israelis than before the encounter. They usually perceive the Israelis as more human than before. Ahmad, 24, a waiter, hid from Israelis in the first few months he spent in Sinai because '... like other people I listened to the radio and watched TV and thought Israelis were bad people, wicked ... I also thought they are demons and aggressive ...'. After a while, he was ordered by his boss to serve the Israeli tourists and gradually he emerged from his hiding place and found out that 'they are actually very much like us because they are modern and warm.'

Egyptians, like Israelis, realized during the encounter that the two peoples are actually very much alike. The encounter diminished the perceived differences between the two groups. 'I imagined them as beasts', says Naim, a waiter. 'I was afraid to come to Sinai, Israelis are considered scary, we see them on TV with blood in their eyes ... but they seem more human here ... they are actually human beings like us. They are very much like us in their appearance, language, behaviour.' Halil, another waiter says the Israelis are 'more like us than I thought. Especially those from Arab countries ... I thought they were animals, no, beasts, but now I realize they are regular people.'

Issa, a hotel owner in his 50s, says Sinai is the proof that Israelis and Egyptians can live together. 'I didn't believe it could happen before I came here, I was very sceptical. I heard bad things about them ... but I am the proof it can happen for us.' Many Egyptians serve as ambassadors in their country for Israel and tell about their good impression of the Israelis. Mussa, who thought all Israelis were the devil before coming to Sinai returns to his hometown once a month, where he is questioned about the Israelis he meets. 'My friends and family never met an Israeli', he says, 'and they are very curious. I tell them that not all of them are the same, that there are some nice people too ... not very different from us ...'.

Summary and Conclusions

This study is an attempt to conceptualize and describe phenomena related to relations between hosts and guests in the context of a touristic encounter

between rival groups with a long history of conflict. The project was subject to the limitations of research and observation by an Israeli researcher, who could not ask direct questions and could not deliver questionnaires to the Egyptians surveyed, a fact that probably caused some deviation in the results. Hence there is a need for additional, more objective investigation of the patterns described here. Tourist–host contacts described here resulted in some positive attitude change in the way in which tourists and hosts view one another (Taft, 1979; Pearce, 1982), and gave them opportunities to learn about each other, foster social interaction (Bochner, 1982) and develop friendships (Pearce, 1988), but there was also negative change of attitudes (Brewer, 1984; Anastasopoulos, 1992), especially among some of the Israelis investigated.

This chapter examined whether under the conditions of the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969), an intergroup contact could be effective in reducing negative stereotypes and prejudices. An attempt was made to contribute to the contact hypothesis by discussing its conditions. Close relations, friendships or even mere encounters were found to be the most crucial condition for changing initial negative attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998). Social contact was indeed positively related to the desire to interact with people of the other community (Cohen, 1971). ‘Sustained interactions’ and ‘friendship’ were found to be far from objective and absolute. Studying both parties in the encounter proved to be very important. Studying only one party, as was done in some previous studies (Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985) may result in hearing only one groups’ subjective perception of the term ‘friendship’ and its own beliefs about whether friendships have indeed been formed.

Only 11.6% of the Israelis claim to have formed ‘relations’ with the Egyptians, while about 70% of the Egyptians claimed to have created friendships with Israeli tourists, suggesting that ‘friendship’ was seen differently. While many Egyptians claimed to have close and brotherly relations with Israelis, most of the Israelis who claimed to have created friendships with Egyptians saw them as limited and less close and warm. It is possible that Egyptians, who hold a lower status in the interaction, see relations with Israelis as enhancing cultural status, while Israelis do not like to brag about them. It is also possible that the fact that the researcher was an Israeli influenced their answers.

As we then saw, Israelis who did not form any relations with the Egyptians tended to keep their old negative attitudes towards them and even intensify them, while those who interacted with Egyptians tended to change them for the better. Egyptians, who claimed to have formed close friendships with Israelis, have declared a much deeper change in their former attitudes. About 60% of them said they have changed their initial negative attitudes in a positive direction in comparison to only 25% of the Israelis.

Another important finding was negative attitude change. About 40% of the Egyptian and 30.7% of the Israelis investigated felt their initial negative attitudes intensified. The place of the encounter and the identity of the people involved in it were found to relate to this finding. Egyptians distinguish between Israeli soldiers and Israeli tourists, while Israelis hold negative attitudes towards the Egyptian soldiers, police officers and clerks whom they meet at the border, and more positive attitudes towards the Egyptian employees and tourists.

Encounters that took place at the relaxed atmosphere of the beach tended to result in better mutual perceptions than those which took place in the tense and formal atmosphere at the border.

In order to encourage positive encounters and friendships a few suggestions will be offered here:

- 1.** More meetings between Egyptians and Israelis are needed. There should be places in which, for example, Israeli tourists could meet Egyptian tourists and not merely 'professional hosts'.
- 2.** The encounter at the border, which has a negative influence on Israeli groups should be softened, and maybe supervised.
- 3.** Joint activities in which both parts have equal status are recommended, with a softer distinction between hosts and guests.
- 4.** Consensus among the Egyptian and Israeli authorities on social norms favouring equality (Amir, 1969, 1976) is needed for these measures to function effectively.

Tourist–host contact is considered brief, temporary, superficial, asymmetric and commercial, but it can still result in a positive attitude change in the way in which tourists and hosts view one another. However, it is not obvious that a positive change will occur. The contact hypothesis conditions must first be fulfilled. This chapter confirms the theory but adds to it. True, the contact should involve personal and sustained interactions between individuals from the two groups and bear the potential for the formation of friendship with members of the other group (Pettigrew, 1998), but 'friendship' needs to be more clearly defined in view of the fact that the term is relative and subjective.

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6

Border Tourism Attractions as a Space for Presenting and Symbolizing Peace

A. GELBMAN

Department of Tourism and Hospitality Studies, Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel

In his creation 'Homeland', artist Amos Plaut designed each of the states of the world in clay, casting according to the shape of its geopolitical border, but unlike regular maps and political atlases that provide the relative size of a country's area by means of a key, each country in his creation is of equal size. Thus each one constitutes a space unto itself – like an island in the middle of the ocean (Fig. 6.1). The parts do not connect to one another, i.e. they do not border on one another, and they can be placed in different shapes by hanging



Fig. 6.1. 'Homeland', a creation by the artist Amos Plaut.

them on a wall or laying them flat on a surface (www.amosplaut.com). Observing this display may arouse thoughts about the meaning of international boundaries around the world throughout history, and even today. Thus, for example, it is possible to think, hypothetically, about the many conflicts and wars that have broken out over territories and the location of the borders separating neighbouring countries. Perhaps part of these conflicts could have been prevented if countries did not border on one another physically. Another hypothetical point that could be raised is the thought of a world with fewer borders and physical barriers that strives to achieve and actually maintains genuine and lasting peace relations among all nations in the present age of globalization, where a large percentage of the residents of the world are tourists who can travel and visit any of the other countries freely.

Introduction: Political Boundaries and Tourism

Political border lines divide the terrestrial areas of the Earth into more than 190 sovereign countries. Some of these countries also rule additional territories, which do not constitute a contiguous part of their area. Some countries are island states, with no terrestrial borders (such as Australia, Japan and countries in the Caribbean Sea and Pacific Ocean), but more than 300 terrestrial border lines separate land-bound countries. These border lines, which were created throughout history as a result of political, military and administrative steps, were intended to mark the sovereign territorial boundary of the various states and as such they appear on maps that reflect international agreements. In most cases, these borders are also marked in the field by means of fences, gates, barriers and signs. It is the obligation and right of each state to protect its territory and to this end, it must prevent unauthorized passage from and to its territory. This end is attained by means of international agreements between the sides controlling either side of a border. At times – for a lack of desire or ability to prevent it – there is an illegal flow of people, goods and/or drugs from one side of the border to the other, including materials intended to harm the population or regime on the other side. In the past, border lines were determined by natural barriers (rivers, mountain ridges, deserts and swamps). However, with the establishment of border lines in places that lack natural barriers, and as individuals and groups have become more mobile, many countries have set up border barriers such as man-made fences and gates for the express purpose of preventing illegal passage (Biger, 2004).

Political boundaries function as both physical and psychological barriers in interactions between neighbouring countries. As noted, a government's purposes in marking the limits of national territory are to control the movement of people, goods and services between countries. Borders also have a dynamic influence on tourism: they can serve as barriers to tourism, as tourism attractions and as modifiers of the tourism landscape. Tourism is influenced by political boundaries as well as by governmental policy on the border, administrative management on both sides of the border and the physical barriers that borders

create. Borders can have an impact on many aspects of tourism such as travel motivation and decision making, infrastructure development, marketing and promotion, and place image. Many people, especially tourists, have a fascination with borders and many of the world's most popular tourist attractions are located near borders (Timothy, 2001).

The process of globalization has engendered significance changes in governmental policies towards borders, which have become much more open to traffic (e.g. the fall of the Berlin Wall, opening of the border between Greek and Turkish Cyprus, or between Israel and Jordan). This policy can be seen in liberalized trade agreements and economic cooperation that lead to border crossing agreements and the development of international tourism. Features of the border landscape, such as highway welcome signs, flags and customs buildings, also draw tourist attention in some cases. These icons become attractions because they mark the interface of different languages and cultures, social and economic systems, and political realms (Timothy, 1995, 1998).

International geopolitical boundaries reflect historical moments in the life of a state, where limits are determined by its strengths and abilities at that time. Current boundaries are the result of the past and a basis for possible change in the future. Boundaries are acquired in a variety of ways: through a country's territorial and political limits of expansion and occupation, or by being imposed by external powers through acts of conquest or negotiation. Borderlines function as barriers to social and economic processes that would otherwise cross the lines without interference. Thus, they also control economic development through taxes and limitations on the transfer of goods and people, including tourists (Biger, 1995). When lines are marked on the ground by tangible objects, they have the potential to attract tourists and shape socio-economic trends and patterns (Timothy, 2001).

The ties between border areas and peace, and their potential for drawing visitors and serving as tourist attractions, can be nurtured by diverse factors, such as the central role of specific border areas in international relations with neighbouring countries, the central place in history that a border area played in defining a nation's sovereignty and as a monument to past battles for independence. Alternatively, a border area may be part of a natural biosphere shared by adjacent countries, which now serves as a border-crossing space that strengthens peace and cooperative ties between neighbouring countries. These countries may have been at odds or in conflict at some time in the past but today they maintain good peaceful ties. These are factors around which attractions of an historical, national, natural and ecological nature can develop. To this mix, we must add tourist planning and development that can help to maximize existing tourist potential. This occurs when tourist development and the peace component play a central role in the story of a place and its tourist attractions. Moreover, in many cases, these feelings and messages connect to lessons of the past and hopes for the future that can be seen in the cultural heritage evolving in the border area (Gelbman, 2008).

Symbolic Cultural Landscape in Border Tourism Attractions

Landscape interpretation as a research method in cultural geography has developed and been refined over the years (Barnes and Duncan, 1992; Duncan and Ley, 1993). The study of cultural landscape concentrates on three elements: culture, society and built landscape/space. Relph (1976) examined the relationships between space and place in order to demonstrate the range of place experience and concept. A preserved culturally built space is a consumption product; the building and the culture it represents are resources that satisfy spiritual and other needs (Urry, 1995). The consumption of a symbolic interpretation is similar to that of other products or services. The collective memory of a society, the built landscape and their relation to the cultural landscape are of significance when studying the symbolic elements in border tourism sites.

A distinction must be made between history and memory. History is the intellectual aspect of the past while memory is the emotional and spiritual side (Nora, 1989). Collective memory is an interdisciplinary research subject that has developed recently and emphasizes the unique identity of each group in comparison to other groups of people. Collective memory is different from autobiographical or historical memory, which are academic and scientific products disconnected from social and political reality (Halbwachs, 1992). Coser (1992) defines collective memory as rebuilding the past according to the present. It is a collective memory but those who remember are many individuals who are redefined by their very membership in that society, and who sometimes even reinvent it.

'Borders of the mind' – the psychological influence of borders – has been developing of late and it is now recognized that border regions and boundary lands have depth, or spheres of influence, and that they have different meanings for different groups of people (Timothy, 2001, p. 3). This discipline seeks the deeper underlying meaning that people and governments assign to them (Herzog, 1990; Rumley and Minghi, 1991; Minghi, 1994). Knight (1982, p. 517) wrote about 'human beliefs and actions that give territory meaning'.

Several assumptions for landscape reading have been set down by Lewis (1979): cultural landscape develops cultural understandings; etched landscape detail is important as a key for cultural understandings; it is difficult to study existing landscape by conventional academic methods; the meaning of existing landscape depends on a familiarity with its history; different elements in the cultural landscape are more understandable in their geographical context; most cultural landscapes are connected with physical landscapes, therefore reading a cultural landscape must assume familiarity with the physical landscape; and the terminology of a landscape is mostly hidden from those who are trying to read it. Placing a border into a museum space turns it into an area of memory, making it like an object for which history has stopped. It becomes a product to be exhibited, catalogued and commemorated (Nora, 1989).

Presenting and Symbolizing Peace at Border Tourism Attractions

Timothy (2001) described a model with different degrees of international border permeability, ranging from open crossings with no checkpoints to borders that are completely closed and no one is permitted to cross them. Martinez (1994) categorized cross-border movement and borderland interactions. There are alienated borderlands where the border is functionally closed with almost no cross-border interaction; coexistent borderlands where the border remains slightly open allowing for the development of limited bi-national interaction; inter-dependent borderlands where economic and social activities promote increased cross-border interaction; and integrated borderlands where stability is strong and permanent and the movement of people and goods is unrestricted. Each model illustrates a different degree of cross-border interaction and prevailing tendencies in a borderland. A typology described by Matznetter (1979, p. 67) categorized the connections between borders and tourism and enunciated a threefold typology of spatial relationships between them: the boundary line is distant from the tourist area, the tourist zone is adjacent to the boundary on only one side, and finally the tourist zones extend across, or meet at the borders.

The main aim of this chapter is to describe and analyse cultural elements of border tourism attractions that express a symbolism of peace and cooperation among neighbouring countries. The methodology selected is based on the naturalistic–qualitative approach of landscape interpretation, by the discretionary analysis of three types of border tourism attractions around the world that symbolize peace. The three selected types of border tourism attractions symbolizing peace are: one-sided border tourism attractions, formerly closed and fortified borders, and trans-border peace parks. Each of the three types of border tourist attractions selected represents a different type of trans-border passage model in terms of level of border crossing permeability, and ties between the two sides of the border as described in the models of Martinez (1994), Matznetter (1989) and Timothy (2001). One-sided tourism sites correspond to a situation in which the border is a barrier that cannot be crossed; formerly closed and fortified border tourist sites that have been opened reflect a process of passage from the closed border to the open border model and cooperative action between neighbouring countries.

Symbolizing Peace at One-sided Border Tourism Attractions

One-sided border tourism sites develop adjacent to borders that are still closed and fortified and are yet to be opened to passage. These sites usually constitute an attraction for observation and for becoming acquainted with the physical space of the border areas under contention (Fig. 6.2). Tourism attractions of this type have developed in a number of places in the world, such as the borders between North and South Korea, the former Soviet Union and Finland during the cold war, and Israel and its borders with Syria and with Lebanon. In

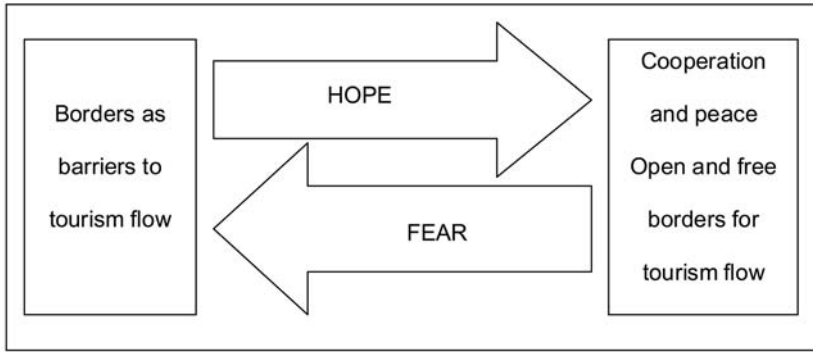


Fig. 6.2. The duality of the symbolic landscape at border tourism attractions (after Gelbman, 2008).

a case study of the symbolism evoked in visitors by one-sided border tourism sites in Israel, Gelbman (2008) found that the most prominent characteristic is the duality in interpreting the landscape. This is reflected in suspicions and fears originating from residues of the past, and hopes for peace and the removal of boundaries in the future. The duality model at border tourism attractions (Fig. 6.3) reflects the diametrically opposed reactions of visitors to the existing geopolitical situation, resulting from past memories. The model describes a situation in which observing a closed and fortified border arouses thoughts and hopes for a new and different reality, one of peace and cooperation. In contrast, when observing a border of peace, visitors may be



Fig. 6.3. Remnants of weapons that were turned into environmental sculptures on the bunker serving as a tourist site on Mount Bental.

beset by fears and suspicions arising from memories of the past when the same border was closed and hostile.

The Bental Mountain is an example of a geopolitical site on only one side of the border close to the fence that is still not the established border between Israel and Syria but rather a ceasefire line or a *de facto* boundary. Furthermore, no mutual relations or peace treaty exists between the two neighbouring states. This case study represents a typical one-sided border tourism site in Israel because it is located adjacent to the international border with Syria as well as with Lebanon and its main attractive power to tourists is the border. There are only a few border tourism sites in Israel whose main attraction is the borderland itself, and this case study deals with one of the most prominent of them (Gelbman, 2008).

The tourist site on the summit of Mount Bental, located in the north of the Golan Heights at the foot of a volcanic mountain, offers a spectacular panoramic view of Syria, Lebanon and northeast Israel. The extensive Israel Defense Forces bunker system located there has been turned into a tourist attraction. The wars of 1967 and 1973 have made the Golan Heights a highly strategic borderline area. Between 1948 and 1967, when Syria controlled the Golan Heights, the area was used by Syria as a military stronghold. On the site are tank and weapon remains and the highest coffee shop in the country, 1165 m above sea level. Visitors to the area and those walking through the bunkers, can look out at the landscape beyond the borders with Syria and Lebanon, be impressed by the remains of the tanks and weapons, which have been recycled in part as works of art, and hear or read a history of the borders and battles in the Golan Heights (Gelbman, 2008).

Tourists are attracted to the site to relive and view testimony about the battles that were fought on the Golan Heights. The view of the borders from within the reinforced bunkers on Mount Bental, from the very places in which soldiers fought, serves to recall in strong detail the apprehensions and fears that suffused inhabitants of the area in the past. This sharp contrast with the transformation the bunker has undergone into a tourist site where children frolic in the military trenches and outposts may also generate a feeling of hope and optimism for a different future. Remnants of the abandoned tanks at the foot of the mountain serve as a reminder of the fierce tank battles that were conducted in the northern Golan, but the conversion of a tank into a historic monument beside and astride which tourists take photographs toggles the memory of things past mixed with hope that it will not recur in the future. Remains and parts of various types of weaponry dot the Mount Bental site as interesting artistic sculptures which also generate mixed feelings among visitors; the raw materials (relics of war) arouse fears of years past, but their transformation into museum exhibits also symbolizes hope for a positive change in today's world (Gelbman, 2008).

The view from Mount Bental towards the closed and fortified borders of Syria and Lebanon, with the United Nations (UN) camp situated in no man's land, transmits a message reflecting the balance of fear and hostility that prevails in the area. Looking out towards and beyond the border of the neighbouring state is a central part of the tourist experience of visiting border

sites. Tourists may experience the ambiguous feelings of fear of what was and hope for the possibility of peace treaties and the opening of borders in the future (Gelbman, 2008).

Symbolizing Peace at Former Closed Borders Transferred into Tourist Attractions

Where border regions have been closed and hostile due to geopolitical and ideological differences, the end of the crisis leads to the removal of geopolitical and physical obstacles and an opening of the borders for people to pass. Although many of the physical barriers have disappeared, the historical border continues to exist as a past holding great importance for visitors. Examples of this process can be seen in different border areas around the world, such as North and South Ireland, the Golden Triangle in South-east Asia and the former Berlin Wall in Germany, all of which underwent this transformation. The result of the change was that the borders became commemorative spaces of the historical past, teaching awareness and understanding of former disagreements, with an emphasis on the positive elements of transformation and its symbolic power for the present and future. The result of this process is attractive tourism development that can draw large numbers of tourists. Development includes concrete elements such as the unique physical landscape of the border area, and typical built landscape facilities that become quasi-monuments commemorating the heritage of the past (such as guard towers, fences, remains of walls) and relating the story of the place. The development also creates a feeling among visitors that they are following in the footsteps of important historical processes – local and global – that transpired in the not so distant past. At times, even if the physical border was a sealed barrier over many years but has opened completely, it continues to exist as a symbol of a dark heritage that should be remembered but not repeated. This is often the central message of border museums and parks, preserved built elements, observation points and explanatory materials available to visitors.

The Berlin Wall was a concrete partition that split the German capital into the communist East German sector and the capitalist-dominated West German sector. East Berlin served as the capital of East Germany, but in West Germany, West Berlin, which was merely an enclave in East Germany, ceded that honour to Bonn. Although the city was divided in 1945, the split became much more emphatic with the erection of the wall in 1961 and the deepening of Cold War and inter-bloc hostilities, which had begun after the Second World War. Political control of the city was unevenly divided between the USSR and France, Britain and the USA, with the Soviet sector constituting a much larger portion than the combined area of the other three sectors. As early as the late 1940s a serious conflict about the city erupted between the East and West blocs, leading to a blockade of Berlin. On 13 August 1961, the Soviets began to construct a fence, which later became the wall (Koenig, 1981).

The border between East and West Berlin was the only area in East

Germany that offered relatively easy passage into the West before the wall was erected. Between the conclusion of the Second World War and construction of the wall, about 2.5 million Germans moved from the East to the West. The length of the wall was more than 155 km and included many guard towers, anti-vehicle trenches, bunkers and barbed wire. For 28 years, the residents of Berlin were divided and could not pass from East to West, although some westerners were permitted to visit the East. Many tried to go westward; some succeeded while hundreds of others failed, sometimes paying with their lives. The date of the last person to be killed trying to get over the wall was 6 February 1989. In January 1989, East German leader Erich Honecker said that 'the wall will stand for fifty or even a hundred years if necessary', but less than a year later, on the night of 9 November 1989, the wall was toppled by throngs of Germans from both sides, East and West. On 3 October 1990 less than 1 year later, Germany was united.

Only a few parts of the wall remain standing as conserved commemorative monuments. Most of the wall was destroyed quickly by the masses, who hurriedly took pieces of the 'original' concrete from the wall as souvenirs. But even the remaining sections do not look today as they did during the period of the divided city. Between the sections still standing is the 1300-m long 'East Side Gallery', near the Ostbahnhof train station, in which the eastern side of the wall today is covered by graffiti, most of it on subjects of peace and the brotherhood of nations. Such a phenomenon would not have been possible under East German rule. At that time, only the western side of the wall was covered by graffiti (Kinzer, 1994; Borneman, 1998).

The process that the Berlin Wall underwent is very interesting. At a time when most cross-border travel was barred, the wall served as a magnet for Westerners wishing to observe the other side (Koenig, 1981). After the demise of the East–West divide in 1989–1990, the same wall became a unique tourist attraction symbolizing the Cold War (Light, 2000). Some remains of the wall became an exhibit at Checkpoint Charlie Museum (Fig. 6.4), the place from which visitors could observe a different 'world' during the years that the Wall stood (Wachowiak and Engels, 2006). Several other border museums have been established since 1990 along the former East Germany–West Germany frontier where guard towers, fences, walls and patrol tracks are preserved and interpreted.

Symbolizing Peace in Trans-border Peace Parks

Many border areas are adjacent to or cross through parks and nature preserves, often because they are isolated, sparsely populated areas located at the periphery of the country. In various border areas in the world, border tourism attractions develop here because of their proximity to unique natural resources as well as to one or both sides of the border line. A Transboundary Protected Area, as defined by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), is a protected area that spans the boundaries of multiple countries, and in



Fig. 6.4. Checkpoint Charlie in Berlin as a tourism attraction.

which the political borders enclosed within its area are abolished. This includes the removal of all forms of physical boundaries allowing free movement of people and animals within the area. A boundary around the area may be maintained, however, to prevent unauthorized border crossing. Such areas are also known as Peace Parks (McNeil, 1990). Peace Parks are trans-boundary protected areas that are formally dedicated to the protection and management of biological diversity, natural and associated cultural resources, and the promotion of peace and cooperation. The parks encourage regulated tourism, sustainable development and goodwill between neighbouring countries (Kliot, 2002).

A trans-boundary park is a territory encompassing parts of at least two countries and managed by a joint authority established for this purpose with no connection to political boundaries. Such parks bear various names: trans-border frontier parks, trans-boundary parks, trans-border protected areas, conservation areas or peace parks. In unique border areas of protected ecological and cultural heritage systems, national parks are established. They often become highly attractive to tourists, as can be illustrated by a few of the most outstanding of them: Waterton Glacier Park (USA–Canada), Iguazu Falls

(Argentina–Brazil) and Victoria Falls (Zambia–Zimbabwe). Such parks attract mainly local tourists, followed in quantitative terms by tourists from neighbouring countries and from countries further afield (Kliot, 2002).

Waterton–Glacier International Peace Park on the USA–Canadian border was established in 1932 by unifying areas of Lake Waterton in Alberta, Canada and Glacier National Park in Montana, USA (Timothy, 2001). This was the first park to be called a peace park and was intended to promote peace ties, symbolize existing peaceful relations between neighbouring countries and preserve natural ecosystems on both sides of the border. This early event led to the establishment of dozens of other trans-boundary parks throughout the 20th century (Timothy, 2000). Waterton–Glacier Peace Park is rich in breathtaking glaciers and different types of wildlife in danger of extinction. Tourists can visit the Canadian Rockies in adjacent nature reserves and towns such as Banff and Jasper, and the fascinating Lake Louise, which was created by ice melting in the mountains surrounding it. In Glacier National Park, tourists can hear explanations from the park rangers as they sail across the border and see where the border between the two countries lies in the water. From Waterton Park, hikers can cross over to the American side – Glacier Park – with its huge glaciers and massive cliffs of stone. Glacier Park has breathtaking virgin landscapes of a glacier valley, meadows, forests, rivers (more than 1600) and lakes (about 2000). The area is blessed with clear mountain air, some of its peaks are snow-capped even in summer, and the park is a veritable paradise for trekkers who like cliff edges and the chance to meet grizzlies up close. The park is considered among the most beautiful in North America.

When bilateral relations between two neighbouring countries are good, crossing the borders in either direction is relatively easy, allowing the communities on both sides to profit economically from income generated by tourists from the neighbouring country. This income would not have been earned without the countries' good relations and the easy border passage. Tourists can be exposed to the ecological environment more holistically, and for some of them the border crossing experience within the shared park may be a high point of the visit. Border crossings usually require formal procedures, but there are parks such as the International Peace Garden (USA–Canada) in which the border can be crossed with no delays and without the usual formal passport control. The area within the International Peace Garden (established in 1932) has a tax-free status for goods used within the park. The park is located on the border as a gateway to each of the countries, so that the two customs posts supervise only those goods that are brought into the neighbouring country when exiting the park. The entire park is devoted to the issue of peace and its meaning to the neighbouring countries, so that the 'border walk' is presented as a route that allows visitors to 'experience the feeling of peace between neighbouring countries' (Fig. 6.5). Visitors can stand with one leg in the USA and the other in Canada, an experience that evokes great excitement among visitors (Timothy, 2001).

There are also border areas adjacent to important natural sites but which were completely closed to passage because of prolonged political conflicts. Some of these areas have opened anew after cessation of conflict. Processes



Fig. 6.5. The International Peace Garden.

began to open the borders to passage and to cooperative economic, environmental and tourism ventures. Such a change leads to the possibility of and desire for cooperation in matters of nature and environment and to the development of trans-border parks. A prominent example is the 'Iron Curtain' border that served to cut off the former Soviet Union from Finland, and East European countries from West European countries. Today, as a result of the expansion and strengthening of the European Union (EU), the trend is towards nurturing trans-frontier parks in these areas, such as the 'Friendship Park' between Finland and Russia. The era of globalization, and especially that of supra-nationalism, in which organizations such as the EU, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) offer an alternative to national sovereignty, is causing far-reaching policy changes towards borders, which are becoming more open and free instead of closed and fortified. Additional global players that encourage the development of peace parks are world organizations such as the UN, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), among them Friends of the Earth International, which tries to promote projects where geopolitical barriers exist, for example, between Israel and its neighbours. In some of the parks, especially when neighbouring countries have suffered from conflicts, great emphasis is placed on defining the peace park and strengthening good neighbour ties between the countries (for example, La Amistad – the Friendship Park between Costa Rica and Panama). On the other hand, when relations between the neighbouring countries are good, greater emphasis is placed on preserving the

ecological systems, such as in the parks between the USA and Canada (Kliot, 2002).

La Amistad, the friendship park linking Costa Rica and Panama, was established in 1979. Costa Rica is known as a country that encourages the development of viable tourism for preserving nature and the environment. This park was included in UNESCO's list of world heritage sites. Most of its area is in Costa Rica, including the Talamanca Mountains, which reach an altitude of 4000 m and are difficult for traffic and passage. The uniqueness of the area lies in its extensive virgin landscapes, volcanic mountains, rain forests and rare treasures of flora and fauna. These elements turn La Amistad into a paradise for backpacking, bird watching, and aficionados of flora and fauna in the wild. In 2002, an agreement was signed to establish the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park on a 35,000-km² area in Africa that encompasses areas in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The aims of the park are to renew ecological systems and ensure the free movement of wild animals (such as elephants), encourage preservation and the viable use of natural resources, and develop ecological tourism to create employment and serve as an economic lever for the indigenous population. It also brings together the different ethnic groups and helps them to live as good neighbours and in greater harmony. All this takes place despite the complex geopolitical reality of the African countries, with fears of political violence, refugees, arms smuggling and the spread of diseases (Kliot, 2002).

As part of the various peace plans and discussions that have been held in the past between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Jordan, ideas have been raised and plans have been prepared for cooperative ventures in the form of trans-border peace parks. Plans for the Peace Park on the Jordan River include re-flooding the present-day dry lake bed and creating a bird sanctuary. The lake is expected to attract millions of migratory birds that cross the Jordan River Valley twice annually. Moreover, the old workers' homes located adjacent to the remains of a power plant, which were abandoned with the closing of the plant in 1948 and afford a magnificent view of the Jordan River and the lake, could be renovated as an eco-lodge and the old power station converted into a visitors' centre. The potential to develop the area for ecotourism is outstanding due to the natural beauty of the area, where nature trails could be developed discreetly hidden on one side of the riverbank for hikers, bikers and bird watchers (Gelbman, 2008).

Creating a protected area on both sides of the river will provide greater opportunities for biodiversity protection, cooperative management, joint research programmes, education and collaboration on nature-based tourism. Although a border zone is understandably necessary, both Jordan and Israel have already created the precedent of opening the border fence for controlled guided tourism at several locations. The heads of the Jordan Valley Regional Council (Israel), Beit Shean Valley Regional Council (Israel) and Muaz Bin Jabal Municipality (Jordan) have signed a Memorandum of Understanding to create the Peace Park that would restore pride of place to the river valley and create new opportunities for the local populations (Friends of the Earth Middle East, 2008).

Even if these plans encounter difficulties in implementation, the very process of planning and expending efforts to promote the vision among decision makers on both sides of the border, with the encouragement and support of international organizations or NGOs, constitutes an important positive process and encourages ties and contacts between leaders and others from both sides of the border. It is also a good way to try to turn vision into reality, strengthening and warming peace relations, as tourism development plays a central role in these plans.

The actual process of initiating and planning trans-frontier peace parks requires the strengthening of trans-border political ties as well as readiness and good will on both sides of the border. The stage of planning and authorizing such projects may be long because of objective delays in the form of official regulation on either side of the fence, and subjective difficulties based on fears of developments that might evolve as a result of the process. Peace parks may actually be the optimal example of environmental, social and tourism cooperation in shared border areas. It entails activity towards various aims and must include a ready supply of optimism and good will in relations between the nations. The fact that in recent years new peace parks have been declared and established in various parts of the world (Kliot, 2002) is the best evidence of the success and relevance of trans-frontier parks for introducing and implementing environmental and peace values as well as cooperation between neighbouring countries, with tourism playing a central role.

Conclusions

Border tourism attractions present the story of local heritage and historical events as well as the natural environment as they arouse interest among visitors. Tourists can be exposed to the symbolism that these sites represent. One-sided border tourism sites can signify thoughts and hopes for peace among visitors; formerly closed and fortified border tourism sites represent the transformation from hostile and closed boundaries of the past to cultural spaces symbolizing peace and cooperation among neighbouring countries in the present; and the main aims of trans-border peace parks are to serve as a symbol of good and sustainable peace relationships between neighbouring countries, or to encourage peace relationships among formerly hostile countries. It has been found that despite the difference in the nature of borders and the types of attractions examined, each of them in its way deals with peace as a tourism attraction and usually these sites have great drawing power for mass tourism. These visitors are exposed to the experience and the message of peace and cooperation between nations.

The issue of peace may be a significant and central component in the development of border tourism sites, considering that border areas mark social, political, economic and environmental contrasts and differences between nations. Many border areas have known – and some still suffer today from – disputes, wars and conflicts, which are the heritage of conflicts of interest or

historical struggles that have developed over the years. Around these factors, and others, attractions develop that bear witness to the values of historical and national heritage, nature and ecology. When tourism planning and development are added to this mix, tourism potential can be realized. When tourism development and peace play central roles in the story of an area, its attractiveness to tourists grows.

In many cases, feelings and messages are combined with lessons from the past and hopes for the future. Placing a border in a museum space turns it into an area of memory, and it becomes an object for which history has stopped. It also becomes a product to be exhibited, catalogued and commemorated. Factors such as history, heritage values, natural and environmental resources shared by neighbouring states join together with the great symbolism that is evoked among visitors to border sites, turning them into museum elements. These form the background for the significance that peace holds for these tourism sites, as has been presented in this chapter. Tourists visiting these sites have the opportunity to feel and experience a locale, and to think about its symbolism when peace plays a central role in this experience.

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7

The Role of Sport Events in Peace Tourism

N. SCHULENKORF¹ and D. EDWARDS²

¹*Auckland University of Technology (AUT), New Zealand,* ²*Faculty of Business, University of Technology, Sydney (UTS), Australia*

Sport has a crucial role to play in the efforts to improve the lives of people around the world. Sport builds bridges between individuals and across communities, providing a fertile ground for sowing the seeds of development and peace.

(Willi Lemke, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace)

Introduction

Peace is a policy goal that receives almost universal endorsement, but is extremely hard to achieve where there is an absence of individuals who trust and appreciate each other. Building trust and appreciation between individuals and groups is a complex issue because of the participatory processes and cooperation needed to achieve desired outcomes. If peace is broadly defined to include connotations of personal, community and social wellbeing as well as the absence of intergroup conflict and tension, then there are opportunities for creating a peaceful togetherness between people of different backgrounds. To actualize this potential, people have to come together in the right environment, one in which they can actively participate, break through prescribed realities, connect with others, and learn to trust and respect one another.

Sport events can provide a socially pleasant and/or beneficial environment. Sport is one of the most popular leisure activities in the world, as it creates a fascinating phenomenon: people from all over the world love to play, attend, watch, listen to, talk about, experience and even feel sport, often irrespective of the level of performance. Sport encourages physical health and fitness, and provides people around the globe with a social experience. For these reasons, sport has been described as a language which all people in the world understand and speak and which is able to emotionally combine and unite groups (Dyreson, 2003). Chalip (2006) argues that sport and sport events have the power to

promote dialogue, solidarity, understanding, integration and teamwork, even when other forms of negotiation have been unsuccessful.

Sport is an important activity within tourism, and tourism and travel are fundamentally associated with sport events (Hinch and Higham, 2004). Sport is recognized as a significant travel activity whether it is a primary or secondary feature of the trip. From a tourism¹ perspective, sport events provide an opportunity for friendly competition and social approximation between international tourists, local sportspeople, their teams and communities. In divided societies, sport projects have recently been used as a strategic tool to improve intergroup relations and advance inter-community development (Gasser and Levinsen, 2004; Sugden, 2006; Stidder and Haasner, 2007; Schulenkorf, 2008b).

The focus of this chapter is on understanding how positive social impacts can be created and leveraged through sport events to achieve lasting peaceful outcomes for disparate communities. The chapter presents findings from a larger study that examined two 'sport for development' event projects in war-torn Sri Lanka to identify how event planners and managers can maximize and leverage social benefits for participants, spectators, supporters and the wider community. The chapter is underpinned by a discussion of the concept of intergroup relations and an examination of previous research on the contribution sport events make to peace and inclusive social development. Drawing on significant insights from the field, strategies for maximizing sport event benefits are highlighted and represent valuable learning opportunities for those interested in fostering peace through event tourism.

Intergroup Relations

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the forebears and progenitors of social psychology (Le Bon, 1896; Allport, 1924; Mead, 1934; Lewin, 1948; Durkheim, [1898] 1953) believed that what delineated a distinct scientific role for the new discipline of social psychology was a focus on collective phenomena such as culture, crowds, communities, and in particular the relations among groups and categories in society. Sherif (1967, p. 12), states that 'intergroup relations refer to relations between two or more groups and their respective members. Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identifications we have an instance of intergroup behavior'. When describing and analysing intergroup relations and behaviour, three central themes characterize the issues studied in this field: the division of human society into different social groups and their interrelations; the actions of members of one

¹ For the purposes of this chapter, visitors and tourists are defined as people who travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited.

social group (ingroup) towards or in relation to the members of other social groups (outgroups); the collective actions of large numbers of people, as well as the emotions, conflicts, tensions, and antipathies in society related to group membership (Sherif and Sherif, 1966, 1979; Hogg and Abrams, 2001).

Sherif and Sherif propose that intergroup attitudes and behaviour reflect the interdependence of relations between groups. Where there is a conflict of interest one is likely to find intergroup tension, prejudice and discrimination against another group – the ‘outgroup’. Where there are shared interests and common goals, one is likely to find tolerance, fairness and appreciation. Intergroup relations therefore range from states of friendship to hostility, from alliance to enmity, or from peace to war between groups and their respective members (Hogg and Abrams, 2001; Galinsky, 2002).

Ultimately, the goal for researchers is to theorize ways of reducing intergroup conflict, negative stereotyping and social distance between groups. An approach that has been used to achieve these aims is the superordinate goals approach. This argues that in order to improve intergroup attitudes and behaviour, contact *per se* is not a suitable strategy. Contact without a common overarching goal – one that has a compelling appeal for members of each group but cannot be achieved without participation of the other – does not lead to cooperation and might result in a worsening of relationships between groups (Allport, 1954; Sherif, 1966, 1988; Brown *et al.*, 2003; Bobo and Tuan, 2006). To achieve cooperation and an improved intergroup status among communities, there is an overall consensus that positive and constructive contact situations need to be established (Sherif, 1967, 1979, 1988; Brewer, 2000; Hogg and Abrams, 2001). Active participation and most importantly the sharing of information and cooperation towards superordinate goals are the most promising ways towards reducing social distance between different groups.

Allport (1954, 1958) argues that the conditions that promise the most favourable climate between groups are: (i) common goals in an atmosphere of social and institutional support; and (ii) engaging contact during interaction. Using the example of a multi-ethnic sport team, Allport (1958) emphasizes that only when people do things together is a change of attitude and behaviour likely to result. Sport has the characteristics to serve as a positive superordinate goal, as it can provide the arena for communities to: (i) work and play together; (ii) understand the value of cooperation, goodwill and commitment; (iii) increase the potential for mutual problem solving and open communication; (iv) reduce perceptions of differences; and (v) assist with more trusting attitudes about the motives of others.

Events and Their Impacts

In the last two decades, event management has established itself as an academic field of contemporary relevance. Events are a unique form of tourism product, which range in scale from mega-events at one end to small community festivals at the other (Getz, 1989, 2008). Events represent rituals, presentations,

performances or celebrations, which are consciously planned for the enjoyment of the local community and visitors (Allen *et al.*, 2008). A diverse range of themes including arts, music, food, sport and cultural celebrations are displayed at events that share common elements such as participation, a predetermined length and occurrence (Getz, 1991). The management and staging of events leads to different types of direct and indirect event impacts which are generally classified into six broad areas: economic (including tourism), physical, socio-cultural, psychological, political and environmental (Ritchie, 1984; Preuss and Solberg, 2006). Initially, much of the research undertaken in the sport event area was on economic impacts, as these were considered the central point for evaluating an event's performance (Stettler, 2000; Preuss, 2003, 2006; Gratton *et al.*, 2005). Dimmock and Tiyce (2001, p. 364) for example stated 'the success of a festival or event is commonly measured in terms of its economic contribution to event stakeholders, the community and the region'. Since 2000, social, cultural and psychological event impact studies have become an area increasingly of interest to researchers and a number of research projects have been conducted on these often intangible consequences of community sport events (Green and Chalip, 1998; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Misener and Mason, 2006; Gschwend and Selvaranju, 2007; O'Brien, 2007; Filo *et al.*, 2008).

Positive social, cultural and psychological event impacts include opportunities for communities and tourists to come together to socialize and be entertained, or develop contacts, friendships and networks. Other key impacts are improved community spirit and pride; enhancement of cultural traditions, attitudes, beliefs and values; intercultural learning; capacity to control development; as well as improvements to social and health amenities (Green and Chalip, 1998; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Misener and Mason, 2006; O'Brien, 2007). In contrast, events have been found to give rise to an increase in anti-social behaviour, hooliganism, vandalism or stampedes, criminal activity, violence and arrests during the period of sport events (Kelly, 1993; Hall *et al.*, 1995; Sack and Suster, 2000; Armstrong and Giulianotti, 2001), potentially reducing the quality of life of residents who are directly or indirectly affected by the event. It is often the competitive nature and rivalry at sport events that leads to these negative consequences. Unfortunately such anti-social behaviour may further lead to a revival of historical and prejudicial stereotypes (Dimeo and Kay, 2004), which are capable of worsening intergroup relations (Dimeo, 2001; Hay, 2001). Understanding the impacts that arise from sport events is an important step towards the development of strategies to maintain, realize or advance those benefits most needed by a community.

Sport Events' Contribution to Peace

Sport events can contribute to peace through tourism in a number of ways. First, a great advantage of sport events over other special events is that sport provides diverse populations, cultures or communities with a universally understood language (Dyreson, 2003). This is of particular importance for

ethnically and linguistically diverse societies. Even if participants and/or tourists do not have a common linguistic background, in sport they understand each other and manage to communicate non-verbally and/or with basic commands. This has for example proven beneficial in 'Football for Peace' projects in Israel, where boys and girls from Jewish and Arab backgrounds were participating and celebrating inter-community sport events together (Stidder and Haasner, 2007).

Second, the inclusive and celebrative leisure atmosphere that can prevail at community sport events is considered beneficial for connecting the host community with visitors, and transcending social, cultural, ethnic or religious differences. Lea-Howarth (2006) observes that the celebrative atmosphere encourages active engagement, reconciliation and problem resolution between people of different cultural groups and estranged ethnic communities. Third, sport events can add significantly to the wellbeing and quality of life of all participating communities, as they may provide people with an alternative to their daily routine and encourage a different form of thinking (Gorney and Busser, 1996). An active, inclusive, non-competitive 'feel-good' environment is expected to be beneficial for participating groups from difficult social environments, as people can – for a certain time – forget the hardships of daily life.

Fourth, sport events have the capacity to attract national and international participants, spectators or volunteers who as tourists, add to the special flair of the sport event and contribute positively to the socio-economic development of the host destination (Gratton *et al.*, 2000, 2005). Competitors, spectators or volunteers as tourists present the host destination with the opportunity to engage in intercultural exchange and to share skills, knowledge and sport techniques (Sugden, 2006; Schulenkorf, 2008b). From the tourists' perspective, participation in sport events is an active, exciting, inspiring and certainly unique travel experience. In an intergroup context, communities can learn skills from each other and visitors, while staging the event can generate the belief in a common spirit and mutual trust amongst community members.

The belief that community sport events can strengthen intergroup relations stems largely from observations of regularly scheduled 'sport for development' programmes in the developing world. These programmes have been reported to be successful in promoting social development, longer-term cross-cultural understanding and 'normalizing' in societies as deeply divided as Israel (Sugden, 2006; Stidder and Haasner, 2007), Bosnia/Herzegovina (Gasser and Levinsen, 2004), Sierra Leone (Lea-Howarth, 2006), Liberia (Armstrong, 2004), South Africa (Guelke and Sugden, 2000; Höglund and Sundberg, 2008) and Northern Ireland (Sugden, 1991; Bairner and Darby, 2000). In these examples, it has been shown that sport events can contribute to people regaining a step-by-step sense of security and confidence when approaching new people, groups, and even politically opposed communities. These observations have led to a shift in the event management community to move beyond the planning of direct event impacts to focusing on paths towards achieving lasting outcomes for host communities (Chalip, 2004, 2006; O'Brien, 2007; O'Brien and Chalip, 2008).

An emerging body of work argues that long-term event outcomes depend on the *ex ante* strategies of event organizers and stakeholders that are implemented prior or during an event to obtain desired outcomes (Green, 2001; Chalip and Leyns, 2002; Chalip, 2006; O'Brien and Gardiner, 2006; O'Brien, 2006, 2007; O'Brien and Chalip, 2007; Kellett *et al.*, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Schulenkorf, 2008a). This phenomenon of strategically using the event to plan for the maximization of tourism, business, social, environmental or other types of event benefits is referred to as event leveraging. The following study identifies the areas that can be used to develop strategies for sustaining and leveraging peaceful outcomes from sport events.

Methodology

Context and setting

Intergroup relations within multi-ethnic Sri Lanka have been fraught with difficulties for several decades. The Tamil minority has been distrustful of the country's unitary form of government, believing that the Sinhalese majority would abuse Tamil rights (Dunung, 1995). Under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tamil Tigers) were formed in the 1970s to fight for self-sovereignty in the north-eastern regions of Sri Lanka, which are considered the areas of traditional Tamil settlement. Seeing themselves as the acting representative of the Tamil people, the LTTE's violent demands culminated in a civil war that lasted from 1983 to 2002 and resulted in over 70,000 casualties (Bilger, 2006). In north-eastern Sri Lanka, the Tigers managed to establish a *de facto* state with its own military, police, schools, laws and courts. Against the background of a deeply divided society, research for this event study was conducted in western Sri Lanka from January until April 2007. At that point in time, the LTTE controlled 15% of the island and claimed another 20% as their traditional homeland. Intergroup relations among Sri Lanka's ethnic groups were deeply shattered and opportunities for positive intergroup contact were scarce.

The events

In an attempt to contribute to positive contact, appeasement and reconciliation between ethnic groups in Sri Lanka, the non-governmental Asian German Sports Exchange Program (A.G.S.E.P.) has been organizing inter-community sport events under a 'Games for Peace' theme since 2002. These sport events bring Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim and international sportspeople and tourists together in a leisure environment free of socio-political constraints, and therefore conducive to social development. All of A.G.S.E.P.'s events are staged in cooperation with the local communities, and they all have a 'no-one loses' philosophy. The focus of the events is placed on the social and integrative character of sport and the supporting cultural performances.

This study analyses two sport events: the '1st International Run for Peace' (IR4P), held on 1 October 2006 in Colombo, and the 'Intercultural Sports Meeting' (ISM), staged in the Peace Village sport complex in rural Nattandiya on 19–21 January 2007. The IR4P can be described as an athletics event, which was divided into a 21-km half-marathon, a 10-km Fun Run and a 5-km Peace Move along the streets of Colombo. About 800 active peace runners from eight countries participated, and they were supported and cheered by several thousand national spectators and international event tourists along the city course. The ISM, on the other hand, is a multi-ethnic multi-sports event weekend for young Sri Lankans aged between 6 and 16 years. The event included football games, cricket classes, creative sports, swimming clinics and cultural performances. Both the IR4P and the ISM led to various positive social experiences, which were categorized under the six themes Socializing, Comfort, Reciprocity, Networks, Learning and Cultural Celebration (Schulenkorf, 2009).

Research design

This study involved two stages. First, two *ex ante* focus groups were conducted to examine in-depth people's ideas and recommendations for maximizing event benefits and leveraging these sport events to the wider community. The two focus groups were recruited via local newspaper advertisements in early January 2007 and had eight participants each. The first group contained mainly international staff and volunteers from A.G.S.E.P., which allowed for an 'expert view' as well as an outlook on expectations and recommendations from the organizer's point of view. The second group included community members from all three major ethnic groups in Sri Lanka: Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim. The community group contributed a local voice, ideas and expectations. The two major questions which informed the focus group discussions – 'how can events promote a "sense of unity" between different ethnic groups?' and 'how can positive social impacts and intergroup relations be sustained beyond the event?' – were derived from the literature and anecdotal evidence from reported observations.

The second stage consisted of 35 *ex post* semi-structured interviews that were conducted to explore in greater depth the questions posed above. They were held with representatives from all major event stakeholders including the community, spectators, sponsors, volunteers, media, the Sri Lankan government, LTTE representatives, participants and A.G.S.E.P. A form of purposeful sampling was applied to recruit candidates, as it allowed the researchers to choose specifically individuals who best suited the research subject (Neuman, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). For the interviews, respondents were selected after a thorough discussion with A.G.S.E.P., whose experience and knowledge in the Sri Lankan event industry and links to the local communities helped to identify suitable candidates. After the first 15 in-depth interviews were conducted, a snowball sampling strategy was employed to address further candidates.

Findings

Two sport events in Sri Lanka were staged to enhance intergroup relations and contribute to social development between the disparate Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities. The events gave many of the Tamil contributors the chance to experience Sinhalese groups and 'territory' for the first time in their lives. The events provided an opportunity for positive interpersonal contact and the development of new friendships between communities and international tourists. Kumi made a comment that explicitly related to an actual de-categorization of ethnic differences at the IR4P:

The [participants] were behaving very friendly towards each other, [showing] respect. You know, nothing like: you are not a Tamil, or you are not a Sinhalese – they were not thinking like this anymore. There was respect for each other and having kind of, I don't know, personal friendship, respect and friendliness and support on a personal level.

Matt talked enthusiastically about the friendly and supportive atmosphere at the IR4P event and argued that small gestures allowed people to engage on a personal level, and for getting to know and appreciate 'the good' in others. Respondents argued that the cultural aspect of the ISM allowed for one of the few opportunities to showcase differentiated, ethnic-specific talent. International volunteer Anja believed that through dancing, performing or arts and craft 'the kids had the possibility to show something from their culture to everyone else'. She argued further that at the events, visitors and international tourists had a unique opportunity to enjoy cultural highlights as active participants, rather than passive consumers.

Some respondents compared their common ingroup experiences at the inter-community events with feelings experienced at Sri Lankan national cricket events. IR4P spectator Jaly added that the atmosphere at the events 'was very friendly, we all felt like a family' and that categorization of people was not done in relation to ethnic backgrounds: 'Not east, not south, not Sinhalese, not Muslim, not Tamil. Here we are Sri Lankans!'. Jayo believed that 'a joint Sri Lankan identity and Sri Lankan pride' was established at the inter-community events. Suso described the IR4P as an umbrella for communities, where people 'didn't [care] whether that is Sinhalese, Tamil, or Muslim'. It was suggested that ethnically mixing teams at the ISM was instrumental in creating this feeling of inclusiveness and spirit.

Local staff member Ranil explained that fair and equal treatment of every participant was essential for positive interaction and the development of trust. He felt that because A.G.S.E.P. acts like a role model for fair and equal treatment of everyone in the event, their behaviour has a flow-on effect to others. Respondents agreed that the positive feelings of being treated equally and with respect helped to establish social networks between communities, organizers, visitors and tourists.

Young Sri Lankan participants at the ISM event learned how to deal with defeat in sport contests. The organizers purposely avoided a focus on competitive sport tournaments between ethnic groups, by incorporating

ethnically mixed group matches into their programme. This strategy took away potential issues of ethnic rivalry within contests, and instead provided a neutral context for minor sport competition. Ranil hoped that the youth would take their experiences to their families and communities, talk about their new impressions and subsequently influence people's perception of 'others'. Four broad areas were identified as opportunities for maximizing peaceful outcomes from sport events: (i) youth as catalysts for peace; (ii) uniting people through ethnically mixed team sports; (iii) event-related social opportunities; and (iv) leveraging events for peace.

Youth as catalysts for peace

The ISM event specifically targeted children and youth groups between the ages of 6 to 16. Ranil argued that a focus on the Sri Lankan youth allows the organizers to communicate their ideas and peace message to fresh open minds, as 'it is easier to influence young people who are not yet full of prejudices ... As a secondary target market the adults may be influenced through the experiences of the children and their stories told. Once interest is there for the adults to witness such events they might be won over, and they may develop their interest in participating at the next events'. Ranil therefore described children as 'an ideal catalyst for establishing contact' and hopes for a social development process that will be instigated:

So when people go home after the event they might tell their parents or friends 'Hey, the Tamils are no terrorists, we had a great time together' ... This way we can reach the parents through the children and the communities through the children and parents together ... So everyone is affected by the program ... From connecting sportspeople to connecting families and one day whole communities.

To allow for additional contact between young sportspeople beyond sport events, Didi proposed the introduction of 'event pen pals'. He noted:

In order to have a continuous link [between children], which is not possible with telephone because the infrastructure ... we shall introduce a greeting card system, where the children communicate through postcards among each other ... The cards are a type of comic card [that] have that type of collection phenomenon, because they are very colorful and very attractive.

Didi felt that the pen-pal system will require 'a bit of effort from the children, but in return they receive postcard-presents from their new friends as well'. He believed that event pen pals can sustain 'feel good moment' beyond the event, enable new friends to stay connected and it is hoped foster more peaceful relations between divided communities.

Uniting people through ethnically mixed team sports

Respondents recommended minor changes in the style of the event programme and suggested that a clearer focus on integrative team sport activities would

benefit relationships between divided communities. Dan believed that team sports have proven to ‘unite people successfully’, and particularly ‘smaller teams with pupils from each school’ were central to achieve ‘a team building effect’. Building on Dan’s comment, Tom argued that in order to ‘achieve more long-term effects ... we have to [focus on] something like football teams with different ethnic members’. Both respondents highlighted that more integrative interethnic team-sport activities were essential to establish common ingroup feelings. Axel added to this and believed that the introduction of ‘national games’ – where ethnically mixed Sri Lankan teams play different international teams in different sports – could be a successful step forward towards inclusive social identity and team building.

Event-related social opportunities

Respondents discussed the idea of providing additional social contact opportunities for participants and stakeholders around the main sport event. For example, Raj argued that:

as a programmer, you can make [sportspeople] get to know each other beforehand ... We should share some cool drinks, or have all the sportspeople sit together to develop some interpersonal relationships. Like passing the ball and two people will come together, and they have to sing the same song or something like that. So ... they will come to know each other [and] then, when they are running, they will also try to keep that relationship.

Additional recreational activities that are linked to the events were expected to advance further intergroup relationships between communities, domestic visitors and international tourists. Mano suggested:

Every time we practice together, we eat together, we play together, it gets a bit better. So for the upcoming events it will be important to not only connect people through the sport, but also at the events or happenings around the sport activity. Lunch, recreation, relaxation, tea breaks, educational lessons and so on.

Didi recommended that the event organizers should also plan for social entertainment opportunities after the event. Such opportunities would give participants, tourists and in particular the community the chance to mingle and celebrate their contributions and achievements. He suggested staging activities that allow for ‘a party type of atmosphere, where musicians are taking part and entertainers. There is the opportunity for having chats, [where people can] talk freely and extend invitations to meet again out of the sport context.’

Leveraging events for peace

Respondents suggested follow-up events and a focus on regular sport programmes to sustain and leverage the social outcomes of inter-community events. According to Didi, follow-up events should have ‘the same group consistence, because [participants] got used to each other ... We should repeat

the ISM event and should not wait for too long'. Didi expected a strategy of deepening or strengthening relationships to lead to lasting social outcomes. Sinhalese community member Gerd shared this view:

When [the Tamils are] coming two, three times, then only we can get their ideas and ... something bigger can develop. It is like this: when I meet one guy in the ISM, then I can say 'Hello' to him. So when I meet him at the second Sport Meeting, then I can talk to him a little bit. So if I meet him a third time, we might have a friendship.

Andy on the other hand suggested the implementation of large-scale follow-up events such as the IR4P to open up the events to more people from different groups and communities. He argued that 'if we can do four events per year, then you get more impact. ... If we can have four events, these mega events, then definitely we can build up larger interest in the peace theme and achieve our aims'. This strategy aims at widening the circle with a focus on new local participants and tourists who get involved and emotionally affected by the 'Peace through Sport Events' message. Ranil argued that ideally both the deepening and widening approaches towards community development should be combined:

A week-long [sport] program would allow you to connect people with locals who reside in the host community. Here, on a micro-level you could establish contacts and connections, which are promising to be sustained beyond the program itself. These more structured sport [programs] focus more on ... connecting groups, while the one-day large-scale events are focusing mainly on creating awareness, an awareness of peace in Sri Lanka.

Suto believed that in order to leverage a peace message to the wider community, A.G.S.E.P. 'needs to link the message to ... the political sector!' At the IR4P and the ISM the involvement and support of the Sri Lankan Government was only of a representative nature, which made local sponsor Niro say that 'the Government really needs to make some greater contribution for these [events]. That is what I've seen lacking at this event'. Mark believed that the Sports Ministry could provide A.G.S.E.P. with great leveraging opportunities:

When important people like politicians or the Government support those [events and] if these key people are excited about the idea of community development using sport events, the idea and the message can grow further. Because these people act as multipliers, because they have a good network and they may contribute in some way.

A key area identified for improvement was in media management. According to Shanto, various media outlets could be approached before, during and after the event to create awareness of and publicity for the inter-community celebrations, and to achieve positive news coverage regionally, nationally and internationally. He believed that event leverage through the media will lead to 'higher participation numbers, extra social benefits and in the end a better image for us, the communities, and A.G.S.E.P. also'. Finally, several respondents discussed the idea of educational leverage for social benefits. For example, Andrew and Dominic suggested the cooperation with schools to

provide language classes in the lead-up to inter-community events to organize management workshops for support staff and to create educational exchange programmes:

A special program for a week could be integrated into the school calendars, which maybe focuses on cultural education in combination with sport. This way the children have the chance to get to know each other under a real-life situation, because a week will set a different framework than a two-day event. [Further,] an exchange between teachers could happen. This would be a good way, for example, if Sinhalese teachers could guest-lecture at a Tamil school and vice versa. And this could lead into student exchange programs, because the students would follow the ideas of their teachers.

Discussion

Drawing on the findings this section discusses the lessons learned and the strategies that can be used to maximize peaceful outcomes from inter-community sport events.

Creating the right environment

‘Comfort’ represents people’s feelings of safety, confidence and trust when dealing with individuals, groups and institutions. The inter-community sport events in this study were found to provide promising ‘starting points’ for the creation of comfortable relationships and trust between communities, domestic visitors and tourists. Different factors such as the presence of an impartial change agent, the official endorsement from all communities, and the social peace theme contributed to feelings of trust and safety. In particular, it was found that the safe location and the leisure atmosphere of the ISM event added to feelings of comfort. The Peace Village was identified as a neutral space for reconciliation, where people were likely to respect and engage with others, and develop trust amongst ingroup and outgroup members.

Focus on the young

At the ISM event, respondents enjoyed A.G.S.E.P.’s focus on the young generation and recommended a continuation of this strategic approach. When using youth as a catalyst for peace and positive social change, it is important to provide them with the opportunity to experience feelings of intergroup togetherness and friendships. When people engage with ‘others’ and experience them as pleasant individuals this can facilitate positive relationships and provide a pathway for their friends, parents and the wider community to engage in intergroup activities.

Ethnically mixed teams

A strong focus on ethnically mixed teams can foster mutual understanding and appreciation during the sport event. Sport activities were identified as convincing superordinate goals where interaction and cooperation were required to achieve common objectives. Sport events can be enhanced when participants from divided communities are combined into one 'national team', who face a friendly international team as their opponents (such as a team of volunteers or sport tourists). As long as the focus is kept on the 'fun side' of the games, this strategy is expected to merge the Sri Lankan groups and contribute to an increased team spirit and trust building without creating lasting negative impacts on the international squad.

Offer a variety of events

Engaging in both special events and regular sport programmes is a strategy that could maximize peaceful outcomes. Regularly scheduled sport programmes allow for a deepening and intensification of contacts and friendships, while large-scale special events such as inter-community festivals enable an extension of relationships to the wider community. This combination promises to cater for both the benefits of regular contact with familiar people (e.g. bonding, trust, confidence building) and the special character of events as a booster for excitement, entertainment and international tourism (bridging, celebrating, expanding perspectives).

Community exchange programmes

Once sport events and programmes have been established, they could be used as the starting point for generating other community exchange programmes. This idea links with the so-called 'twin-city' interactions that have been successfully implemented in Eastern Europe and the Middle East (Gasser and Levinson, 2004). Here, municipal authorities partner with another municipality from across the ethnic divide to organize community football projects. If strategically planned, community exchanges are likely to ignite partnerships and continuous cooperation also beyond the sports arena.

Educational support

The educational sector could provide additional opportunities for event leverage. A close cooperation with local schools can generate improved social and communication skills among children. Local schools can for example address human rights and community values through sport education. Armstrong (2004) in his analysis of the Don Bosco Youth Project in post-war Liberia showed that sport programmes can be successfully combined with

education and social, legal and/or health assistance for young participants. Similarly, sport event organizers can work with schools to communicate and teach norms and values such as intergroup togetherness, reconciliation, cultural understanding, intergroup appreciation, and equitable and socially just behaviour, preparing young participants for upcoming events. From a language perspective, linking the sport event activities to school curricula can prepare youth to communicate better with others at inter-community encounters. Before events, local schools and educational institutions can teach participants basic terms, phrases and commands in relevant languages. Post-event, schools can facilitate the continuation of positive shared experiences through pen-friendships or school exchanges.

Networking

In the attempt to reach a wider audience and to leverage events' success, event organizers and communities should expand and intensify their connections with key decision makers to generate additional political and financial benefits. Support from different levels of government can secure political backing, financial contributions and permission for the staging and leveraging of future inter-community sport events. As a strategic partner, the government can stage ancillary events such as street parades or cultural festivals that tie in with the theme of a sport event. Such leverage strategies could encourage more people to attend, lengthen visitor stays in the community and increase tourism spending (Chalip, 2004; O'Brien, 2007; O'Brien and Chalip, 2008). Simultaneously, to achieve social leverage, the government could use the sport events as a 'hook' to stage relevant social marketing and health campaigns, for instance educating people on important issues such as HIV/AIDS, hepatitis or drug use.

Leveraging the media

In line with Chalip's (2004, 2006) argument for 'longer-term event leverage', the media represents an opportunity to enforce the message of peace to wider audiences. This can be achieved prior to the event, through regional advertising and promotional campaigns that showcase the 'peaceful host region'. After the event, the media can report the positive social outcomes of the event, with a focus on the joint community efforts required to design a peaceful and inclusive environment 'for all'. Such a strategy can foster improved images of communities and increase the reputational capital of organizers. Additionally, it promises to increase participation levels at future events, as domestic visitors and international tourists may be attracted by the peace-activities.

Build business partnerships

Communities can benefit from closer business partnerships and additional funding sources generated through events. On a small community scale, local

businesses and sponsors may in the long run create 'an event-related look-and-feel' (Chalip, 2004, p. 230) in the communities by executing event-related products, promotions and theming tactics. For example, sponsors can use the peace theme on apparel such as T-shirts or friendship bands, or incorporate the peace theme into their event advertising and sponsorship campaigns. Additionally, local businesses can design special promotions targeted at event visitors and tourists, such as providing deals, vouchers or raffles tied in with the event activities. However, the potential for business leverage needs to be seen in the context of rural communities in a developing world context as opposed to developed countries (Chalip and Leyns, 2002; Chalip and McGuirty, 2004; O'Brien, 2007), where financial opportunities are greater and many activities are related to the community context in which the event is held.

Conclusion

For many years, the ability of sport events to serve as a vehicle for intergroup development and peace has been promoted by governments around the world. However, empirical research that has investigated inter-community sport events in divided societies remains scarce. To fill this gap, this chapter set out to analyse two inter-community sport events and their capacity to provide opportunities for celebration, entertainment, social interaction and a reduction in geographical and psychological barriers between the host community and visitors.

The research revealed that sport presents a cultural reference point to be shared with 'others'. Sport events as superordinate goals are able to reduce intergroup distance and create inclusive identity feelings, as they encourage people from different groups to come together and work towards a common purpose. This mutual process weakens group boundaries and changes attitudes and behaviour in the short term, which shows that sport events can provide people from disparate groups with a 'taste of inclusiveness' and 'moment of shared identity'.

Nine strategies were identified as being useful for creating, maximizing, leveraging and sustaining social benefits arising from community sport events, they include: creating the right environment; focus on the young; ethnically mix teams; a variety of events; community exchange programmes; educational support; networking; leveraging the media; and build business partnerships. By implementing these strategies, sport events can be used as convincing and promising superordinate goals for disparate communities, as they can advance social togetherness, facilitate trust and appreciation between individuals and groups, and lead to a peaceful co-existence of communities within and beyond event borders.

While inter-community sport events should be encouraged and expanded as part of an active social development process, it is too much to expect sport events to have a major impact on overall inter-community relations in the absence of a political settlement in divided societies. However, sport events as one type of tourism product integrated within a larger agenda of social and

political reform can make a modest contribution to bridging divides between disparate communities.

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8

Domestic Tourism and Peace: the Atlanta Peace Trails Experience

G.Y. LASH¹, A. KAY SMITH² and C. SMITH³

¹*Tourism For Peace LLC*, ²*Partnerships In Peace*, ³*Atlanta City Council Member*

... tourism is much more than just a matter of economics ... of creating jobs ... and raising government revenue. Tourism is all of these things, but it is also a global celebration of diversity and a universal ring of friendship ... Tourism celebrates cultural identity rather than subverting it. No global industry is more fiercely competitive than tourism, yet there is a strong history of collaboration between countries, destinations, hoteliers, suppliers, carriers, and travel professionals – all of whom interact through international organizations formed for that purpose. Tourism is a great bridge-builder that offers us a unique opportunity to enrich travelers in a way that lingers long after their return home.

(Hon. Jennifer Smith, Premier of Bermuda, 2003)

As the quotation affirms, tourism promotes cooperation among rivals, celebrates cultural diversity and builds bridges between visitor and those visited. It is a connector and glue of community – bringing travellers together from all ideological strata, as well as in this case study, uniting disparate peace organizations and venues in common goals. It creates paths of peace wherever it is implemented with care and respect. Tourism is an educational tool for unifying humanity, and a catalyst to manifesting peace on the planet.

Domestic Tourism

Domestic tourism, perhaps even more than international tourism, has the capacity to be a social driving force for peace. Local travel is valued widely throughout the world, in forms of pilgrimages, enhancing knowledge, sightseeing, visiting family and extending hospitality and generosity to one's neighbours (Graburn, 1983; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006).

Travellers can be more pre-disposed to respectful behaviours and attributes when they are closer to home. Carr (2002) found that young British domestic travellers were 'more active [engaged with local hosts] and less hedonistic' than

those who travelled abroad, supporting the view that when near home, a traveller is bound by its resident cultural norms of acceptable behaviour.

Domestic tourism both encourages development and is a product of development. When countries build infrastructure to promote international tourism, they also infuse local economies and citizens with the means to travel domestically.

In the case of China, after stabilizing its economy, building roads, hotels and communication networks throughout the 1980s, its tourism policies shifted from solely international markets to that of simultaneously promoting domestic tourism. Domestic tourism surged between 1990 and 1995 as 'the average annual domestic tourist arrivals increased by 17.5%, and the average annual receipts increased by 51.93%', with concentrated demand in urban areas. China's domestic tourist arrivals jumped from 280 million in 1991 to 640 million in 1996 (Wen, 1997).

In Turkey, the historical sites of its south-eastern and eastern regions, while not as popular with the international markets, have opened up new domestic destinations for its citizens, 97% of whom vacation in country. This sustainable regional development is culturally appropriate, stimulates internal investment and captures income locally (Seckelmann, 2002).

World events, such as the 2000 Olympics and the 2002 Bali bombings, significantly increased domestic tourism in Australia. In 2005, Australia's domestic tourism contributed financially three times that of international tourism. Domestic travellers also supported development of remote regional areas less frequented by international travellers (Athanasopoulos and Hyndman, 2008).

These examples show that domestic tourism can enhance development and help promote sustainable livelihoods, allowing residents to enjoy travelling to local attractions, and helping to preserve cultural sensitivity and societal norms. From these studies, we can affirm the importance of domestic tourism and its potential to contributing to peace. The questions in this chapter are:

- Can Peace Trails promote and enhance domestic tourism?
- Can we implant peace concepts in the minds and actions of domestic tourists, using Peace Trails?
- What are some of the social impacts of a Peace Trail?
- What roles do Peace Trails have in making 'peace' a grassroots concept, applicable to everyday life?

Grassroots Peace – Kin to Grassroots Conservation?

Peace and conservation movements (in the USA, and perhaps the world) are reflective of each other, similar in their history and outcomes, with peace lagging behind conservation by about 40 years. Peace – or lack of peace – affects the very essence of human life on the planet, as well as the workings of its social constructs, such as governments and economies. Conservation – or lack of it – affects the health of the planet, availability of natural resources, and

those systems that are beyond human creation and control. But the paths of these two premier concepts follow a strikingly similar track, and as humanity has globally come to accept conservation and environmental policy as the future norm, so too may peace principles become infused into the daily workings of not only governments, businesses and industries, but also into grassroots communities around the globe.

Teaching peace concepts today to the general US population has many of the same challenges and opportunities as teaching conservation and environmental concepts did in the 1960s and 1970s. Even though US conservation policies, such as National Parks, have historically been in existence since the late 1800s, it has only been in the last few decades (beginning with Rachel Carlson's *Silent Spring*, 1962, to creation of LEED certification, 1994) that the US general public has become aware, understood and embraced conservation and sustainable development concepts and practices as mainstream. Hybrid cars, organic foods, solar energy credits, water conservation, low-flow washing machines and toilets, energy efficient appliances, CFC bans, etc. constitute a portion of current practices. As environmental awareness continues to permeate living choices, we can ask, 'By what process do we infuse similarly peace concepts and practices into our present and future society?' We believe that Peace Trails hold the key.

We leave the discussion of the similar paths of conservation and peace to another time and greater volume of study. Suffice it here to say that for peace to become understood and supported on a grassroots level, like conservation is presently, peace projects can use tourism, through Peace Trails, to label everyday, normal and highly visited places as 'places of peace', promoting a recognition and value of peace in all aspects of daily life. Just as zoos, aquaria, botanical gardens, schools and parks all have historically taught conservation concepts, now too can they teach peace concepts by being linked through Peace Trails. As tourists begin to see their travels as 'peace travels', the places they visit as 'places of peace', and themselves as 'peace tourists', then peace begins to be transformed into a normal part of not only tourism but also life in general. We believe that we are on the verge of this new peace paradigm, and that Peace Trails can swiftly support this change.

Bradford Peace Trail: the Model

I like to believe that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of the way and let them have it.

(Dwight D. Eisenhower, Five-star General of the US Army and 34th President of the USA from 1953 until 1961)

Currently in the USA the word 'peace' is maturing from a 'dirty word' (Diamond, 2006) and its association with the anti-war movement of the 1960s, to being included in newspaper stories and presidential policy as positive community action and a promising new era (Walton, 2007; Siegel, 2009;

Obama, 2009a, 2009b). The time has arrived where people are consciously promoting peace as a societal norm. What better way to infuse this awareness and instil action than by encouraging every store, garden, school, business, church and home to become recognized officially as a 'place of peace' and then linking them into adjacent 'Peace Trails,' to which all people can visit? This was the vision behind the creation of the Atlanta Peace Trails (APT) booklet (2008) in Atlanta, Georgia, USA (Fig. 8.1).

The model for APT was inspired by a visit to Atlanta by Dr Peter van den Dungan, a professor in the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford, UK. In 2007, the City of Bradford created a booklet called *Bradford Peace Trail – a Walk around Bradford City of Peace*, outlining the history of 29 places in the city that denoted peace in some form. These places honour citizens, groups, gardens and anti-violence events that have contributed to a better life for the people of Bradford. A few examples are: the collection of papers and drawings by Gerald Holtom, inventor of the Peace (Nuclear Disarmament) Symbol; Channing Way, a road named after the founder of the Unitarian church in the USA; Women's Humanity League, an anti-war organization; 'Reconciliation', a statue made in the aftermath of the First World War, to depict reunion of people and nations; and The Peace Museum, the only one in the UK. Their booklet is sized so that it can be carried easily (210×100 mm), and be both sold as a printed copy and downloaded from the Internet (Bradford, 2007). The booklet was sponsored by Bradford City for Peace, Bradford District Council and The Peace Museum, Bradford. This



Fig. 8.1. Atlanta Peace Trails: cover (courtesy of APT booklet).

meeting with Dr van den Dugan sparked the idea of a similar Peace Trails booklet for Atlanta, as a way to document an ongoing project of identifying all the Peace Poles (World Peace Prayer Society, 2009), Peace Gardens and Peace Monuments in the Metro Atlanta area.

Atlanta Peace Trails: Goals and Background

Two Atlanta peace activists, one City Council member and one graphic designer were the core visionary and production team for the APT. Initial goals were to link downtown neighbourhoods, to identify and catalogue all local Peace Poles, and to encourage both residents and tourists to visit places of peace in the greater Metro Atlanta area. As the project developed, additional goals were seen as potential outcomes:

- to improve domestic tourism by offering Peace Trails as a new visitor activity;
- to link tourism activities to peace;
- to document and unite places of peace;
- to foster collaboration between diverse tourism venues;
- to foster collaboration between diverse peace organizations and individuals; and
- to promote use of MARTA (Metro Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority – the inner city train system) in Atlanta.

Tourism in Atlanta is well established as the city is a hub for conventions and headquarters to several multinational corporations. Its airport, Hartsfield–Jackson Atlanta International, is the largest airport in the world, as calculated by number of travellers passing through its gates per year (Bailey, 2007; Associated Press, 2008). Atlanta is within a 2-h flight of 80% of the US population, with over 1300 daily domestic departures, over 150 non-stop US destinations, and direct flights to 95 cities in 57 countries (Metro Atlanta Facts and Figures, 2009).

Business visitors, comprising over 35% (13.11 million) of the 37 million total visitors to Atlanta in 2007, spent US\$5.3 billion. Leisure visitors, just under 24 million in 2007, spent US\$6.1 billion, with 12.26 million overnight leisure visitors spending an additional US\$5.2 billion. Atlanta, with the fourth largest Convention Center in the USA, hosted 55 citywide conventions in 2008 (Metro Atlanta Facts and Figures, 2009).

The Atlanta Convention and Visitors Bureau (ACVB) constantly searches for new entertainment activities to support its convention visitors. It promotes a 9-day combination ticket to eight of Atlanta's hottest attractions: Georgia Aquarium, Zoo Atlanta, World of Coca-Cola, Inside CNN Studio Tour, Atlanta History Center, Fernbank Museum of Natural History, Atlanta Botanical Garden and High Museum of Art (Atlanta CityPass, 2009). Most of these venues are located within the downtown district, near convention hotels.

The APT booklet sought to foster a peace mindset with these organizations and include several of these venues in the booklet by planting Peace Poles on

their properties. This was successful with two of the eight destinations, by the time of the booklet's publication. In total, Atlanta boasts over 30 major cultural, educational and sports attractions and venues, as well as 348 public parks and 57 public golf courses (Metro Atlanta Facts and Figures, 2009). Future goals of the APT would be to plant Peace Poles or peace gardens at all of these parks and attractions, and to bring awareness to both visitors and venues that these parks and attractions can be considered places of peace.

One goal was to make the APT walkable, like the Bradford model, by linking several peace venues in a tight geographical area. Atlanta is a vibrant city, and its residents enjoy a fast-paced, young urban lifestyle mixed with relaxed, old southern charm. Planners look to make the city more walking friendly, so that visitors have more reasons to get out of their cars and stay longer (Stafford, 2008). The idea of Peace Trails – some walkable, some not – fits into the visions of getting people outdoors to explore local communities. Although one of Atlanta's Peace Trails had enough venues to be considered walkable, this is primarily a future agenda item, requiring that many more locations join so that walkable distances contain significant numbers of these places of peace.

If walking is not an option, then using public transportation is encouraged. In future, the Peace Trails will be set up to include MARTA train stops whenever possible. Also riding bikes between APT locations was encouraged, and the booklet posted a link to local bike and path organizations. The goal was to make the APT booklet a guide that enhances entertainment choices; connects a wide diversity of venues for both business and leisure visitors alike; and brings an awareness of peace to the forefront of the visitor experience.

Atlanta Peace Trails: Methods

Using Bradford as the model for APT only gave the team ideas to work with, not substance. Actual locations of Peace Poles, peace gardens and peace monuments had to be researched, documented, photographed and mapped. Then the collaboration began – local peacemakers were consulted, as well as city cultural affairs staff and other civic organizations. As the booklet began to materialize with lists of locations, histories, and stories, a designer was required to lay it out professionally. Lastly came marketing – not only to the venues portrayed in the booklet, but also to the Visitors Bureau and general public. The APT Website was purchased as a primary distribution tool.

Researching the places and collecting the stories

Even though 14 Peace Poles were on the initial list, data and stories about these places were missing. Thus began the great research project. Owners were contacted to see if their poles were still in existence, to verify locations, current contacts, and to document the history of these poles and the reasons

behind choosing certain languages of *May Peace Prevail On Earth* on each pole. It took many attempts, many hours and many different media (e-mail, phone, newspapers, photos, memories) to gather these stories. Some original planters of the poles were gone, causing the need to cast the research net wider and farther.

An unexpected result happened during this process. As we examined various locations in the city and talked with diverse groups, we discovered many venues that contained peace gardens, statues and monuments that we did not know existed. We also realized that many well-known places of peace in Atlanta were not on the list. The list began to grow beyond Peace Poles to include these peace gardens and monuments. Additionally, there were venues that could be construed as places of peace, but their owners had not considered this possibility, and did not have a Peace Pole nor a peace garden or monument.

The idea dawned to assist these venues to put in a Peace Pole or peace garden prior to the publication of the APT booklet, so that they could be included. A new wave of research opened up to entice more places to embrace concepts of peace in both their marketing missions and in their landscapes. In total, 39 places were identified and featured in the APT booklet: six peace gardens, 13 statues or monuments, and 20 Peace Poles. These Peace Poles were located at a variety of venues: three healing centres, three religious centres, four schools, two municipal centres, four gardens, two tourist attractions, one bookstore and one conference hotel.

Talking with officials and peace advocates

In addition to researching the history of these 39 places of peace, a great portion of the APT investigations involved talking to city officials, to civic leaders, and to local, national and global peace organizations to find information on other peace venues and trails, and to help link the booklet with the larger peace community.

A few examples of these institutions are listed here. The World Peace Prayer Society was consulted about The Peace Pole Project™ for information on Peace Poles. The Office of Cultural Affairs and the County Arts Council assisted with data on statues and gardens under city management that might be related to peace. MARTA was approached about funding the printing of the booklet. A local foundation formed to create paths throughout the city was interested in connected their paths with the Peace Trails, and the regional bike league agreed to be listed on the booklet to promote bike riding between peace venues and Peace Trails. In addition, the booklet was brought to the attention of the mayor of Atlanta, even though it was not officially sponsored by the city. Several of the contacted organizations were also interested in planting either a peace garden or Peace Pole in the future. This began discussion around the need for the booklet to be dynamic – either by expanding it at later dates with new editions, or by making it all electronic and Web based.

Designating the trails and booklet

Like Bradford, the APT booklet was sized as a pocket brochure (216×102 mm), to be made available both as a printed hard copy and a download from the Internet. The challenge was how to design the APT booklet into a meaningful and useful document? Its collective venues were spread out extensively over all of Metro Atlanta. The Bradford Peace Trail model was all one trail, and lacked the expansive size of Atlanta's metropolitan region. Bradford focused on showing places of peace in the town centre, and was not confined to Peace Poles (it had none), peace gardens and peace monuments.

Atlanta's solution was to make multiple trails, grouping the places into geographic regions and connecting those closest in proximity into a common trail. The final grouping came to eight Peace Trails – A through H. Maps were created: first, of the greater Metro Atlanta area, with shaded boxes for each of the eight Trail locations, and second, maps of each Trail, zooming into a more localized scale, with pins of each venue marked (Fig. 8.2). Third, a small map was included at the bottom of each venue page, so that a visitor could identify its exact location. Each venue page contained photographs, its address and contact information, brief history, and languages on its Peace Pole, if applicable.

A graphic designer took the information, photos, stories and maps and made sense of it all – producing a booklet that looked professional, interesting and useable. Each Trail was colour-coded, so that each venue on that Trail was not only placed in that coloured section of the booklet, but also was marked with that colour on its page. Quotations about peace by well-known authors were featured on each new Peace Trail section's coloured introduction page. Additionally, a reference page listing local and national resources for peace was placed at the back of the booklet.

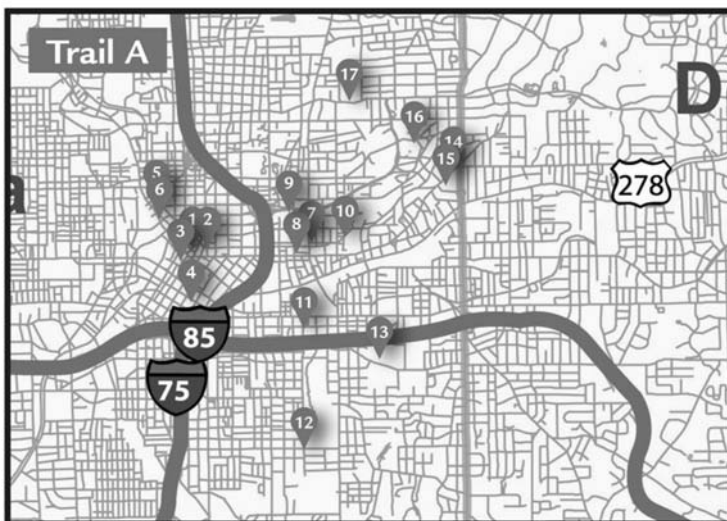


Fig. 8.2. Atlanta Peace Trails: Trail A map, p. 6 (courtesy of APT booklet).

Throughout the process of putting the booklet together, several new organizations supported APT by planting a Peace Pole, and were able to be included in the document. Since the booklet's completion, additional institutions have either planted a Peace Pole or made a peace garden, or are planning to plant one in the near future. This means that currently the booklet does not include total representation of places of peace in Atlanta, and points to a need to examine ways to expand the booklet to include these growing numbers.

Marketing: Website and distribution

A successful and easy way to include all new and old peace venues is on a website. The Internet renders these Peace Trails accessible to both visitors and residents alike, and it was decided upfront to take advantage of this in promoting APT. The domain name was purchased, a web master found, and a simple (almost free) website was created, www.AtlantaPeaceTrails.com/ and updated as needed. The website began with four pages, including a short history of APT, some photos, how to order a printed booklet, and then the most important section – how to get involved. The main goal is for viewers to get excited about peace, to visit the Peace Trails and to embrace making their own places of peace. It is important that these places also become avenues to teach peace concepts, instilling peace principles into community life. The website includes a free PDF download version of the APT booklet, as well as a way to purchase a hard copy.

How effective is this APT website? So far there has been a steady increase in the number of requests for pages viewed each month, beginning at 804 requests for 165 pages viewed in December 2008 to 1485 requests for 429 pages in May 2009. As for marketing, each participating venue in the APT booklet is to include a link on its website to APT, highlighting their involvement in the Peace Trails, and allowing their members to download a copy. Not every venue has accomplished this, but this is the aim of the future. Postcards were also created with the booklet's cover photo on it, advertising the APT website. These cards have been very useful to hand out at peace events and various gatherings. The website holds the primary future of the booklet information, as updating it is much cheaper than reprinting new editions. The Bradford Peace Trail booklet is now online, and even has an interactive map that a GPS Smartphone can download, to locate each venue of their Trail (Bradford, 2007). This can be the future of APT as well.

The APT booklet was designed to be printed and placed as a free take-away at convention centre kiosks and all the APT represented venues. Printing costs are inexpensive with large orders (US\$1), but very expensive with small orders (US\$15). The APT booklet was published on 21 September 2008; only a small number were printed. MARTA has agreed to sponsor a large printing, at low cost, for the privilege of including an advertisement to ride MARTA between Peace Trails. The APT booklet is currently sold at a couple of local, independent bookstores – for US\$15 each (cost of printing). A larger softbound book, *Peace Trails Atlanta: a Model for the World*, is planned as an extension

of this APT effort. It will include at least 20 in-depth personal stories from owners of peace locations; how-to information on creating your own place of peace; and listings of peace education opportunities that can be taught and implemented at each venue. It will be marketed at bookstores and on the APT website.

Atlanta Peace Trails: Selected Stories

Many amazing stories were unearthed in the research of APT, and two cases are presented briefly here. These are: (i) a foreign exchange effort through the Sister Cities programme involving the children of Atlanta, Georgia, USA and Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia; and (ii) the planting of Peace Poles by the local zoo and aquarium at their entrances, embracing their institutions as places of peace.

Douglasville peace tree and peace pole: a foreign exchange

The city of Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia is Sister City to Atlanta, Georgia, USA. This relationship has flourished since 1988, as part of the Sister Cities programme, which began in 1956 'when a people-to-people citizen diplomacy initiative was proposed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower as part of the League of Nations' (City of Atlanta Online, 2009). Through a cultural exchange in 1988, anchored by Sister City Georgia to Georgia Program Project Peace Tree, the writing of 10,000 pen pal letters was facilitated to build bridges of friendship between the children of Tbilisi and Atlanta. From there, 1000 life-masks of the children's faces were exchanged, a dental clinic was created and 'The Peace Dream Bear' began its *Hugs Around the World Tour* in Tbilisi.

This exchange led to home stays for over 75 children, adults and government officials from Tbilisi to Atlanta over the next couple of years. Two delegations of 25 people each also travelled from Atlanta to Tbilisi to enhance the bonds of friendship. In 1989, one group of children from Tbilisi happened to be in Atlanta when civil war broke out in their country. The children of Atlanta came together to quickly comfort them, and agreed to create a Peace Plaque, where all the children combined their handprints in a cement flagstone at the base of the Peace Tree in Hunter Park to remember their unity and friendship.

Now 20 years later, those seeds that were planted continue to grow. Children from 1989, now adults, came back together to remember those seeds of peace. Two Peace Poles were recently planted at Hunter Park near the Peace Tree, and at the Cultural Arts Center where the children's masks were displayed years ago. The local newspaper caught the story, and wrote the following article, excerpted, here (Siegel, 2009):

A pole to be installed outside Douglasville's Cultural Arts Center this Saturday is not so much a work of art as it is a work of peace. The Peace Pole Project was started

by the non-sectarian World Peace Prayer Society, founded in 1955. Tens of thousands of Peace Poles have been planted on every continent ... Each four-sided pole contains the phrase 'May Peace Prevail On Earth' in four languages ... The council chose English, Spanish and Mandarin Chinese as the languages that would be most spoken around the world, and Georgian, which ... is printed in a beautiful script between Cyrillic and Arabic ... '[In 1989] We exchanged letters of peace ...' Soviet children danced at Arbor Station Elementary School. 'This community embraced it,' Ms. Merrifield said. 'This is a 20-year memorial of people coming together and realizing you can plant a seed. That tree is much bigger today.'

Georgia Aquarium and Zoo Atlanta

There are 221 zoos and aquariums in the USA that are accredited with the Association of Zoos and Aquariums (AZA). Every year, 175 million people visit these US zoos and aquariums – more visitors than all sporting events combined. This extensive number of visitors creates a rich opportunity to promote concepts of peace, particularly as 88% of the US public is in favour of zoos and aquariums (AZA, 2009). Zoos and aquariums are family-oriented educational institutions, with a primary mission of understanding the connectedness between humans and their natural environments. They are living institutions that promote unity – each accredited zoo or aquarium is a place of peace by its very nature. What better place to plant a Peace Pole and weave teachings of peace concepts into their environmental messages and educational curricula?

Even though the two institutions in Atlanta had never considered peace as a part of their mission statement or practice, it made good sense to ask the Georgia Aquarium and Zoo Atlanta if they would consider planting a Peace Pole, as a symbol of their mission to promote harmony between humans and their environment. Both institutions agreed to do so. Enthusiasm mounted as each institution purchased a Peace Pole, and located the spot to plant it, with a garden of flowers surrounding each pole. The zoo chose four languages that represented their local members, and the countries from which their most popular animals came: Chinese (pandas), Swahili (gorillas, elephants), Spanish and English. The aquarium chose 13 languages for their Peace Pole – embracing a global approach to peace: Braille, Chinese, German, Spanish, English, Russian, Japanese, Portuguese, Hebrew, French, Arabic, Italian and Sign language.

This marked the beginning of a tangible connection between US zoos and peace. The zoo has since reported that visitors inquire about the Peace Pole and its significance. One of the goals of APT is to assist the zoo in developing peace classes around their animal curricula, linking science, animals and peace.

Discussion: Lessons Learned

The exercise of creating the APT was fruitful, productive, cohesive and inspiring, as well as frustrating, limited and somewhat ahead of its time. The

successes and challenges are discussed here, as a guide and model for the next Peace Trails venture. Social impacts and bridging gaps in peace consciousness are also explored.

Challenges and successes

This APT exercise was not without its challenges; at the same time, these were balanced with many successes. The main challenge was that this was a volunteer effort, requiring hundreds of hours of free time for over one year. Unlike Bradford, there were no official sponsors, other than the affiliations of the people involved. This meant that meetings, research and booklet design came second to normal duties, and had no budget. For future Peace Trails, securing city funding is key, as well as partnerships with other peace organizations, as this is a collaborative enterprise.

Another challenge was determining which local tourist venues could be identified with the label 'peace'. What constitutes a place of peace? The booklet criteria were Peace Poles, gardens and monuments – but what qualified as a peace garden or peace statue? In the end, it was those institutions that agreed to take on the peace label through their pole, garden or monument. The success here was that several venues chose to plant Peace Poles in order to qualify as a peace venue prior to the APT publishing deadline. Since publication, several more venues have met the criteria and become a part of APT.

A third challenge was printing and marketing. With no budget, this became a creative effort. Additionally, the featured organizations in the APT were listed for free – so no revenue was gained from their participation. For future Peace Trails, participants could become members, each paying a fee for being listed. Taking ownership in this way could also enhance their willingness to post links to APT on their websites, as this has not yet been fully accomplished. The successes are that the APT website is up and running, and that two independent bookstores are selling the booklet. Also, MARTA has agreed to donate printing costs for a large quantity of booklets for distribution at their stations and around the city.

Fourth, there is both a successful and challenging aspect to increasing the number of peace venues on Peace Trails. On the one hand, greater numbers of venues increase awareness of the peace label, and provide more local supply, which is needed if tourist demand increases. This balance of tourism supply and demand is key to maximizing the efforts of Peace Trails, and infusing peace titles on community landmarks in the minds of visitors and residents alike. The challenge is in keeping up with lists of growing numbers of venues, for Web and marketing purposes. Perhaps with a critical number of venues, the control will shift from APT (volunteer) personnel to venue-driven marketing, where its peace label becomes a standard part of its mission and public relations identity.

Social impacts: bridging the peace gaps

One key social impact was the formation or enhancement of solid, long-lasting relationships through the APT process – between peace activists, civic offices, tourist attractions, and local organizations. Diversity was celebrated, and a unity among previously independent peace builders, in addition to newcomers at the table, was achieved. It forged a ‘universal ring of friendship’ (Smith, 2003), helping to unite causes and create citywide collaboration. A foundational social impact of APT was that organizations that had never before thought of peace as their identity or mission agreed to join the Peace Trails, and be listed to the world as a place of peace. Bringing the zoo and aquarium on as part of the 39 Peace Trail partners was a significant achievement. In 2005, the Zoo Director had scoffed at peace education in zoos, saying the zoo did not want to be involved in war/anti-war discussions. Then in 2007, he said if we could show how peace relates to animals and conservation, he would agree for the zoo to be a part of APT. This is the key – being able to relate peace concepts to top tourism destinations, as well as beginning to bridge the gaps between typical peace institutions (religious institutions and healing centres) and those seen as non-peace, everyday venues (schools, zoo, bookstores, etc.).

Involving youth in the peace process is fundamental to a future of peace. An exciting result of the Peace Pole plantings was that the youth from the featured schools had actually built and decorated their poles. Now, through the APT, they are linked together in a wider net of peacemakers. A future social impact of Peace Trails will undoubtedly be to encourage research on the characteristics of a ‘peace tourist’. It remains to be seen if general business or leisure travellers to Atlanta are willing to visit these places of peace, and become labelled as peace tourists. Personal studies seem to indicate that most visitors to a peace garden are on a spiritual journey, looking for ways to enhance peace inside themselves (G. Lash, *Labyrinth Walkers*, unpublished notes). An ultimate goal is to give greater power to this social impact by making all journeys be recognized by the general public as peace journeys, linking tourism, progress and peace.

Summary: How to Make People Think About Peace

The APT dilemma was how to make peace an active, normal part of society? Peace Trails offer an opportunity to connect diverse peacemakers and to identify places of peace – not only those organizations or locations that have peace gardens or monuments, but also everyday spots and well-known local tourist attractions. The desire and reality was to: (i) show both tourist and vendor that peace concepts can be infused into everyday life; (ii) produce and market the Peace Trails; and (iii) develop and facilitate educational programmes on peace to synergize with the mission of each venue.

In the end we will conserve only what we love. We will love only what we understand. We will understand only what we are taught.

(Baba Dioum, Senegalese poet)

Peace, too, like conservation, needs to be taught – even though we think we know with certainty what peace is. Universal peace values are tinted by culture, and intrinsic peace values can be buried deeply, needing excavation and cross-cultural practical applications. Norton (1991) states in his book, *Toward Unity Among Environmentalists*,

The environmentalists' dilemma, which is primarily a dilemma in ultimate values, results in inarticulation when environmentalists discuss, explain, and justify their policies. To the extent that utilitarian and more preservationist approaches are seen as exclusive choices – as *opposed* rather than complementary values – it follows that I must choose between two inadequate languages to express my indignation [at a girl systematically harvesting hundreds of sand dollars on the beach]. Neither the language of biocentric moralism nor the language of utilitarianism was adequate to explain and justify my view that the little girl should put most of the sand dollars back.

Similarly, peace is seen as a dichotomy – with one proponent seeing war as a prelude to and keeper of peace, and the other proponent squarely in the anti-war camp (associated with the 'hippy, peace-love' movement of the 1960s). We place these as exclusive choices, opposed to one another, and see peace as only belonging to situations and discussions of conflict or associated with unrealistic ideals and utopian goals. To bring unity to these dichotomies and see peace as a normal way of life, associated with community organizations we hold dear, such as a school or church, and those tourist attractions that are seen as vital to one's city, such as a zoo or botanical garden, has, to date, not been an option on the table. Peace Trails offer this option. They bring an opportunity to teach peace – to infuse peace concepts into any and every life situation – through domestic tourism. The intent of APT is to affix the label 'peace' on schools, bookstores, zoos, and parks, thus bringing a more unified concept of peace to bear not only on discussions about peace, but also on everyday activities. Peace Trails can bridge the gap between past beliefs about peace and future peace norms – bringing peace into our present day and time for grassroots society.

Conclusions

This APT model can be accomplished most anywhere – with a lot of determination, time and enthusiasm. A future extension of these metropolitan Peace Trails is to map Peace Trails linking communities worldwide. The fact that Metro Atlanta could support a community Peace Trail booklet of this kind, unite multiple and diverse peace organizations, build a large network of new civic and private institutions that had never thought to identify themselves with peace – until now – and promote peace to its domestic travellers is encouraging and exciting for the future of metropolitan areas everywhere.

Some of the benefits from APT:

- encourages people to visit places of peace in the city;
- brings people together at grassroots level;

- promotes simple and doable action – plant a Peace Pole or garden;
- infuses the earth with the intention with which the pole was planted;
- fosters healing of conflict;
- creates lasting, international and local friendships through the APT development process; and
- begins to normalize our dichotomist views of peace, opening the door to new ways of infusing peace into societal values.

Most importantly, Peace Trails aim to empower the visitor and resident to claim peace, and take ownership of creating places of peace in their own front yards. It is not too much to dream that every school, church, park, garden and business could one day have a Peace Pole, Peace Garden or Peace Monument on its grounds. The APT goal is 10,000 Peace Poles in Georgia, USA! It may happen sooner than we think.

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9

Effects of the August 2008 War in Georgia on Tourism and its Resources

M. METREVELI¹ and D.J. TIMOTHY²

¹*Economic Sector and Economic Policy Committee, Parliament of Georgia, Tbilisi, Georgia,* ²*Arizona State University, Phoenix, Arizona, USA*

Introduction

In most instances, war and tourism are incompatible forces, except when the after-effects of war become a tourist attraction. Because tourism is so volatile, being subject to many external forces, and one of people's primary concerns while travelling is their personal safety, stable political environments and benevolent relations between nations are nearly always required for the successful development of tourism. It is now a well-known fact that travellers seek out places where peace abides and where their personal safety can be best assured. Even whispers of war and political tension send arrivals plummeting, not only in the regions directly affected by conflict but in neighbouring areas as well and throughout the entire world (Mansfeld and Pizam, 2006; Timothy, 2006). For instance, following the tragic terror events of 2001 in the USA, world travel slowed dramatically, even in countries outside the USA and the Middle East.

Not only do political instability and war send arrival numbers plummeting, they have clear and long-lasting, sometimes permanent, effects on a country's cultural and natural resources, which are often targeted directly for destruction or are innocent casualties of the ongoing battles around them (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Many examples of this exist, and such was the case in the short-lived Russia–Georgia War, also known as the South Ossetia War of 2008. The aim of this chapter is to describe the events associated with the August 2008 conflict between the Republic of Georgia and Russia and its effects on the natural and cultural tourism resources of Georgia. The chapter provides a case study about many of the devastating effects of war on tourism and suggests future directions for creating more peaceful relations that will be more conducive for developing tourism in the Caucasus.

War and Tourism in the Republic of Georgia

The effects of war

War, terrorism, *coups d'état* and other forms of political instability have been proved time and time again to reduce visitor arrivals and taint the image of tourist destinations (Teye, 1986; Bandara, 1997; Hall *et al.*, 2003; Bhattarai *et al.*, 2005; Hitchcock and Putra, 2005; Fleischer and Buccola, 2006; Fyall *et al.*, 2006; Hughes, 2008). While all forms of security risk tend to have the same initial aversive effect on tourists' choice of destinations, the influence of natural disasters almost always has a shorter duration than that associated with human-induced crises. Destinations affected by volcano eruptions, earthquakes, floods, tidal waves or hurricanes typically recover more quickly than locations shaken by human-caused catastrophes such as terrorism, crime and war (Timothy, 2006).

Another relationship between tourism and conflict identified by scholars is war as a tourist attraction. This typically refers to the after-effects of warfare becoming heritage sites such as battlefields, cemeteries and monuments (Smith, 1996; Henderson, 2000; Fyall *et al.*, 2006; Lunn, 2007). However, it also includes visits to active war zones, which while not very common, do appeal to a select few adventurous tourists (Moufakkir, 2007), many of whom ignore their own potential mortality for an unforgettable experience. Current adventure tours of Afghanistan and Iraq offer tourists (primarily Europeans) an opportunity to explore war zones, visit abandoned Al Qaeda camps, and experience the physical damage caused by warfare (Lew *et al.*, 2008).

While many scholars have described the effects of political instability on tourism and the role of war relics and locales as heritage sites after the conflict has ceased (Ryan, 2007), relatively few have considered the toll that war takes on tourism infrastructures, cultural landscapes, natural environments and the economy in general (Collier, 1999). Dudley *et al.* (2002) examined the consequences of war on wildlife and its habitats, suggesting that immediate and residual effects of munitions and chemical agents are extremely harmful. In terms of vegetation, warfare commonly destroys huge tracts of woodlands and forests through bombings, munitions and their resultant forest fires. Additionally, war has a tendency to cause residents to rely more on wood for fuel and bushmeat for protein, thereby depleting forest resources even further (Draulans and van Krunkelsven, 2002). It also pollutes water resources (Richardson, 1995) and hampers nature conservation efforts (Kanyambwa, 1998).

Perhaps the most irreparable damage, however, tends to occur at places of human heritage, where archaeological sites and historic buildings are destroyed or heavily damaged by shell fire, bombs and fires. The same spots are often looted for their precious artefacts, which can be destroyed, stolen, or collected and sold illicitly on the global antiquities market. The US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 led to widespread pillaging of Iraqi museums by local gangs, warlords and other profiteers (Brodie, 2003; Bogdanos, 2005; Rothfield, 2008). While

many looted artefacts have been recovered, many will likely never be returned to their rightful place.

As noted in the introduction, wars harm built heritage in two primary ways: intentional targets and innocent casualties (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Because heritage sites are seen as markers of national identity and foci of patriotic pride, they are often among the first locations to be targeted by enemy fire as a way of making a political statement (Talley, 1995). One prominent example is the historic city of Dubrovnik, Croatia, which was targeted by Yugoslav forces during the Croatian wars of the mid-1990s (Ban and Vrtiprah, 1999; Radnic and Ivandic, 1999). The entire ancient, walled city was targeted, and many homes and buildings were devastated. Today most of the damage has been repaired, but some of it will always remain (Sulc, 2001). Even in cases where heritage sites are not deliberate targets, they usually suffer in times of war. Angkor Wat in Cambodia is a prime example where considerable damage occurred during that country's civil war of the 1970s and 1980s. While the temples were not intentionally barraged, they did suffer from gunshots and vandals while many Khmer Rouge troops used the ancient structures as shelters and storage units (Dauge, 1997).

These conditions of war against culture and nature exist in many parts of the world. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) together with other international bodies has expressed grave concerns where the natural and cultural sites inscribed on its World Heritage List are affected by armed conflict to the extent that they can be de-listed or placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger (UNESCO, 2009).

While several prominent examples have been highlighted in the literature about long-term wars and their lingering effects on tourism, particularly as it pertains to infrastructure damage and the downturn in arrivals (Bandara, 1997; Ladki and Dah, 1997; Ioannides and Apostolopoulos, 1999; Radnic and Ivandic, 1999; Winter, 2008), the same has not been considered in the context of a short-lived but brutal war, as in the case of the 2008 conflict in Georgia. The sections that follow describe the background to the war and the outcomes of the brief attack immediately following the ceasefire.

Precursors to the war and tourism in Georgia

The Caucasus region lies at the threshold of Europe and Asia, between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea. It is an extremely attractive region for tourism from natural and cultural perspectives. It is home to spectacular high mountains, green valleys, burgeoning cities and rich and ancient cultures, based largely on proud religious and linguistic traditions. The region is home to three newly independent countries: Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, which all became sovereign states with the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Georgia, the middle of the three countries in size and with a population of only 4.6 million, is a relatively small country by global standards. On the north it is bordered by Russia, on the west by the Black Sea, and on the south and south-east by Turkey, Armenia and Azerbaijan. The country is self-sufficient

and economically sound in many respects. For instance, Georgia meets its own agricultural and energy needs and in fact is a net exporter of some of these commodities. The country saw dramatic economic growth in 2006 and 2007 (10–12% per annum), but 2008 and 2009 figures are expected to be considerably lower given the global recession during those years and the 2008 conflict (CIA, 2009). Services, including tourism, comprise approximately 60% of the GDP, followed by industry and agriculture.

Following the consolidation of several kingdoms in the early 1800s, Georgia became part of the Russian Empire, where it functioned until the Russian Revolution in 1917. Following the revolution, Georgia became an independent country in 1918; its independence lasted only until it was forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union in 1921.

With the collapse of state socialism (i.e. communism) in Eastern Europe and the USSR, Georgia once again won its independence from a Russian stronghold in April 1991. Georgia's joining the world community in 1991 weakened its political, economic and cultural links to Russia, even though it, as all of the former Soviet republics had done, joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (which it departed in 2009 as a result of the 2008 conflict). Nonetheless, Russia continued to exert various forms of control and manipulation over Georgia in the years that followed, including strict visa regulations, economic embargos, and labelling Georgia a 'disobedient state'. More importantly, though, from the Georgians' perspective, Russia was instrumental in dividing the country by inciting and supporting secessionist movements in the regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Following its independence, the country suffered several periods of political upheaval. In 1991, the country suffered a bloody *coup d'état*, which led to a civil war that lasted until 1995.

During the Soviet era, South Ossetia and Abkhazia were established as Autonomous Oblasts within the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. While they were part of Georgia proper, each had its own minority language and culture but was heavily populated by ethnic Georgians. In 1992, newly independent Georgia decided to abolish the Soviet-era constitution and re-adopt its 1921 constitution, which to the Abkhazis and Ossetians meant that their high level of autonomy could be abolished. As a result, in July 1992, Abkhaz leaders declared independence from Georgia, began to cast Georgian officials out of office, and with Russian support became closely aligned with Russia and various Russian paramilitary groups (Potier, 2001; Zürcher, 2007).

Meanwhile, between 1990 and 1992, conflict ensued between Georgia and South Ossetian and Russian forces over Georgia's efforts to quell a separatist movement in the South Ossetian autonomous region. A ceasefire was declared in 1992 and both South Ossetia and Abkhazia were patrolled by Russian, Ossetian/Abkhazian and Georgian peacekeepers. The relative calm lasted until the mid-2000s, although the separatist regions had aligned themselves more closely with Russia than with Georgia. In 2004, the Georgian government began again to try to assert control over South Ossetia, even sending in police to crush black market activities and establishing in Tbilisi a sort of government in exile for the breakaway region. These efforts were met

with fighting resistance against Georgian troops by South Ossetian and Russian freedom fighters (Zürcher, 2007; Nichol, 2008). While both South Ossetia and Abkhazia have declared independence from Georgia, only a handful of leftist states have recognized their sovereignty.

Since coming into power in 2003, one of President Saakashvili's primary goals has been the re-integration of the two separatist territories back into full Georgian control, although his pro-US and pro-Western Europe policies soured relations with Russia. In 2004 and 2006, Georgia sent security forces into South Ossetia and Abkhazia, ostensibly in an effort to fight illegal smuggling, although these moves were seen also as an effort to gain more political footing in the territories (Cheterian, 2008; Hamilton, 2008; Nichol, 2008). After a 2006 pro-independence vote in South Ossetia, Georgia accused Russia of meddling in internal affairs, some even say annexing parts of Georgia's sovereign territory into Russia. In 2008, Russia and Georgia accused one another of preparing for war. In April 2008, Russia established 'diplomatic' ties with the two breakaway regions, effectively recognizing their independence, which further soured relations with Georgia. After Russia shot down a Georgian unmanned plane, tensions escalated into war on 7 August 2008. While the active combat lasted only from 7 to 22 August, a great deal of damage was done to the natural and cultural environments of Georgia, many lives were lost, and more than 250,000 people were displaced from the two territories.

During their long history, Georgians have withstood invasions and attempted annexations by powerful neighbours. For centuries, the people and rulers of Georgia fought with a united force and stayed off foreign invasions, although the 1921 Soviet takeover was too much to withstand. Even during the Soviet period, Georgia and its people have remained fiercely patriotic to their ancient land, religion and language (Suny, 1994). This is evident in the vast cultural landscapes of churches, castles and monasteries that dot the mountains and valleys throughout the country.

The tragic events of August 2008 put Georgia in an incredibly precarious situation economically, and essentially halted the efforts and gains that had theretofore been made in the development of tourism and other economic sectors.

Tourism in Georgia and the effects of the war

Georgia is well endowed with beautiful natural landscapes and awesome physical geography, including 330 km of subtropical Black Sea shoreline and beaches, dense forests (38.6% of the country's total area), 860 lakes, numerous waterfalls, 25,000 rivers, high peaks of more than 5000 m and alpine meadows. The country is home to eight national parks, 13 state preserves, ten state wildlife sanctuaries and nine natural monuments. There are also numerous mineral springs that provide an assortment of spa opportunities. These natural resources form the foundation of the country's beach and ski resorts, hiking trails, wildlife and bird watching, and national park-based tourism.

In addition to its natural features, Georgia boasts a 4000-year human

history that rivals that of any European country, resulting in a wealth of cultural heritage sites. Georgia was one of the earliest countries in the world to adopt Christianity, in approximately AD 330. The country's proud religious heritage forms much of the foundation of its cultural tourism, particularly its vast collection of ancient churches and monasteries scattered throughout the urban and rural parts of the country, in some cases set against the most scenic backdrops in the world. Traditional Georgian cultures are a mix of Asian and European influences, with many original customs and traditions being preserved against outside forces by their isolated mountain locations. Residents of many rural and remote villages still practise ancient traditions, produce handicrafts in their customary forms and practise a culture of hospitality toward outsiders. Their music, dance and other living traditions are also emphasized by the government and tour agencies as highlights of the country's heritage product.

In addition, with a strong heritage of viticulture, Georgia is an ardent producer and net exporter of fine wines in more than 250 varieties. The Department of Tourism and Resorts is working feverishly to develop a global reputation for wine tourism and gastronomy, based upon its viticultural and cuisine heritage.

Long before the 2008 conflict, Georgia's government had recognized tourism as a priority economic development sector. The country has enormous potential for tourism development, and since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, it has been active in promoting itself as a favoured destination, primarily to a European audience. The country's principal tourist markets include Germany, France, the UK, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Ukraine, the Baltic States, the USA, Canada, Switzerland, Turkey, Bulgaria, Japan, Austria, Egypt and Poland, and with the exception of late 2008, the growth in arrivals has been remarkable (Table 9.1).

Prior to the 1990s, Russians accounted for half of all tourist arrivals in Georgia. The introduction of the new Russia-imposed visa regime following Georgia's independence, however, reduced tourist flows significantly to and from Russia, which is indicative of the souring relations between the two countries, Russia's labelling Georgia a rogue state, and its support of separatist Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

The 2008 military clash between Russia and Georgia inflicted salient damage to the tourism industry of Georgia, which had only recently begun to recover from the political turmoil and economic instability of the past two decades. Based on the authors' own observations and the first author's years of experience in the Georgian Parliament and as a tourism academic in the republic, as well as interviews with 23 tour companies and 12 hoteliers inside Georgia, this section briefly describes empirically some of the ways in which the recent war affected tourism and the natural and cultural resources upon which it is based.

Probably the most commonly observed impacts on tourism in conditions of war and political instability are a decrease in tourist arrivals. This is also the case in Georgia, where observers suggest that far fewer tourists arrived during and following the August 2008 battles than would otherwise have been expected. While data are unknown for 2009, 2008 numbers reveal a continued

Table 9.1. International arrivals in Georgia by origin region, 2000–2008.

#	Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
1	Europe (non-CIS)	125,675	92,555	92,101	108,705	123,831	167,075	301,387	353,924	459,272
2	Americas	10,789	7,315	8,156	8,731	11,209	14,842	19,417	16,865	17,489
3	East Asia/ Pacific	7,145	5,161	6,865	2,967	4,952	3,244	13,732	9,415	9,459
4	Middle East	2,152	1,254	1,250	1,835	1,563	973	2,105	2,490	3,245
5	South Asia	6,058	3,843	5,822	4,505	3,494	6,641	9,977	10,873	13,457
6	Africa	256	707	586	306	788	431	777	883	640
7	CIS	221,671	184,057	176,419	174,002	218,548	366,054	634,360	655,742	784,511
8	Other	13,512	7,323	7,270	12,391	3,927	761	1,359	1,577	2,034
	Total	387,258	302,215	298,469	313,442	368,312	560,021	983,114	1,051,769	1,290,107

Source: Department of Tourism and Resorts (2009).

strong growth into 2008. Even though arrivals increased in 2008 over 2007's numbers, the growth was believed to have been slowed by the events of August. The extant growth in 2008 arrivals (Table 9.1) likely represents an increase in arrivals during the 7 months prior to the hostilities and without war, growth would likely have been even higher. Part of the growth is also attributable to the increase of journalists and other foreign observers.

Evidence of the initial collapse of tourism and its toll on arrivals abounds. According to tour operators, 4648 tourists on 257 organized group tours cancelled their reserved trips to the country between August and October 2008. Of 50 groups comprising 799 tourists planning to visit Georgia in September, only 45 tourists actually arrived – 17 of them on official business. Most of the few adventurous tourists who did come were from Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, UAE, the USA, Germany, France and Turkey. Seven tour agencies out of the original 13 who had planned to participate in world tourism exhibitions cancelled their participation, citing financial woes brought on by the conflict.

One situation is particularly symptomatic of this situation: beach tourism. Several balneal and seaside resorts have developed on the Black Sea coast and become extremely popular among European, North American and Russian tourists. However, an en masse abandonment of these popular destinations began in droves on 8 August; 150,000 tourists left the Black Sea coastal area of Ajara in a matter of just a few days. These seaside destinations have yet to recover completely a full year later. With a decrease in arrivals, 70% of the country's tourism-based workforce became unemployed, just in the month of September.

The hotel sector seemed to fare better than other tourism service providers. Brand-name and large-scale hotels (e.g. Marriott) continued to operate nearly at normal levels. While the number of leisure tourist arrivals plummeted in the months that followed the conflict, occupancy rates remained fairly constant, as business travellers, such as journalists, diplomats and other official observers, filled the rooms left empty by holiday-makers. Small-scale establishments, such as guesthouses and bungalows in holiday regions (e.g. Ajara), were hit hardest in the lodging sector. In common with all areas infected by political instability, travel agents, tour operators and service providers suffered dire economic consequences.

Similarly, the conflict affected the desirability of Georgia as a destination on the world stage. In 2007, the World Economic Forum in Geneva, Switzerland, began to evaluate countries' potential for tourism development through a Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI), which takes into account variables related to a country's regulatory framework, business environment, infrastructure, and human, cultural and natural resources (Blanke and Chiesa, 2009). According to the 2007 report, Georgia ranked 66 in the world in terms of its TTCI, outranking important and desirable destination countries such as Romania, China, Madagascar, Nepal, Kenya, Ecuador, Vietnam and Russia. The 2009 report, however, ranked Georgia at 73, even below other areas of conflict, such as Colombia, Egypt and Mexico. This slip no doubt is at least partially due to the 2008 war. Among the most influential

'pillars' of competitiveness adopted by the World Economic Forum are safety and security, tourism infrastructure, ground transportation, natural resources, and cultural resources – all of which were jeopardized by the conflict.

Severe damage was also inflicted on the country's tourism resources and infrastructure. A significant portion of Georgia's tourism infrastructure was demolished or nearly completely destroyed. Highways, airports, ports, bridges and roads were targeted and destroyed by the Russians, public buildings and historic sites were bombed, and some hotels were damaged. An entire tourist season failed and the industry is having difficulty recovering. Likewise, many banks, insurance companies and tour operators failed.

As noted earlier, much of Georgia's tourism image and product base is founded on its natural beauty and wide-ranging ecological zones. Unfortunately, Russia's use of 'cassette bombs' and various other cluster bombs resulted in large forest fires that destroyed huge tracts of original forest, including some endemic species, such as varieties of yew, spruce, fir, pine, hornbeam and others, which were swiftly annihilated in the ensuing wildfires.

One prominent example is Borjomi-Kharagauli National Park, which was the first protected area in all the Caucasus region and part of the Protected Areas Network of Europe – a position that adds prestige to a given protected area, requires high prioritization for its protection at national and international levels, and encourages the development of tourism that abides by the principles of sustainability (Panparks, 2009). Prior to August 2008, the park's ecosystem included intact mountain forests, subtropical meadows and a wide variety of wildlife, including many endangered species. The park was home to the greatest massifs of coniferous forests in the Lesser Caucasioni and the largest expanses of eastern spruce in the entire world. There were nine tourist trails in Borjomi-Kharagauli. The park was especially favoured among adventurers and nature lovers, and included shelters for camping and picnicking, as well as other infrastructure to facilitate and encourage nature-based tourism.

Unfortunately, some 1000 ha of forest massif in Borjomi-Kharagauli National Park was destroyed in the conflict, including 150,000 m³ of root-standing trees. Many fauna species, including some on the world's endangered species list – brown bears, lynx, deer, chamois, otters, white-tailed sea eagles, Caucasian efts, Caucasian blackcocks, Caucasian vipers, long-eared myotis, European barbastelles and Caucasian squirrels – also suffered direct loss of life, habitat destruction and food source depletion. Microorganisms and various bacteria necessary for soil regeneration were also devastated, and with the forest depleted, microclimatic regimes began to change in the forest and its accompanying subtropical meadows. In addition to the natural elements, much of the park's tourist facilities and infrastructure were destroyed by the fires and bombings.

Additionally, vast quantities of oil, gasoline and diesel were dumped into the Black Sea as many Georgian ships and barges were exploded or sunk otherwise by the Russian forces. According to scientists and environmental experts, at least 50–70 tons of petroleum products spilled into the Sea. Based on normal streams and currents typical to the shoreline of Georgia, oil waste was estimated to have migrated considerable distances northward. Only 5 km

from the main spill site lies the marine sector of Kolkheti National Park, distinctive for its unique biodiversity, and an inscribed site on the Ramsar List of Wetlands of International Importance (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008). Making matters worse, the Russian forces, which occupied the Black Sea coastal area during the war, did not permit environmental organizations or Georgian government representatives to assess the situation on the ground or determine the extent of oil damage to the water ecosystem. Post-war preliminary estimates place the environmental cost of the war in the range of one trillion euros.

The natural environment was not the only one to suffer. Although the active combat was short-lived, the cultural environment also received considerable damage. There were approximately 345 registered historic sites and ancient monuments in the conflict zones (Flynn, 2008). During the battles, 16 cultural monuments were seriously damaged in the Didi Liakhvi and Patara Liakhvi river gorges. The extent of some of the damage is not yet known because they are located in territories still occupied by Russian forces. Other sites were damaged by severe bombing and shelling. Intense bombing near the city of Gori close to several important heritage sites was particularly concerning, including rockets fired into the ancient cave city, Uplistsikhe, a unique settlement cut into bedrock, cliffs and caves in the 5th century BC and on the World Heritage Tentative List. Once Georgian observers were again allowed to visit Uplistsikhe, it was confirmed that many ancient frescoes and structures had been damaged by the attacks. Similar concerns emerged after reports of looting of the 11th-century Samtavisi Cathedral, which was another candidate for the UNESCO World Heritage List (Flynn, 2008).

Discussion and Conclusion

As this case study indicates, the conflict in 2008 between Georgia and Russia proved devastating to Georgia's tourism resources and infrastructure. Recovery has started, but it is slow, and there is still a long way to go. The short-term nature of the Russia–Georgia War may have played a salient role in the short-lived downturn in tourist arrivals, but only new data after 2009 will be able to gauge whether or not that is the case. Future studies are needed to test the long-term impacts of the war on arrivals and the lasting social effects in the lives of Georgians. Based on all tentative indicators, though, there seem to be fewer long-lasting effects in this regard than in regions where longer wars were fought or where they are ongoing, a concept supported by Vukonić (1992) in his assertion that different types of war and conflict have different consequences for the environment, people's lives and tourism.

One interesting observation in this particular case might apply to other developing destinations, but more empirical evidence is needed. This is that in countries where arrival numbers are relatively small to begin with, absences and excess bed capacities caused by crises such as the August 2008 conflict can be filled in part at least by visiting journalists and dignitaries, who arrive as

observers and reporters. This occurred in Georgia, as business travel took up the slack in pleasure travel in the short term, temporarily during the duration of the fighting and shortly afterward.

As noted earlier, war and its aftermath may in many cases be seen as a tourist attraction. Often, former battlefields become romanticized, mystic places where descendants of soldiers visit on quasi-pilgrimage-like journeys into their own personal past. Such is the case with British tourists visiting the Western Front of the First World War in Belgium and France (Iles, 2008), Second World War veterans visiting battlefields in Southeast Asia and the Pacific (Smith, 1998; Cooper, 2006; Lunn, 2007), Korean and Vietnam War allied veterans and their children visiting those countries in the 1990s and 2000s (Agrusa *et al.*, 2006), and Japanese and Americans visiting places such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

There is some evidence to suggest that this use of war heritage also has potential in Georgia. There is latitude for tour agencies in the country to capitalize on the brief war for visitors interested in 'dark tourism' or other travellers who might have an interest in war heritage in general or a personal connection to Georgia and its ongoing struggles as a new sovereign nation. Such struggles for independence and global recognition tend to be supported by diasporic groups, who, in a move toward solidarity, buoy up the homeland through tourism. It will also be interesting to see how this plays out in the context of Georgia and the Georgian diaspora.

By taking advantage of the heritage of the 2008 conflict, Georgia has an opportunity to utilize tourism as a tool for recovery and to spread the cause of global peace, the way many other countries have done even though their own conflicts have not entirely ended (Bandara, 1997; Kiambo, 2005; Webster and Timothy, 2006). Nonetheless, while many observers have argued that tourism can only exist once peace has been established (and indeed tourism is a barometer of peaceful processes and benevolent cross-border relations), tourism unquestionably has potential to play a role in the development of peace and cooperation. Several examples exist where destinations in or near zones of conflict thrive on tourism and employ tourism as a partial means of deferring conflict (Anson, 1999; Shin, 2005), even at the DMZ border of North and South Korea, where soldiers function as tour guides and where the border functions as a living museum (Timothy *et al.*, 2004).

Such uses of a contentious past can help promote healing, reconciliation and closure. While it currently seems a long way off, it is our hope that eventually the political tensions in the Caucasus region will alleviate, and Russian tourists will return to Georgia and Georgian tourists will return to Russia. Such a relationship would be mutually beneficial from many socio-economic and political perspectives, including reconciliation and peace building. These kinds of visits, as illustrated by examples from around the world (e.g. the Koreas and Cyprus), can be instrumental in cementing a personal and collective resolve never to allow such atrocities to occur again.

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10

Volunteer Tourism in Palestine: a Normative Perspective

RAMI K. ISAAC and V. PLATENKAMP

Centre for Cross-Cultural Understanding, NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, Breda, The Netherlands

Introduction

Pilgrimage and hospitality have been defining features of the economy and society of the Holy Land and Palestine for 2000 years. The eruption of the second Palestinian uprising (*Intifada*) has introduced Palestine to a reality of fluctuating political violence and counter-violence, tension and instability (Isaac, 2008). This has damaged the tourism industry in Palestine, bringing it sometimes to the verge of collapse. But it has also led to the emergence of new tourist phenomena whereby certain visitors come to Palestine, which lies at the heart of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, in order to show their solidarity and support (volunteer) for each of the violent sides residing in it (Brin, 2006; Isaac, 2010).

Relatively little attention has been paid in the academic literature to tourism development, impediments and/or growth in Palestine. That is, tourism in the Middle East has been addressed generally (Mansfeld, 1999; Wahab, 2000; Kliot and Collins-Kreiner, 2003; Daher, 2006) with some exceptions about Palestine such as Al-Rimmawi (2003), Clarke (2000), Isaac (2008, 2009, 2010).

The daily diet of war and conflict stories from the second uprising (*Intifada*) gives the impression that the tourism industry is the least likely sector to flourish. If political instability increases, tourism development becomes very difficult. However, despite political violence and counter-violence, tourism can be developed, and offer opportunities that provide people with hope.

This hope has been expressed in the book *Challenging the Wall: Toward a Pedagogy of Hope* (Van Teeffelen, 2007). The question addressed concerned how to create hope in a desperate situation. The Palestinian people were directly faced with horrifying consequences of the building of the Separation Wall in Bethlehem. The circumstances of Claire Anastas, a member of the Arab Educational Institute in Bethlehem, were especially dreadful, as her house was destined to be hemmed in by the Wall on three sides. It was decided to

establish a peace house to help revitalize the area and to conduct advocacy on the illegality of the Wall. Building a peace house in a dead area requires a source of inspiration, and the book was written to provide such inspiration (as a complement to that which springs from activities that are undertaken at the house). So the question here is: how can we create hope in a desperate situation? More specifically, how can volunteer tourism contribute to the principles of hope (normative and existential issues) in a desperate situation through creating concrete improvements in areas such as education, healthcare, training and youth empowerment?

Volunteer Tourism: Definitions and Perspectives

According to the US Bureau of Labour Statistics, 63.8 million people volunteered from September 2002 to September 2003, an almost 7% increase from the previous year. Women are more likely than men to volunteer, and individuals between the ages of 35 and 44 years old make up the largest group of volunteers (Brown, 2005). Volunteer tourism (VT) is one of the major growth areas of alternative (Wearing, 2001) or niche tourism (Robinson and Novelli, 2005), expanding rapidly since the 1970s (Wearing, 2001).

As the word implies, VT or 'voluntourism' combines vacation travel with volunteer activities. It is far from a new concept, having existed for a very long time. Missionaries, healers and/or medical practitioners, and explorers combined travel with voluntary services. Church groups and civic organizations have for years travelled to volunteer in communities other than their own (Kragt, 2008). Tourism to Israeli kibbutzim, which started a few decades ago (Van Egmond, 2007) can also be considered a forerunner to VT. The difference now, however, is the wider interest in this specific type of travel and recognition of it by the tourism industry, with the involvement of tour operators and travel agencies in the development of volunteer trips. As volunteering in many cases involves some form of travel, the phenomenon has been examined closely in the context of tourism. The term 'VT' refers to tourists who volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that involve 'alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment' (Wearing, 2001). VT offers 'another way of doing tourism' so that holidays become a chance to contribute to the restoration of the natural environment and to address social (or political) problems while building self-identity based upon caring relationships (Wearing, 2001), rather than iconoclastic individualism and the isolating selfishness that capitalism fosters.

The volunteering literature closest to (and often overlapping with) tourism is in the fields of leisure (Parker, 1992; Stebbins, 1992; Sport England, 1996, 2003; Cuskelly and Harrington, 1997; Gratton and Kokolakis, 1999; Coleman, 2002; Stebbins and Graham, 2004) and Events (Johnston *et al.*, 1999; Solberg, 2003; Ralston *et al.*, 2005). The volunteering experience in these areas tends to be part of the concept of 'traditional volunteering'. The

notion of traditional volunteering is supported by Cnaan *et al.* (1996) who outline four key dimensions: free choice, remuneration, structure and intended beneficiaries. With respect to tourism, Graham and Foley (1998) discuss volunteers working in museums in Glasgow and similar work has been done by Orr (2006). It is noted that the opportunities available for volunteering in the tourism domain usually include the notion of 'payment' (Wearing, 2003a; Benson, 2005; Tourism Research and Marketing (TRAM), 2008). The extent to which this influences the concept of 'volunteering' from both the demand and supply side has yet to be examined.

The growth in VT has produced a range of resources and publications from guides to companies offering volunteer projects to websites offering information, support services and projects. More recently academic activity has grown with the emergence of academic books, journal articles and the recently launched (2007) *Journal of International Volunteer Tourism and Social Development*.

VT has also been examined as a form of alternative tourism or ecotourism, emphasizing the sustainable, responsible and educational undertones of the activity (Wearing, 2001). Whelan (1991), for instance, suggested that 'ecotourists represent a potential army of recruits with free time and money to spend on sustainable development efforts'. Furthermore, VT experience has been viewed as a contextual platform for intertwining interactions among the ecotourism element, the volunteer element, and the serious leisure element (Stebbins, 1982, 1992; Wearing, 2001). Stebbins defines volunteering as 'un-coerced help offered either formally or informally with no or, at most, token pay done for the benefit of both the people and the volunteer'. Other definitions of volunteering have also included recognition that volunteers provide assistance, or unpaid service, usually for the benefit of the community (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986). Others emphasize the characteristics of the activity as freely chosen, without financial gain and generally aimed at helping others (Van Til, 1979; Stebbins, 1982, 1992). The activities during a volunteer holiday vary widely and take place in different locations. They can be roughly divided into the following categories: economic development (work related to construction, agricultural assistance, collecting funds, project administration, technical assistance); social development (work related to anti drugs programmes, medical services, orphanages, working with street children, education, youth aids information programmes); and scientific research (work related to wildlife, water quality, archaeology, conservation and natural areas) (Van Rheenen, 2004). There is almost always the opportunity for volunteers to interact with the local community and to take part in local activities. Leisure activities such as trekking, hiking, mountain-biking or scuba diving are sometimes offered for travellers who want to have some fun and excitement along with their volunteer work. Lyons and Wearing (2008, pp. 86–87) made a distinction between volunteer tourists based on their activities, identifying two distinct types of volunteer tourists: community volunteers and wildlife volunteers. The community volunteers can be defined as those who 'volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society (...) or research into aspects of

society'. Wildlife volunteers are those who 'volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of environment'.

Travelling overseas as a volunteer appears to have begun around 1915 (Gillette, 1968; Clark, 1978; Beigbeder, 1991; Darby, 1994). Most of the literature in this field has focused on profiling the volunteering tourist (Brown and Morrison, 2003; Wearing, 2003b) with increasing interest in understanding vacation volunteers' motives and the benefits derived. Exploratory research suggests that their motivations appear to be similar to those of long-term volunteers, but the relative value of various factors can differ, with self-actualization being very important for short-term volunteers (Gazley, 2001). Brown and Morrison (2003) suggest that a volunteer vacation helps heal 'corporate burnout' by providing the individual with a sense of accomplishment outside the workplace.

Several research studies have been conducted on the motivations of volunteer tourists to illustrate that there are specific reasons for participation in volunteer holidays (Wearing, 2001; Brown and Morrison, cited in Brown and Letho, 2005; McIntosh and Zahra, 2007; Lyons and Wearing, 2008). There are concerns that growth in VT brings ethical and moral dilemmas. There is growing evidence that volunteers are concerned over what their payment contributes to. Does it aid host community development? The role of fundraising by organizations and the extent to which this is ethically sound are part of a growing rhetoric among volunteers.

In terms of the volunteering process, the 'American model', suggested by Leopold (2000, cited in Brown, 2005) begins with what is needed and recruits volunteers to do the work. In Europe, there is a tradition whereby everything starts with the members who decide what to do. In spite of this, volunteering is viewed as contributing to the wellbeing of volunteers (Stebbins, 1982; Cnaan *et al.*, 1996; Thoits and Hewitt, 2001). Volunteering gives participants a sense of purpose, provokes serious contemplation, encourages concern for others, provides the opportunity to further an interest and generates a sense of deep personal fulfilment (Stebbins and Graham, 2004). Stebbins (1992) proposes that volunteering provides durable benefits for the volunteer such as self-actualization, self-enrichment, recreation or renewal of self, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, self-expression, social interaction and belongingness.

Broad (2003) suggested that volunteers were more open to positive attitude changes when exposed to a different culture, which may explain why volunteers regularly reported becoming more broad-minded, content, and relaxed, and less selfish and psychocentric as outcomes of volunteering, along with a changed way of looking at the world.

There continues to be much research in regard to serious leisure volunteers and their motivation to volunteer as well as the fulfilment they derive from their diverse pursuits. Stebbins (1982, 1992; Stebbins and Graham, 2004) has conducted some pioneering work in conceptualizing VT in the context of leisure. Stebbins believes that motivations vary greatly with different demographic categories of people taking up volunteering but the twin motives

of altruism and self-interest are common to all categories. In his reflection of 'serious leisure', Stebbins points out that it is an important part of people's lives in relation to personal fulfilment, identity enhancement and self-expression (1982).

To conclude this section, where does VT start and where does it end? There is a very thin line between mainstream tourism and international VT and sometimes it is hard to tell the difference from other forms of alternative tourism. Is a backpacker who volunteers for a week during his or her trip of 1 year a volunteer tourist? For one it is; for another it isn't. For example, 'A 40-year-old San Francisco resident took a four-week jaunt to Africa. On his trip, he visited four countries and took two high-priced safaris. He also spent two days at three orphanages, where he played with children and dropped off suitcases full of clothes. It just didn't seem right, he said, to go to Africa and not do any volunteer work' (Yoshino, 2007, p. 1). This man probably considers himself a volunteer tourist, but is he really? It is not up to us to determine if someone is a volunteer tourist or not but this illustrates the difficulty of definition. VT is between alternative tourism and international volunteering, and shows considerable overlap with both.

However, one thing remains obvious in this discussion. Volunteer and alternative tourism both take place in a context imbued with normative and existential perspectives. Therefore, it becomes important to elaborate on the relations between VT and normative and existential issues in the Palestinian tourism context.

Moral Discussions in the Middle East: a Mode 3 Discourse with Mode 2 Implications

Gibbons (1994) and others discuss the transformation in knowledge production as a global phenomenon. Since the end of the 20th century and alongside 'traditional' modes of academic knowledge production (mode 1 knowledge), a different mode of knowledge has emerged, created in a broader, transdisciplinary social and economic context. It has been called mode 2 knowledge because the authors judge the conventional terms such as applied science, technological research or research development to be inadequate. It has had a strong influence on the dominant image of scientific knowledge that has characterized mode 1. The criteria of scientificity in mode 2 are much less clear than in mode 1, because of the role contexts, know-how and tacit knowledge play in finding solutions to problems. What is primary in mode 2 is not universally valid knowledge, but identifying the most effective interventions based on the best understanding of practical problems and questions.

Mode 3 knowledge was introduced by Kunneman (2005) and Platenkamp (2007), recognizing that in both other modes there was a long-term tendency to exclude the 'slow questions' related to sickness, death, (colonial!) repression and to moral virtues such as compassion, inner strength or wisdom and other sources of existential fulfilment that remain crucial for all generations. In dealing

with these slow questions, the relation between Self and Other is questioned all the time, especially under the pressure of situations such as the violent political instability of the Middle East. Existential fulfilment becomes necessary but is fragile when the Other is almost kidnapped by the powerful wishes of the Self. Political violence has damaged the tourism industry almost to the verge of collapse.

Under these circumstances, hope may be associated with new tourism development. With respect to VT, this could become the core issue. Tourists and visitors come to Palestine in order to show their solidarity with and support for each side caught up in the violence. Solidarity and support are values that motivate the Self to reach the Other. When a peace house is created to help revitalize an area and raise the issue of the illegality of the Wall, the intention is to create hope in a desperate situation. Volunteers are confronted with the issue of how to create hope through concrete improvements in areas such as education, healthcare, training and youth empowerment. In answering this question, they show their social orientation, their solidarity and their commitment. VT also refers to volunteers who are involved in 'aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society'. The same can be said about the efforts to show solidarity to a group of people that has been captured and isolated by the Wall.

As noted previously, volunteer tourists build self-identity. Their 'selves' go beyond individualism because they try to reach the other. They provide assistance for the benefit of the community and aim at helping Others. In Palestine, their activities are focused on the almost impossible challenge of creating hope in a desperate situation.

The Palestinian Other must be reached if these attempts are to make sense, for otherwise they remain mere affects for volunteers who experience increased happiness, life satisfaction or self-esteem. In order to generate a real relationship between Self and Other, self-interest should be combined with altruism reflecting a genuine interest in the Palestinian Other. The generation of hope is strongly related to this interest. Volunteers working to create concrete improvements illustrate values that are crucial to people in desperate situations.

In a normative discussion, solidarity and hope are at stake right from the start, especially with respect to areas like Palestine. Normative and existential discussions are characterized by value-positions that involve trying to convince the Other. Differences are openly confronted but with recognition that it might also be impossible to convince the Other. There is no religious or ideological right point of Archimedes to dictate the discussion; there is rather a sort of egalitarian or horizontal transcendence of the different positions involved. The discourse moves between the positions of Self and Other, heightening awareness of their similarities and dissimilarities.

This approach also implies that excluded voices are stimulated to enter the discourse, and the voice of the volunteer constitutes an important one in the Palestinian arena. The volunteer comes from a distant place where ignorance and indifference dictate the general opinion. By entering this arena, he/she cannot stay out of the discussion. His or her primary intention is to show

solidarity, which implies that he/she is ready to participate in this normative and existential – mode 3 – discussion. He/she is not a member of the ‘*freischwebende Intelligenz*’ but is a member of a mode 2 constellation where interests dictate the production of knowledge. His or her interest is in improving education, healthcare, training and youth empowerment but within this field of interests many existential and, more particularly, normative issues are at stake in desperate situations as in Palestine. Volunteers need to realize that neutrality alone is not sufficient in this mode 3 discourse. Of course, there is not one ultimate position in mode 3, but that does not imply that discussion is not valuable. Initiatives like the peace house, surrounded by the Wall on three sides, help us realize that voices need to be heard and that they should influence the decision making processes.

In a *third space* of tourism conversation (Bhabha, 1994), the challenge is to make tourism blossom ‘into a garden where the marginal can speak’ (Spivak, 1999, p. 56). Tourism is a domain where embedded values and lost meanings may newly flower, but also where counter-narratives may unfold new post-colonial worlds, partly articulated through the significations of international tourism. In the tourism academia, knowledge will be developed further, related to these post-colonial discourses and counter-discourses. At the same time, there are mode 3 questions that accompany these discourses and stimulate them. In this chapter, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict constitutes the normative background for this type of questions that influences VT. However, at this point it becomes relevant to consider the subaltern positions of Palestinian and Israeli voices that challenge the official, dominating discourses.

Historical Review of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict

In April 1920, the Supreme Council of the League of Nations put the Middle East under the guardianship of the two main colonial powers at that time, Great Britain and France. Great Britain supported a policy in favour of Zionism, against indigenous (Palestinian) Arab people who, although representing 90% of the population in the 1920s were simply referred to as the ‘non-Jewish community’. Representatives of the British Mandate tirelessly promoted Jewish immigration to Palestine and helped train Zionist military brigades. Representing 10% of the population of Palestine in 1917, the Jewish population increased to 17.7% in 1931 and to 28% in 1939 (Alternative Tourism Group, 2008). Arab anti-Jewish outbreaks began in the 1920s and 1930s as a reaction to Zionist activity to establish Jewish settlements (Gelbman, 2008). Popular resistance was expressed in frequent demonstrations against the British authorities and the Zionist settlers, with the principle demands being an end to Jewish immigration and the repeal of the Balfour Declaration.

In Europe, anti-Semitism reached its climax in Nazi Germany, leading to an unprecedented genocide in which more than five million Jewish men, women and children were annihilated in concentration camps. Most, but not all Jews, especially those from central Europe supported the Zionist movement.

Jewish immigrants flowed to Palestine continuously while the Western powers closed their doors to them. Between 1932 and 1948, approximately 350,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine. Jews, for the first time in history, could claim their own territory.

After a variety of partition plans, even proposals for the transfer of the Palestinian Arab population (which came from the British Labour Party in 1944 and American President Roosevelt), on 29 November 1947 the UN General Assembly approved a partition plan – Resolution 181. The Jewish state was awarded 56.5% of the territory of Palestine, and the Arab state, 42.9%. The Zionist policies were victorious. In December 1947, the Zionist movement launched a policy of terror, known by the code name ‘Plan C’ (in Hebrew ‘*Tochnit Gimmel*’). Attacks against the Palestinian population became frequent but were also mounted against British troops. Shortly before the cessation of the British Mandate and the effective departure of British troops, a large-scale offensive was launched in April 1948 throughout Palestine under Plan D (in Hebrew ‘*Tochnit Dalet*’, Dalet being the fourth letter of the Hebrew alphabet). The Zionist War was accompanied by the systematic ethnic cleansing of Palestinian towns and villages. By the time of the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel (May 1948), some 350,000 Palestinians had become refugees, followed by 500,000 additional refugees in the following months. Six Arab countries organized armed opposition and so the first Israeli-Arab war broke out (15 May 1948–January 1949). In this battle Israeli’s army emerged victorious. What had been Palestine was divided into three parts: Israel; areas annexed by the Kingdom of Jordan; and the Gaza strip, ruled by Egypt.

As a result of the 1967 war, in which Israel overcame an alliance among Egypt, Syria and Jordan, the whole of historic Palestine fell into Jewish hands, Israel occupied the West Bank, Gaza, the Sinai and the Golan Heights (Gelbman, 2008). On 9 December 1987, the Palestinian uprising (*Intifada*) erupted.

In 1993, formal peace agreements were signed between Israel and the Palestinian National Authority. Despite agreements signed with Israel, at present there is still no final border agreement between Israel and Palestine. The eruption of the second Palestinian uprising in October 2000 (its Arab name *Al-Aqsa Intifada*), has introduced Palestine to fluctuating political violence and counter-violence, tension and instability (Isaac, 2010). In 2002, the government of Israel decided to erect a physical barrier to separate Israel from the West Bank in order to prevent the uncontrolled entry of Palestinians into Israel and to reduce the number of terrorist attacks (Kliot and Charney, 2006). In most areas, the barrier comprises an electronic fence with dirt paths, barbed wire fences and trenches on both sides, with an average of width of 60 m. In some districts the Wall, 6–8 m high, has been erected in place of the barrier system. A good development in the international debate occurred on 9 July 2004 when the International Court of Justice in the Hague, the Netherlands, voted 14:1 condemning the ‘security’ Wall being constructed on Palestinian lands by the State of Israel as a violation of international law and ordered its dismantling (Btselem, 2008; Isaac, 2010).

The Palestinian–Israeli conflict is perhaps the most difficult international hurdle on the road towards a peaceful society. After centuries of pogroms and persecutions, with the Holocaust as the most gruesome event, the Jewish people now clearly have a right to claim their own territory and put an end to the Jewish Diaspora. On the other hand, the cruel expulsion from their own territory, with the persecution and demonization of the Palestinian people, justifies a ‘right of return’, which nobody can deny from a moral point of view.

The essence of this conflict is, therefore, the occupation, which includes restrictions on movements of Palestinians between Palestinian cities, ongoing closures, the siege, roadblocks and military invasions, confiscation of land and continuous (up till today) expansion of the settlements in the West Bank, in the controlled Palestinian territories.

Currently, freedom of movement and access for Palestinians within the West Bank is the exception rather than the norm, contrary to the commitments undertaken in a number of agreements between Israel and Palestine.

In the West Bank, closure is implemented through an agglomeration of policies, practices and physical impediments, which have fragmented the territory into ever smaller and more disconnected cantons. While physical impediments are the visible manifestations of closure, the means of curtailing Palestinian movement and access are actually far more complex and are based on a set of administrative practices and permit policies, which limit the freedom of Palestinians to move home, obtain work, invest in business, expand or/and construct properties, and move about outside their municipal jurisdiction. These administrative restrictions, rooted in military order associated with the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, are used to restrict Palestinian access to large segments of the West Bank including all areas within the municipal boundaries of settlements – the Jordan Valley, East Jerusalem, restricted roads and other ‘closed’ areas. Estimates of the total restricted areas are difficult to come by, but it appears to be in excess of 50% of the land of the West Bank (World Bank, 2007).

Tourism Development from a Normative Perspective: the Case of the Alternative Tourism Group (ATG)

In the situation of political instability in Palestine, there is a need for VT for two main reasons:

- 1.** VT is meant to create hope by contributing to the improvement of areas like education, healthcare, youth empowerments and democracy. The discourse that is related to enabling and optimizing these contributions is a mode 2 discourse.
- 2.** Creating hope is also related to extended normative and existential discussions that need the clarifications of a mode 3 discourse.

In this section, the relation between these two points is examined. The Palestinian Alternative Tourism Group (ATG) is a Palestinian non-governmental

organization (NGO) specializing in tours that present a critical look at the history, culture and politics of Palestine and its complex relationship with Israel. The ATG was founded as a non-profit organization in 1995, when many Palestinians felt that their contemporary culture and the political realities they were living in did not find adequate expression in conventional pilgrim-oriented tourism.

The ATG runs several thematic tours throughout Israel and Palestine, highlighting faith and political issues. Tourists in this case are introduced to various aspects of conflict, discussions are held with Israeli settlers, and an introduction given about Palestinian villages destroyed because of the Segregation Wall (Isaac, 2010). Tourists learn about the complexity of problems precipitated by the construction of bypass roads surrounding Jerusalem and Bethlehem. There exists a wide selection of pro-Palestinian tours offered in Palestine and Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in general and around Bethlehem in particular.

ATG is involved and promoting solidarity groups, and political-oriented tourists within highly political contexts (Brin, 2006; Isaac 2010). In this chapter, the authors argue that two types of discourse are concerned. The reason for distinguishing between these two discourses relates to the fact that normative perspectives are commonly excluded in this type of highly controversial political circumstances. Once distinguished, normative discussions that are crucial to VT can lead to a better understanding of the whole situation. The two main aims mentioned above can then be realized.

By entering this 'place of bother' a normative discussion will be stimulated, and volunteers can be challenged to reflect on their own judgements. Through these tours, which dive into the cultural contexts in order to get information about what's happening in this region, volunteer tourists are introduced to the reality of the daily life of the Palestinians, and the social, cultural and economic issues of the country. By taking normative discourses into consideration, volunteer tourists will be inspired to generate new ideas, concepts and directions for developing and initiating volunteer projects that correspond with the contextual situation of Palestine.

Fieldwork, which was conducted in April 2009 in Bethlehem, involved 15 interviews held during one of the ATG's tours with volunteer tourists who were working in Palestine for a period, ranging from 4 weeks to 9 months. When asked what were the main motives for coming to Palestine, answers included 'interests in the country', 'support and solidarity for the Palestinian people', 'want to understand the Palestinian-Israeli conflict', 'we have everything in Europe and it's time to give something back, such as volunteering in training project for Palestinian teachers'. The majority of volunteer tourists came from organizations that cooperate with Palestinian NGOs and volunteer projects, and were interested in seeing the situation with their own eyes. These tourists booked an organized volunteer trip for several months to volunteer in a project. Some volunteer students were staying in Palestine for 4 weeks and at the same time doing Master dissertations on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; while others were studying political science, conflicts in development studies or the role of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA) at

Palestinian refugee camps in Bethlehem. This group of people could be classified as tourists who join volunteer activities while travelling, but at the same time conducting their formal studies.

On 1 May 2009, a Palestinian Café was organized in Wageningen, the Netherlands, where students from various Dutch universities who worked as volunteers in Palestine presented their findings. They were involved in different projects to reduce the poverty rate, domestic violence, school drop-out rates, drug abuse and child traumas in Palestinian occupied areas. They were working for youth centres, in remedial teaching, home work support and diverse cultural activities in non-political idealistic contexts with a focus on society as a whole.

From the start, it became clear to all these volunteers that they had entered a 'place of bother'. For example, in Nablus (a Palestinian town north of the West Bank) the refugee camp was controlled day and night by the Israeli army. Children in this neighbourhood were often highly traumatized by intimidating Israeli soldiers near their homes. Volunteers who lived near this place became very familiar with this type of 'bothering circumstances'. Because of this confrontation, they started asking questions about human suffering, injustices, life chances of young people and isolation. These questions are clearly related to normative issues (mode 3) of people in existential need. They are about life and death, about the significance and meaning of life, and about the future of the children. A thorough reflection on this type of discourse does not take place in mode 2 or mode 1, although everybody knows that normative issues do influence these other modes. By accentuating normative discourses in places of bother like in Nablus, normative positions of stakeholders become clarified. These same stakeholders, such as NGOs, charity organizations and project developers, are fully involved in problems solving activities. The reactions of these volunteers demonstrate the additional value of a clarified reflective perspective that to an important degree determines the daily activities of professionals (NGOs) in the field. NGOs can learn from these volunteer experiences and reflections. In this way, VT can contribute to the stimulation of hope in a desperate situation.

One of the problems these volunteers were confronted with was the paralysis and powerlessness of the dominant NGOs in the area. All these different national and international NGOs who are active in Palestine are dominated by perspectives that are formulated from their own religious or political backgrounds. These backgrounds paralysed them in their activities in Palestine. They are more involved with their own image, or with their competitors rather than with the core issues in these places of bother. Despite that, there is a huge opportunity to collaborate instead of competing because their reason for existence is focused on the reduction of misery in this area.

Conclusions

The main aim of this chapter was assessing how VT can contribute to the generation of hope in a desperate situation through tangible improvements in education, healthcare and youth empowerment. It should be considered that

the professionals of the NGOs are mainly accountable for these tangible improvements. What VT can do is to raise their normative awareness and through this, their level of professionalism, by attacking this general situation of paralysis.

In these 'places of bother', people still have hope. There is always hope and hope will be inflated through VT in discussions, dialogue and awareness. So volunteer activities, although they often do not seem to lead to concrete results, are necessary, because they create hope through mode 3 discussions for the Palestinian voices, and for the reason that they are cared for in their 'places of bother'. When international volunteers just walk around in a Palestinian town, many people in the street contact them, telling their stories and opinions to people outside the conflict zone.

The main question for future research in this context remains how to create hope in education, healthcare and youth empowerment. The mere presence of volunteers already contributes to this much-needed principle of hope, but this is not enough. Stakeholders in the area should be involved in a polyphonic dialogue (Clifford, 1988), in which spaces are created, where participants can confront opinions, exchange views, and sustain differences and disagreements. The lessons from these dialogues should be put on the agenda of discourses in education, youth empowerment and healthcare.

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11

Re-evaluating Political Tourism in the Holy Land: Towards a Conceptualization of Peace Tourism

OMAR MOUFAKKIR

Stenden University, The Netherlands

Once in Jerusalem, politically oriented tourists are catered for by a host of bodies and individuals, ranging from the Israeli Government to private tour operators, Israeli and Palestinian alike, who provide them with what they came to see and experience. Most hosts hope to promote a political agenda in the process. For them, visitors are potential agents, won-over carriers who can propagate desired political messages upon returning to their countries and communities (Brin, 2006, p. 216).

Introduction

Political consumerism has emerged as a relevant form of political expression, and a form of 'active' civil disobedience used to put pressure on governments or corporations to pursue a cause. Boycotting or 'buycotting' lies at the heart of political consumerism. Not buying a product or service has received the attention of politicians, policymakers and academics around the world. Serving the same purpose as boycotting, buycotting, or the act of buying products or services to support or influence the international economy and politics through communicating a message or position, has emerged as a participatory action that falls into positive political consumerism.

This chapter focuses on the Israeli–Palestinian situation. The purpose was to set the ground for a discussion of the two concepts within the tourism and peace discourse in the Israeli–Palestinian context. While the lenses of the two strategies – boycotting or buycotting – are different, the goal is nevertheless, the same. However, the results may be different and in some instances counterproductive. Both protagonists look at social justice through the prism of their ethical value systems, hoping that their voices or actions will impact on the lives of those with whom they sympathize. Generally, political consumerism

is 'based on attitudes and values regarding issues of justice, fairness, or non-economic issues that concern personal and family well-being and ethical political assessment of business and government practice' (Micheletti *et al.*, 2006, p. xiv). Using the example of the Tourism4Peace Forum (T4PF), a not-for-profit non-governmental organization (NGO) that brings Egyptian, Israeli, Jordanian and Palestinian hospitality and tourism representatives to discuss peaceful solutions to the conflict in the region through tourism, this chapter juxtaposes political tourism with 'peace tourism' in an *attempt* to conceptualize the latter as the antithesis of the former. In the midst of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and within the complex and complicated geopolitical climate of the region, the Forum is found to represent an example of best practice in tourism for peace.

First, I will provide a brief historical account of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, discuss political consumerism as a theoretical background for our case, present the case of the T4PF, then discuss my proposition.

A Brief Historical Account and Spasmodic Peace Efforts

Fully documenting the historical background of the Arab–Israeli conflict is beyond the scope and purpose of this chapter. Furthermore, in many ways, such documentation could broaden rather than bridge the Israeli–Palestinian divide. Rather, the objective here is to provide a brief historical perspective about major events that have shaped the conflict and the peace environment in the Holy Land.

Frequently, when tourism is suggested as a contributor to peace, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict surfaces as a challenge for those who believe in the peace dividend through tourism. How tourism can bring peace to the Holy Land, and more importantly to what extent does it help to bridge cultural, religious and geopolitical gaps in the region, becomes a thorny issue. More than 60 years after the establishment of the State of Israel and despite major political peace initiatives, conflict continues between the Israelis and Palestinians and within each community. More interestingly, when the Israelis celebrate their 'independence' day, in parallel, the Palestinians celebrate their 'al Nakbah' or the catastrophe. The Arabs called the first Arab–Israeli war 'al Nakbah' because a considerable number of Arabs fled or were driven away during or after the war of independence (Rose and Rose, 2008).

Then Prime Minister David Ben Gurion announced on 14 May 1948 (the day on which the British mandate ended) the declaration of independence for Israel. Minutes later, the USA accepted Israel and the Soviet Union followed 1 day later. The Arab neighbours, however, rejected the state of Israel. Wars followed, truces were achieved, negotiations took place, peace proposal proposed, UN resolutions and peace treaties were signed.

On 9 September 1993, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) recognized the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security. In March 2000, Israel withdrew from Lebanon. In March 2002, all 22 members

of the Arab League endorsed a peace plan at their Summit in Beirut. The Gaza truce was accepted in June 2008, the first and second *Intifada* (1987, 2000) were launched, but peace, security and tranquillity did not eventuate (2009). 'Predictably, both [groups] claim to be just retaliating' (Carter, 2009, p. 179). Yet, in the midst of this political climate, and a climate of everyday life where the quality of life of both groups is undermined by two intertwined realities, as natural as it is, people – locally, nationally as well as internationally – did not lose hope. Individual efforts and group initiatives have been active in finding strategies for peace in the region. The strategy that will be discussed here relates to political consumerism.

Political Consumerism

A form of political activity, political consumerism has become part of daily consumer behaviour and a subject for academic discourse. Seccarini (2006, p. 3) explains that political consumerism has emerged as a form of political expression apparent in the rejection of formal or traditional political institutions and traditional modes of politics. He submits that 'Contemporary democracies, in fact, are living an intense change in the relationship between society and politics. Traditional political actors such as parties, unions, and structured and formal organizations, are progressively more detached from society. The membership decline is a manifest indicator of this process', a process where citizens take political, social or environmental actions in their hands (Stolle *et al.*, 2005; Micheletti *et al.*, 2006).

Spectacular social, political or environmental events set the stage for political consumerism (e.g. Holden, 2003; Micheletti *et al.*, 2006). Political consumerism is 'the use of market actions as an arena for politics, and consumer choice as a potential tool' (Micheletti *et al.*, 2006, p. vii). Political consumerism is a non-traditional avenue where people, organizations or governments voice their concerns for or against a policy, action or inaction of a body that is believed to not conform to the ethical values of the political consumer. The action of the political consumer is set to change ethically, socially or politically objectionable institutional or market practices, and protest government or corporate policy. Political consumerism comes in different forms. Citizens *boycott* to express political sentiment or *buycott* to support a corporation, government or policy that represents a social, political or environmental value that is supported by the actor (Micheletti *et al.*, 2006). Political consumerism is an old phenomenon. Micheletti and colleagues (2006) traced its existence back to the early 1900s in the USA.

Boycotting: Reality and Moral Dilemmas

In several instances, there have been calls to boycott Israel economically, including trade and tourism, as well as academically. It is believed that an

economic boycott would cripple the economy of Israel, thereby facilitating peaceful solutions to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, promoting sympathy towards the Palestinians and the alleviation of their plight. Box 11.1 highlights one of the most recent examples of political consumerism related to a call for boycotting Israel.

There can be pragmatic as well as moral dilemmas associated with a boycott. The main realistic objection to boycotting Israel is that in an environment imbued with politics and ideology a general boycott is probably not to eventuate anytime soon, if ever. A look at the world map indicates trade agreements and diplomatic relations with Israel in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific, Europe, North America and Latin America. Trade agreements are numerous and will remain so (Table 11.1).

Similarly, on 20–22 October, the Conference, hosted by the President of the State of Israel, Shimon Peres, entitled ‘Facing Tomorrow’ took place in Jerusalem. ‘Some 3,000 participants, from Israel and overseas will be taking part in the Conference which will focus on our mutual tomorrow by investigating trends that are shaping the future and exploring actions that could be undertaken towards the betterment of generations to come for all the world’s citizens’ (Israeli Presidential Conference, 2009).

Box 11.1. A most recent example of political consumerism (excerpt from electronic *Intifada* 2009).

UK trade unions overwhelmingly pass boycott vote:
Press release, *Palestine Solidarity Campaign*, 17 September 2009

In a landmark decision, Britain’s trade unions have voted overwhelmingly to commit to build a mass boycott movement, disinvestment and sanctions on Israel for a negotiated settlement based on justice for Palestinians. The motion was passed at the 2009 TUC Annual Congress in Liverpool today (17 September), by unions representing 6.5 million workers across the UK. Hugh Lanning, chair of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, said: ‘This motion is the culmination of a wave of motions passed at union conferences this year, following outrage at Israel’s brutal war on Gaza, and reflects the massive growth in support for Palestinian rights. We will be working with the TUC to develop a mass campaign to boycott Israeli goods, especially agricultural products that have been produced in illegal Israeli settlements in the Palestinian West Bank.’ The motion additionally called for the TUC General Council to put pressure on the British government to end all arms trading with Israel and support moves to suspend the EU–Israel trade agreement. Unions are also encouraged to disinvest from companies which profit from Israel’s illegal 42-year occupation of Gaza and the West Bank. The motion was tabled by the Fire Brigades Union. The biggest unions in the UK, including Unite, the public sector union, and UNISON, which represents health service workers, voted in favor of the motion. The motion also condemned the Israeli trade union Histadrut’s statement supporting Israel’s war on Gaza, which killed 1,450 Palestinians in three weeks, and called for a review of the TUC’s relationship with Histadrut. Britain’s trade unions join those of South Africa and Ireland in voting to use a mass boycott campaign as a tool to bring Israel into line with international law, and pressure it to comply with UN resolutions that encourage justice and equality for the Palestinian people.

<http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article10781.shtml>

Table 11.1. Example of trade agreements with Israel.

Israel and the USA: Friends, Partners, Allies – Jan 2007	The Israel–Turkey Free Trade Agreement
Joint Statement: USA–Israel Joint Economic Development Group Joint Statement – 18 June 2003	Bilateral agreements reached at first Israeli–German intergovernmental consultations – March 2008
Israel–US Free Trade Area Agreement	Israel and Germany to mark 40 years of diplomatic relations –31 January 2005
Free Trade Agreement between Israel and Canada	European Neighbourhood Policy: Draft Action Plan EU–Israel – 12 November 2004
	High-level France–Israel Group: Joint Communiqué and Conclusions – 17 September 2003
Delhi Statement on Friendship and Cooperation between India and Israel (10 September 2003)	High-level France–Israel Group: Joint Communiqué and Conclusions – 17 September 2003
Joint statement on deepening relations between Japan and Israel (27 February 2008)	The EU's Relations with Israel – An Overview (EU website)

Source: <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/>.

Furthermore, boycotts create a collateral damage disregarding those who fight for the same principles but use different means, and more importantly indiscriminately hurting those who share the same opinion, as well as those who are neutral in their position.

The other realistic objection, which could also present a moral dilemma, is that hurting the economy would more likely precipitate more suffering, in both sides, not less, which in turn will engender more anger, and sharpen even harder the split of opinions among people. Furthermore, there is empirical evidence that trade increases the chance of peace. New econometric research showed that, in the case of India and Pakistan, trade with other countries decreases conflict and enhances peace (Mamoon and Murshed, 2007). These authors concluded: 'Our most significant result is that multilateral trade, or increased international trade with the rest of the world (in contrast to bilateral trade between India and Pakistan), is the most significant factor in reducing conflict. Our analysis also showed that while hostilities in the Kashmir dispute have hampered bilateral trade between the two nations, the converse is also true' (p. 17). Other studies supported the same conclusions (e.g. Polachek, 1997; Hegre, 2000). Thus, economic hardships, stagnation or decline bear the same frustration on both conflict groups, in that in both cases they poison people's quality of life, regardless of the level of frustration – frustration is frustration. In addition, taking the example of Northern Ireland, it is believed that economic growth and prosperity can reduce terrorist violence. Decades of terrorist violence gradually came to a halt as the economy of the country improved. For example, the August 1994 cease-fire provided the evidence to back up such a theory – tourism jumped 20% within the space of

a year; unemployment dropped to 11.5%, the lowest level in 14 years; over 30 million pounds in new investment ventures were announced. However, despite the example of Northern Ireland, there is little talk about the 'Israeli-Palestinian peace dividend'. Jordana Friedman of the Council on Economic Priorities stated in her research study 'The Corporate Sector and Conflict Prevention': 'Like Northern Ireland, other countries should start applying the logic of economics to peace negotiations. No one talks about the "Bosnian peace dividend" or the "Middle Eastern peace dividend", despite the fact that both regions would benefit economically from a permanent end to violence' (European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation).

Classic scholars like Adam Smith long speculated that prosperity is a requirement to peace (Gartzke, 2005). For example, the great 18th-century French philosopher Charles de Montesquieu in his dissertation on the separation of powers, states:

Peace is the natural effect of trade. Two nations who traffic with each other become reciprocally dependent; for if one has an interest in buying, the other has an interest in selling; and thus their union is founded on their mutual necessities.

(Book XX, p. 2)

Similarly, 'substantial research shows that democratic government is stable only when combined with relatively high levels of economic development' (Gartzke, 2005, p. 1).

Political Tourism

Besides other forms of boycott, tourism can be used as a political tool in many tourism environments including, policy making and planning, physical planning and sustainable development, travel restrictions, empowerment and tourism development, destination marketing, and public relations, political and ideological interests (Belhassen and Santos, 2006). According to these authors, four actors use tourism to promote respective political agendas, namely governments, local communities, terrorist groups and tourists, especially pilgrims. Their study supported the proposition that religious tourism in the Holy Land is imbued with politics and ideology.

In several instances, political tourism can be considered to be a type of political consumerism. While political consumers support a cause by choosing to buy or not to buy a product or service that relates to the principles they are fighting against or for, political tourists choose to visit a destination or boycott it to align with the cause they are supporting (Brin, 2006). The number of boycotts related to tourism has increased significantly in the past years (Glaesser, 2003). Cole (2008) offered more recent accounts of political tourism, where tourism boycotts were used, as in the case of the 1999 East Timor struggle for independence from Indonesia. The outbreak of violence affected both East Timor's economy, as well as Indonesia's tourism industry. 'For the first time, the travel writing community in Britain put out a press release suggesting

tourists and tour operators should boycott Indonesia' (p. 35). Australia joined in the boycott as did New Zealand. Glaesser (2003, p. 31) offers other examples of boycotts in the tourism industry serving the purpose of political, social and environmental causes (Box 11.2).

While such activities discourage tourists from visiting a destination, governments, sometimes, invite tourists as a means to promote their political agendas and social systems. Brin (2006) offered an account of such a use of tourism. For example, the Cuban government has always supported tourism to showcase Cuba as a stable country. During the 1970s, the Philippines used tourism to legitimize martial law in the country, using tourism as a tool for foreign policy. In the 1980s, Albania and North Korea organized closely monitored tours to propagate their political and social system.

In the context of this chapter, political tourism in the Holy Land can be defined as a new phenomenon that followed the Palestinian uprising (*Intifadah*), and where certain tourists come to 'Jerusalem [and other places], which lies at the heart of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, in order to show their solidarity and support for a belligerent side residing in it' (Brin, 2006). According to Brin, 'eventually, these tourists come to the city not just *despite* its troubled reality, but sometimes even *because* of it' (p. 215). Political tourism in the Holy Land is generated by the demand as well as the supply side, which implicit or explicit complicity promotes a political agenda. 'Political "messages" are thus "implanted", sometimes bluntly, at other times rather subtly, in various places they [politically-oriented tourists] are liable to come across during their visit to the city, in tours they will take and signs they will read' (Brin, 2006, p. 216).

Back home, these tourists bring a bag of experience and ideas to share with their family and friends, willingly propagating a certain political agenda and creating favourable climates of public opinion. Brin identified and discussed three types of political tourists, including the solidarity tourists, the activist tourists and the intrigued tourists. While the solidarity tourists constitute the bulk of the politically oriented tourists, they are also the group of tourists that has a direct double agenda, both religious and political. They can be either pro-Israelis or pro-Palestinians. Solidarity tourists to the Palestinian territories are not specifically religious but are mainly drawn to local sites to observe the other side of the story.

Box 11.2. Examples of tourism boycotts.

- General call for boycott against travel to Zimbabwe because of general political situation (political cause).
- Call for boycott in Germany against travel to Italy following the publication of a statement by the Italian secretary of State responsible for ... which caricaturizes German tourists (political cause).
- General call for boycott against travel to Indonesia because of an alleged deforestation policy (environmental cause).
- Call for boycott against travel to Thailand because of an alleged failure to deal with child sex prostitution (social cause).
- Call for boycott in the USA against France and Germany after their governments rejected the Iraq war (political cause).

Pro-Palestinian solidarity tourism is much rarer than its Israeli equivalent. Nevertheless, there exists a wide selection of pro-Palestinian tours offered in Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in general, and around greater Jerusalem in particular (...) offer[ing] tours as a political tool and a means by which to profess independence and self-sufficiency.

(Brin, 2006, p. 231)

To Go or Not to Go?

Generally, as a moral issue, tourism boycotting raises several questions, the most important of which concerns its effectiveness and durability. While boycotting tourism to Indonesia may have sent a message to the Indonesian government and to those opposed to the independence of East Timor, it dramatically impacted on the people, especially those in Bali, which is heavily dependent upon tourism (Glaesser, 2003; Holden, 2003). The moral dilemma of tourism boycotting asks the question: *is it right to travel to a country known to practice the systematic abuse of human rights?* (Holden, 2003). According to Glaesser (2003), the economic impact of tourism boycotts is very difficult to assess as the consequences may manifest in the long-term. The impact on people is, nevertheless, easily visible. As Holden put it:

Accepting that a tourism boycott would lead to economic hardships for many people on the Islands of Indonesia, who have no direct connections or vested interest in the political and military struggle taking place in East Timor, raises questions about the appropriate ethical decision for the tourist.

(p. 193)

Micheletti *et al.* (2006, p. xv) asked: 'How lasting and successful is political consumerism?' The question is difficult to answer and the views and arguments are conflicting. It is important to note here that political consumerism has also an ugly face, for example, when it is used to support an action against a minority group in society, such as women or homosexuals (Micheletti *et al.*, 2006). Furthermore, it has been recognized that the impact of boycotts may differ from one context to another (Friedman, 1999). For example, the boycott against Mexico by the Jewish community in the USA in the 1970s resulted in 30,000 tourism cancellations in 1 week, as was reported by the Mexican Hotel Association. Mexico's tourism is heavily dependent on tourists from the USA and from the American Jewish community. In other contexts, boycotts did not have a tangible impact (Friedman, 1999).

On this background, I will present the case of the Tourism4Peace Forum (T4PF) and its activities as an example of best practice in peace through tourism. I will then use the Forum's vision and mission to support the proposition that, within the Arab-Israeli context, boycotting tourism to the Holy Land appears to be more pragmatic and desirable to promoting peace than tourism boycotts, with more emphasis on the role of 'peace tourism' as opposed to that of political tourism, namely solidarity tourism.

The Case

An NGO that is using tourism to promote peace and dialogue between the Arabs in the region and the Israelis is the T4PF. The T4PF was established in 2005 as an initiative by the Israel Hotel Managers Association and sponsored by the Peres Center for Peace. By transcending political and geopolitical borders, and rejecting side-taking, the Forum serves as a good example of peace initiatives through tourism. The upcoming discussion focuses on the activities of the Forum. The existence of the Forum and its peace-related activities offer grounds for a thesis that rejects political tourism as a contributor to peace.

The Forum's Background

The purpose of the creation of the forum is to advance peace through tourism by strengthening dialogue and ties among the conflicting groups and their tourism industries. Its mission is to offer 'advanced solutions to mutual challenges and development of activities to strengthen economies and peaceful advancement' in the region. The Forum brings top Egyptian, Israeli, Jordanian and Palestinian tourism and hospitality officials to discuss peaceful solutions to their problems through the medium of tourism. Their major avenues are education, hospitality training and marketing. In their fourth meeting, by the Dead Sea in Jordan on 24–26 June 2007, members of the Forum discussed the first working plan, which focused on joint marketing, joint training and border crossing facilitation (www.tourism4peace.com).

Activities of the Forum

Joint marketing

It was decided to:

- produce a regional brochure of 4–8 pages, on high-quality paper, stressing special interests held in common – religion, biblical paths, Roman ruins, cities, nature/desert, spas/beaches – rather than the political divisions;
- set up a computerized data base including names, addresses, list of brochures, etc, of agents servicing the area;
- develop a dedicated Internet site;
- organize familiarization trips (fam-trips) for travel agents from the USA and later from Europe: 8 nights in Egypt, Jordan, Israel and Palestinian areas;

- organize workshops and seminars in North America of 4 persons each: one Egyptian, one Israeli, one Jordanian and one Palestinian; and
- organize joint press conferences in New York, and later at the World Travel Market (WTM) and the Internationale Tourismus Börse (ITB).

Joint training

Measures include:

- for travel agents, organizing busload size fam-trips to visit Egyptian, Israeli, Jordanian and Palestinian tourist sites and cities (10 such days in each country, so they get to know the area);
- training the trainer (developing trainers for hotel staff in food and beverage, marketing, management-control-finance);
- organizing 2-day seminars for top hotel executives by world class experts in marketing and human resources;
- introducing and ending each event with a short lecture on the mission and aim of the T4PF by one of our members; and
- mounting these events at Aqaba, Jerusalem, Eilat or Taba.

Border crossing facilitation

The present problems involve a lack of knowledge by tourism professionals and the general public about the existence of air and land border crossings, a negative image of the border crossings because of the geo-political situation and ongoing problems in crossing the borders. It was therefore decided to:

Produce a leaflet on border crossings to include the following information:

- a map of the region;
- airports;
- location of land border crossings;
- possibilities of air links in the region;
- invite an outside consultant to study the present situation at the air and land border crossings and make recommendations for improvements. The study should be made at two levels: incoming tourism from third countries and bilateral movement of the area's citizens;
- build and keep updated a website listing the possibilities for border crossings, opening times, facilities, documents needed, etc.; and
- facilitate cross-border movements for key tourism professionals, travel agents, hotel executives, etc. by utilizing the Peres Center's connections.

Marketing activities of the Forum

Initially, the tourism brochure is materializing in spite of the political turmoil between Israel and its Arab neighbours. The brochure vividly represents the soul of the T4PF, which is to celebrate culture and the differences among the people of the region. It is a true invitation to peace and to how tourism can help promote peace in a conflict-ridden environment. By not focusing on countries, the Tourism4Peace members transcend geopolitical conflict, discourse and barriers. The brochure features and expresses pride in selected cities in the region. The emphasis is on promoting the whole region as an inviting, hospitable and culturally rich tourism destination. The brochure includes the mission statement of the Forum (Box 11.3).

The brochure will feature photos of Jerusalem, including its old walls; Cairo, Luxor and Aswan, and the Pyramids; Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee; Tel Aviv; Haifa; Petra; Jerash; Bethlehem and the Church of the Nativity; Jericho; Ramallah, The Dead Sea; The Red Sea Riviera; Eilat, and Sharm El Sheikh.

Discussion

The peace tourist

It is important to note that, in fact, there are two commonly used forms of mediation on the content of peace agreement and conflict studies – biased versus neutral mediation. Conflict studies have converging opinions regarding the most appropriate of these forms, but generally maintain that the best option depends on the nature of the conflict (Svensson, 2009). On the other hand, it was also supported that the biased mediators commonly have more leverage over the parties in conflict and therefore have more ability to press the parties to make concessions (Touval 1975; Touval and Zartman 2001; Svensson, 2009). In the Israeli–Palestinian context, it is proposed that, in their role as peace mediators, the peace tourists, subsequently defined as neutral mediators, have more opportunities for bridging economic, social, political and cultural gaps between the two conflict groups than the biased mediators. It is submitted here that the very essence of justice is *active* neutrality. Active

Box 11.3. Mission statement of the Forum.

The mission of the Tourism4Peace Forum (T4PF) is to advance peace through tourism, and tourism through peace. We believe that tourism means hospitality – welcoming strangers, getting to know people and developing friendships. Tourism knows no borders, no animosity; it offers only beautiful experiences. Its aims include developing incoming tourism in the area; facilitating border crossings; obtaining freedom of movement of tourists in the region and advancing the professional skills and know-how of travel and hotel staff. The T4P Forum advocates a number of concepts that are vital for the advancement of the tourism industry in the ‘Holy Lands,’ including the development and promotion of novel travel packages to exciting destinations.

neutrality could be defined in this context as being engaged in conflict mediation without endorsement of a political position or taking sides.

In my discussion, I will conceptualize the peace tourist as a person: who visits Palestinian and Israeli sites while touring the Holy Land; who is impartial in his judgement about the conflict; who does not take sides; who empathizes with both belligerent groups and understands their sufferings and grievances, hopes and dreams, regardless of the complexity of the conflict or because of it, in good times and bad times; and most importantly, through non-partisanship strives for collective interest by promoting the good news about both peoples back home. Good news may open up hearts and minds, stimulate the propensity to travel to the Holy Land, bring economic benefits to both sides, and promote understanding and reconciliation.

There is more to the region than conflict and mistrust. Referring to the media and dominating news about the region, Janos Damon, former Executive Director, Secretary General of the Israel Hotel Managers Association and Founding Father of the T4PF, said (23 November 2008):

No wonder that much of the general public around the world would think that most Israelis are soldiers and many Arabs are terrorists. But don't believe the media – they do not tell the full story. There is cooperation between Arabs and Jews but they don't hit the headlines. We have cooperation in medicine, agriculture, trade and commerce and – in tourism. Tourism knows no borders and by working together, all benefit.

Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General (1997–2006), acknowledged that achieving a just and sustainable solution to the Israeli–Palestinian/Arab conflict requires courage and a bold vision of the future on the part of Israelis, Palestinians and all people capable of influencing the situation. The vision of the T4PF is such a vision, and its members' courage is such a courage. As Janos Damon laid out: 'Our vision for the future is for a borderless area in the Middle East'. He further explained (p. 3):

We want to change the image of the region from a conflict region to a peaceful region. The fact that the Middle East conflict will be connected to tourism will create interest. The cooperation between Arabs and Jews and any Israeli–Palestinian act not connected to violence will spark further interest. Our mission is to help transform the conflict from an obstacle to a positive marketing tool. The potential to develop international tourism in the area is great and we feel we shall contribute to peace.

For example, the proposed tourism brochure is a testimony to this vision and a good example of best practice in peace through tourism. Since the guiding philosophy of the Forum's members is to work and live side by side, drafting such a brochure is a conscious act set to challenge the doctrine of the political tourist. The political tourist is a person who 'belongs to a particular category of traveller, one who seeks to participate in or manifest solidarity with a political struggle taking place "elsewhere" in the world' (Moynagh, 2008, p. 3). In the Holy Land, both Israelis and Palestinians offer political tours. There is the argument that political tour guides are trained by the government to promote desired national identity, politically and ideologically correct narrative (e.g.

Macdonald, 2006; Reisinger and Steiner, 2006). In this sense, the Forum's members detach themselves from aligning with one group or the other, and in spite or because of the conflict and its realities, have found a commonsense, a common ground, and the courage to unite members of all the belligerent groups, and promote their cultures and sites as inviting and hospitable – a mental and economic equilibrium that leads to a common good and justice for all. Here, tourism for peace does not preclude the benefit of peace and stability to others. It is through collective efforts to produce collective goods that wellbeing is maximized, and not through the partisanship of political/justice/solidarity tourism. As previously mentioned, these forms of tourism can promote political messages that strengthen misconceptions and stereotypes. By taking sides, 'Reality Tours' – either from the Israeli side or the Palestinian side – can propagate one view of reality (Crooke, 2005; Brin, 2006; McDowell, 2008), leaving out the other realities from the reality.

In this case, while political tourists tend to sympathize with their party, peace tourists tend to empathize with all parties involved in the conflict, especially in a conflict such as the Israeli–Palestinian one. Empathy is the source of tourism for peace, and tourism for peace is directed at cultivating the empathy for collective interest.

Thus, like the Forum's members, the peace tourists are realistic and pragmatic. They understand that, as there are four peoples involved, there are also multiple realities to consider. Therefore, it is proposed that the tourism for peace thesis might yield better results than that of political tourism. Political tourism thrives on the self-interested political machinery and interest group of those who propagate it. However, peace as a state of harmony and the absence of hostility becomes also the absence of partisanship and the presence of sensibility. Peace through tourism in the Holy Land can be described as a relationship between any parties characterized by respect for all, justice for all, and good will. Even the political tourist who supports the goal of peace must decry the method of side-taking, boycotting or buycotting tourism to one side of the Holy Land. Those who promote peace tourism as well as those who engage in it are sensitive to and promote the advantages of multiple realities, empathy, neutrality and pragmatism. An unofficial diplomat, a mediator and peace worker, the peace tourist promotes hope, and works towards bridging the existing geopolitical divide in the region. Tourism for peace is designed to promote peace and stability in the region, a mission that conforms with the general interest of the world community and the rule of justice.

The politically oriented tourist can become part of the problem not part of the solution. In this context, the 'ugly face' of political tourism may manifest as an action that is counterproductive to peace, in that by taking side they live in mistrust and suspicion, which in turn can affect their advocacy back home.

The reality of the peace tourist

Call it Independence Day or Al Nakbah; the Gaza conflict, Operation Cast Lead on the Gaza Strip, Gaza Massacre, or War in the South; the separation

fence, security fence, anti-terrorism fence, social segregation wall, apartheid wall, or the separation barrier, the subscribed discourse, reactions and actions remain at the level of the chicken or the egg dilemma. The various names illustrate vividly the controversial nature of the structure (Carter, 2009). Perhaps (60 years later), visits to the Holy Land with an open heart, a mind to transcend both realities, a soul to internalize all sufferings, and above all a philosophy as simple as the glass is *half full* can make the glass look fuller to the sceptics and even to those who live in denial. The peace tourist, thus, calls for justice *for all* in spite of the existing 'injustices': 'Justice requires all parties to make some sacrifices so that others can have more of the goods they need and want' (Vanderschraaf, 2006, p. 321). Or, perhaps, more pragmatically, it is only by restraining self-interest that self-interest is best served (Davide Hume, 2006 [1739]), serving the collective good (Nuyen, 1986), for: 'By the conjunction of forces, our power is augmented: By the partition of employments, our ability encreases: And by mutual succour we are less expos'd to fortune and accidents. 'Tis by this additional force, ability, and security, that society becomes advantageous' (Davide Hume, 2006 [1739]). That is, it is through practical implications of neutrality that respect, trust and responsibility can be best promoted and achieved.

Siding with the Israelis justifies and supports their right for security and tranquillity, but (*to a certain extent and most often*) rejects the rights of the Palestinians. Siding with the Palestinians justifies and supports their right for independence and sovereignty, but (*to a certain extent and most often*) rejects the rights of the Israelis. The mission of the peace tourist, inspired by the Tourism4Peace vision, has been to continuously find ways to combine efforts to promote peace between Israelis and Palestinians, inside the Holy Lands as well as back home and outside, in good times and bad times or at least 'quieter' times, without succumbing to the charms of political mongering, religious myopia, side-taking or personal interest. Furthermore, it is needless to say that most Israelis and Palestinians accept a two-state solution.

Conclusion

Not to argue that political tourism or solidarity tourism are not effective in contributing to the peace propositions in other parts of the world, the thesis proposed here, within the *current* Israeli–Palestinian context, is that peace tourism seems to be a more appropriate alternative, *now*. An alternative that can help to strengthen moderate Israelis and Palestinians, and promote common understanding between Israel and the Arab countries. Perhaps, this may sound just like a warm rhetoric, but it is a rhetoric that sees a bright tomorrow through non-violent resolution to the conflict. It is also worth noting that the peace tourist, by premise, condemns all violence against civilians, regardless of its origin, source or proportionality, and, inspired by dreams – the dreams of living side by side – (not illusions – the illusions that one day only one of the two peoples will be living in the Holy Land), calls for the respect for a

shared heritage, a pragmatic vision for a just and sustainable peace, and the *right* of the people of the world to experience the Holy Land in serenity (Fig. 11.1).

This is what members of the Forum have to say about peace and tourism:

No borders, no boundaries, no animosity; just beautiful experiences

Rafi Baeri, VP Marketing and Sales Dan Hotels Corp (Israel)

Tourism has no borders

Raed S. Saadeh, President, Arab (Palestinian) Hotel Association

The important thing about peace is hope

Elhamy ElZayat, Chairman and CEO EMECO Travel (Egypt)

Tourism is key to improving relations with other countries

Michael Nazzal, Chairman of the Board, Jordan Hotel Association (Jordan)

Unmistakably, there is no delusion here: members of the Forum have strengths and shortcomings, and are also faced with a deluge of barriers and pressures, locally and from outside. Yet, despite the on-going conflict and periodical tensions, they still manage to find the courage to meet and create opportunities to execute their peace through tourism plans and activities. Their example is



Fig. 11.1. Serenity in the future and the future of serenity. *Source:* Een Ander Joods Geluid (A Different Jewish Voice): <http://www.eajg.nl/>
The text on the photo translates as: 'Why is Israel building a wall between us?' 'To protect me, said my father.'

an inspiration to the peace tourist, and an example to all those wishing to contribute to the peace and tourism propositions in the region.

It remains, of course, necessary to examine, among others, how, for example, the tourism brochure idea resonates within the four communities as well as internationally, and what impact it will have on tourism and peace in the region.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge that what I have advanced here is all about hope. There is hope, and peace tourism is hope in action, proposed as a strategy that may help to resolve differences and contribute to an agenda for peace through tourism.

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12

Northern Ireland Re-emerges from the Ashes: the Contribution of Political Tourism towards a more Visited and Peaceful Environment

M.T. SIMONE-CHARTERIS and S.W. BOYD

*Department of Hospitality & Tourism Management, Ulster Business School,
University of Ulster, Northern Ireland*

Introduction

In a time of political, economic, terrorist and foreign relations turmoil such as the one we are currently experiencing, the debate on peace through tourism is more relevant than ever. While a considerable body of literature has been accumulated on the role of tourism as a promoter of goodwill, better relations, and ultimately, international peace, existing studies present contradictory and often negative findings and have been altogether inconclusive (Pizam, 1996; Sönmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000; Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2000). Hence, questions such as ‘does tourism promote peace?’ and ‘does tourism contribute to keeping peace?’, for example, in divided societies still remain largely unanswered. In order to answer questions of this kind, more empirical analysis of tourism as a potential instrument for conflict resolution and world peace based on case study research is needed, for it is only through real examples that more light can be shed on this controversial debate.

Northern Ireland has been selected by the authors of this chapter as an appropriate destination for a case study intended to evaluate the contribution of tourism for better understanding among divided societies, in this case, the Loyalist and Nationalist communities forming the Northern Ireland society. Northern Ireland has a long history (circa 30 years) of terrorism, which has been beamed by the media across the English-speaking world and even worldwide (Wall, 1996; Boyd, 2000). Not surprisingly, the region’s tourism industry has been affected in terms of receipts and visitors, unsuitable tourism developments because of a poor economic and social image, and a lack of suitable infrastructure (Wilson, 1993; Wall, 1996; Boyd, 2000). However, the peace process and the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 have generated

significant improvements for the tourism industry and in 2007 tourism contributed £889m to the Northern Ireland economy (CogentSI, 2007).

In a turn of events, Northern Ireland's history and culture of conflict and violence is now satisfying the uniqueness demanded by contemporary tourists constantly seeking the next new and challenging destination, and political tourism is on the rise at least in cities like Belfast and Londonderry/Derry. Political tourism, however, divides public opinion, and while some see it as an opportunity to positively transform the legacy of the past 30 years, others believe it exacerbates differences and sectarianism.

Despite the controversy it generates, political tourism undeniably contributes to internal peace and reconciliation through projects, which see ex-prisoner organizations from opposite sides of the political divide collaborating with each other to deliver political tours that provide visitors with a comprehensive picture of the conflict. Additionally, ex-prisoner organizations and those involved in the Peace Process (e.g. Father Reid) have collaborated/are collaborating with other destinations, which share a similar history of conflict to that of Northern Ireland, such as the Basque Country, in order to assist their peace efforts (Coiste, 2006; O'Broin, 2006; Sharrock and Keely, 2006). Increasing numbers of visitors from the Basque Country, Palestine and South Africa, and students from all over the world, are also visiting Northern Ireland as part of international projects and initiatives to learn about the 'Troubles' and to see first-hand the effects of peace in a divided society.

Based on site visits, archival research, participant observation (of political tours), and structured interviews of public and private sector organizations, this chapter aims to investigate the role that tourism and, in particular, political tourism plays in fostering peace in Northern Ireland through collaborative projects, which involve both communities forming the Northern Ireland society. The chapter also aims to explore the educational value of political tourism especially for visitors from politically unstable destinations, and the potential for international cooperation.

Peace Through Tourism

Despite gaining considerable momentum in the past 30 years, the principle of tourism as a means for fostering peace remains a matter of dispute among tourism scholars, with proponents advocating tourism's potential to reduce prejudice, bridge cultural differences, and secure a more harmonious world (D'Amore, 1988; Khamouna and Zeiger, 1995), and sceptics arguing that the concept of peace through tourism is an utopian ideal (Brown, 1989; Litvin, 1998). The arguments used by advocates of pro-peace tourism arise from the contact theory of social psychology (Etter, 2007) and are based on the notion that tourism, through contact with other cultures, fosters attitudinal change and promotes cross-cultural understanding (Var *et al.*, 1994; Khamouna and Zeiger, 1995). In addition, there is a growing trend towards recognition of the potential of the tourism industry to promote peace through economic growth

and poverty alleviation as a result of the development of pro poor and volunteer tourism projects (UNWTO, 2002, 2004). A number of authors also argue that tourism has not only the potential to aid peace, but can also contribute to foster social justice and reconciliation between divided nations and within a divided society (Sönmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000; Braithwaite and Lee, 2006; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Kim *et al.*, 2007).

In contrast, opponents to tourism as a contributor to peace argue that by itself, tourism does not automatically contribute to positive attitudinal changes or to reduction of prejudice, but only when certain conditions are met, such as a quality tourist experience including opportunities to come into close and intimate contact with the destination's residents, can this occur (Pizam, 1996). However, it is argued that contact in tourism settings seldom involves the conditions necessary for intimate interactions and sharing to take place (Pizam, 1996; Litvin, 1998). Furthermore, a number of authors have suggested that an increased frequency and intensity of contact between tourists and hosts may perpetuate rather than ameliorate previous misconceptions (Pizam, 1996; Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2000). This view is supported by Kim *et al.* (2007, p. 295), who maintain that 'extensive tourism between European countries prior to the First and Second World Wars did not prevent them from engaging in long brutal combat against each other'. Finally, those denying tourism's ability as a force for peace also maintain that tourism rather than a protector of stability is often used as a tool of aggression by terrorists to put pressure on their governments by threatening and kidnapping tourists (Aziz, 1995). Therefore, it is concluded, tourism does not create peace but simply benefits from it (Litvin, 1998).

Other authors argue neither one way nor the other (Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2000; Kelly, 2006). For example, Tomljenovic and Faulkner (2000, p. 31) claim that 'while tourism has the potential to promote intercultural understanding and tolerance, it has an equally strong potential to have the opposite effects'. Correspondingly, according to Kelly (2006, p. 20), 'the growth in tourist numbers, the expansion of tourism into remote and underdeveloped areas, and its enormous cultural impacts constitute both threat and opportunity. If used wisely, tourism provides us with opportunities to satisfy a natural curiosity, to gain insights into other ways of life, to critically examine our own traditions, and to demonstrate that people throughout the world can live in harmony'. Moreover, according to Askjellerud (2003, p. 743) 'the tourist contributes to fostering peace through tourism if and when he or she owns the kind of attitude which considers the Other as an opportunity for emotional growth, and the encounter with the Other is managed in a non-violent way'. So therefore, 'both points of view are correct for different types of tourism experience' (Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2000, p. 21) and depending on the tourists' predisposition.

Political Tourism

One of the strongest arguments used by Litvin (1998, p. 64) to reject the role of tourism as a force for peace is that since 'tourism is never successful in the absence of peace, it cannot, therefore, be a generator of peace'. While it is generally true and accepted in tourism studies that peace, safety and security are prerequisites for the normal tourism development of a destination (Sönmez, 1998; Cavlek, 2002), exceptions exist and new studies are demonstrating that tourism based on conflict is an emerging form of cultural tourism (Clarke, 2000; Henderson, 2007; McDowell, 2008). According to Burnhill (2007), a new type of tourism has surfaced appealing to the more adventurous or ideologically driven visitors, who are not afraid of political strife or violent episodes. On the contrary, they visit because of them to learn first-hand about events they often see on their television screens and to lend a helping hand to victims of terror (Kliger, 2005; Burnhill, 2007). This new type of tourism is referred to as political tourism (but also as politically oriented, terror, Troubles and phoenix tourism).

Contrary to Litvin's view, it follows then that political instability can be an *impetus* rather than an impediment to visit a given destination either when political instability is a thing of the past, or when conflicts are current and ongoing (Brin, 2006). For example, in Berlin in Germany tourists are allured by remaining segments of the now gone Berlin Wall, which divided the city during the Cold War (Timothy, 2001). In China, visitors are attracted to Beijing's Tiananmen Square, which was the theatre of the student protests of 1989 culminating in the Tiananmen Square Massacre (Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996). In Jerusalem, Israel, visitors take private or organized excursions to sites related to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (Clarke, 2000; Brin, 2006). Similarly, in Northern Ireland, political tourists are interested in learning about the 'Troubles' through living history tours, which show the conflict from the perspective of one of the sides involved depending on the tour taken.

Furthermore, earlier Richter (1983) suggested that specific itineraries might be viewed as representing ideological values of the tourists and their political beliefs and convictions. According to her, tourists going away on vacation to a country experiencing political instability are themselves 'politically natured'. They might not side with any one side of the conflict in the destination, but are intrigued by the very conflict: its causes and background, its current implications on the hosts and its presence in everyday life. Hence, some visitors are more inclined than others to become potential agents, who can propagate political messages upon returning to their countries and communities (Crooke, 2005; Brin, 2006; McDowell, 2008).

By visiting politically unstable destinations to learn about a conflict or simply out of curiosity generated by the media, tourists are in effect immersing themselves into the hosts' culture and are, therefore, more receptive to understanding the reasons behind certain behaviours and beliefs, which could lead to better intercultural understanding and reduction of prejudice. By pouring money into the rundown tourism industry, visitors also contribute towards the

economy of the visited destination. If the reason of the visit is empathy with one of the sides involved in the conflict, this might turn into an occasion to reflect about one's beliefs and the situation back home, and might generate new insights or even a change of viewpoint. In addition, as supported by Brin, Crooke, McDowell and Richter, once they go home, tourists become propagators of messages and their own experiences to their friends and relatives. This, in turn, can provoke changes in others. On the other hand, however, as in the case of the debate on peace through tourism, political tourism might cause negative changes as tourists might have been told and shown things carefully selected by their hosts to further their political claims, thus involuntarily becoming promoters of political messages, which might further strengthen existing misconceptions and stereotypes.

Reconciliation Tourism

Another argument used by Litvin (1998, pp. 64–65) to question the principle of tourism as a force for peace is that, while reviewing academic and trade literature for his article 'Tourism: the world's peace industry?', 'never was a reference found that indicated that the emergence (or re-emergence) of an indigenous tourism industry in any way led to conflict reconciliation'. However, as in the case of political tourism, a body of literature is emerging, which advocates the potential of tourism to foster conflict resolution within divided societies and among nations (Sönmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000; Braithwaite and Lee, 2006; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Kim *et al.*, 2007). While current studies have not so far been able to demonstrate the role of tourism as the actual cause of initiating peace processes, most findings indicate that tourism has significant potential to develop a more positive image of a long-term enemy, paving the way for more harmonious relations not only on a person-to-person basis, but also at the government-to-government level (Braithwaite and Lee, 2006; Kim *et al.*, 2007). The exception being Pizam's (1996) study, which found that tourism between pairs of countries traditionally unfriendly or hostile did not generate many changes in the opinions and attitudes of travellers, and when changes occurred, they did in a negative direction.

Proponents of reconciliation tourism argue that the initial motivation for tourism cooperation is often of economic nature, especially when the country's tourism product is underdeveloped and there is increasing competition by more diversified tourist destinations. Nonetheless, these tourism ventures continue the quiet, daily work of dissolving the barriers between divided communities (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). This view is supported by a number of authors, who believe that the social benefits of psychological healing and reconciliation such as increased understanding, tolerance and learning emerge from the process (Sönmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000; Braithwaite and Lee, 2006). According to Sönmez and Apostolopoulos (2000), reconciliation tourism has the potential to succeed where conventional efforts to reduce tensions and mistrust have failed.

This chapter attempts to contribute to this area of research by investigating the capacity of political tourism to enhance peace and reconciliation within the two communities forming the Northern Ireland society, particularly, but not solely, by demonstrating how two ex-prisoners organizations, Coiste and Epic, are cooperating with each other through the delivery of political tours, which will hopefully lead to increased understanding, acceptance and reciprocity. First, though, the context of tourism in Northern Ireland and how the industry has been affected initially by the 'Troubles' and subsequently by the Peace Process is addressed.

The Context of Tourism in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has had a long history (circa 30 years) of political unrest (Wall, 1996; Boyd, 2000), but in the past 10 years, changes have occurred that offer greater opportunity for a more peaceful environment to emerge. Not surprisingly, the region's tourism industry has been affected in terms of receipts and visitors, unsuitable tourism developments because of a poor economic and social image, and a lack of suitable infrastructure (Wilson, 1993; Wall, 1996; Boyd, 2000). Figure 12.1, however, reveals that prior to the civil unrest at the end of the 1960s, Northern Ireland enjoyed visitor numbers that approached one million visitors in 1967; a fact often forgotten about when discussions take place about tourism and Northern Ireland. But decline was rapid once civil unrest broke out in 1969; 1972 saw visitor numbers shrink by over 50% in a period of only 5 years to 435,000. This is not surprising, as the early 1970s witnessed some of the worst violence the Province (Northern Ireland) had to endure during the 'Troubles' – a term that was quickly adopted by the media to

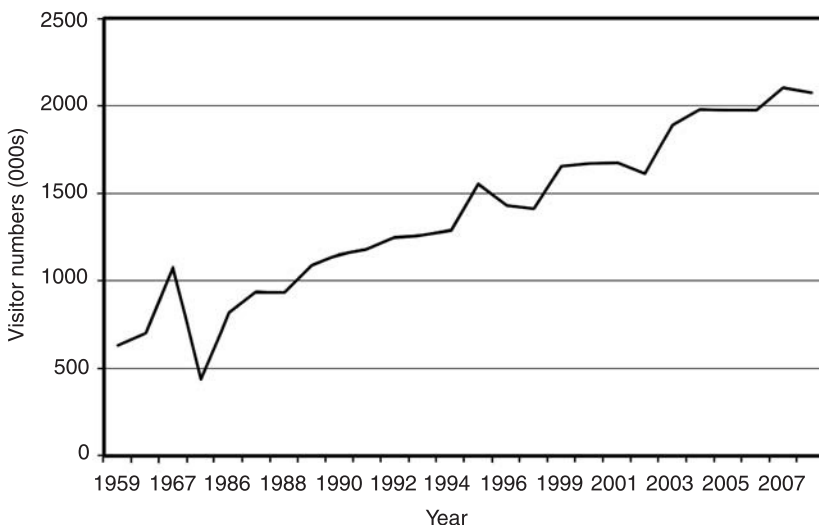


Fig. 12.1. Visitor numbers to Northern Ireland over time.

describe the conflict situation in Northern Ireland. Since then, Northern Ireland's tourism industry has taken a long time to emerge from the ashes of such a rapid decline as the reality of unrest, violence and unsafe climate made it unlikely for visitors to consider Northern Ireland as a destination worthy of visiting. Recovering the out-of-state visitor numbers has therefore been a slow and painstaking task, to the extent that it would not be until 1991 when 1.18 million visitors were recorded that numbers returned to what they were before the unrest broke out. Baum (1995) not surprisingly talks of the period 1967–1991 as the 'lost' years for tourism for Northern Ireland.

Dramatic developments have ensued over the past decade and a half (1994–2008) from which tourism in Northern Ireland has benefited. First, the official ceasefire by the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in 1994, witnessed a 20% rise in visitor numbers the following year and thereby demonstrating what can be achieved in a very short time period when the most important element of providing a safe environment could be marketed. Second, the peace process and the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 gave scope that the negative image of Northern Ireland as a destination could be reversed, that the industry had the potential to play a significant role in the economy of the Province and that product development could take place at a pace inconceivable a decade prior. Third, the National Tourist Organisation, the Northern Ireland Tourist Board (NITB), has been aggressive in its Corporate Plans and recognized the opportunity that a peaceful environment affords the tourist industry. Figure 12.1 reveals that over the past 10 years, there has been very strong and consistent growth in visitor numbers and that by 2007, Northern Ireland recorded for its first time over two million visitors (NITB, 2008b), where the sector contributed £376 million to the local economy. When spending by domestic visitors is taken into account, combined the sector contributes £535 million, 3.5% in terms of Gross Value Added (GVA). CogentSI (2007) argue when factoring in indirect and induced spending, the figure is more likely to be around £899 million. This demonstrates that the tourism industry has a major role to play in the future economy of Northern Ireland. One aspect of this growth that has been witnessed over recent years is the construction of new hotels at the top end of the market (four and five stars) in both the capital city, Belfast and around the Province, with an emphasis on golf and resort accommodation.

Over the 2004–2008 period, the NITB has developed what it called its Strategic Framework for Action, where a number of signature projects were identified to represent international standout for the Province (Titanic & Maritime Heritage, Giant's Causeway, Antrim & Causeway Coast Area, Walled City of Derry, Mourne region, potential first national park for Northern Ireland, and St Patrick & Christian Heritage), and where five winning themes (markets/activities) were singled out for consideration (short breaks, business tourism, culture and heritage, activity tourism, and excellent events). Under the Corporate Plan for 2008–2011, the NITB has set itself the target of growing out-of-state visitor numbers by 25% to 2.5 million, and spend by 40% to £520 million – challenging targets within a challenging economic climate. With the key factors in place to grow tourism (a peaceful, accessible and attractive

environment), Northern Ireland has a clear brand of ‘Confidently moving on’ and inviting visitors to ‘experience our awakening’ and ‘uncover our stories’; somewhat akin to the slogan used in the Republic of Ireland where visitors are encouraged to explore ‘An island of unique characters and characteristics’. Product portfolio has witnessed the merging of the signature projects and winning themes, creating four segments of cities (attractions, shopping, nightlife, Titanic, Walled City, festivals, events and public realm), culture and heritage (living culture, heritage, the arts, St Patrick/Christian Heritage), sports tourism, activities and waterways (golf, soft adventure, walking, cycling and water-based activities), and business tourism (associations, corporate/incentive) (NITB, 2008a). Box 12.1 shows the strategic thinking by the NITB, and where priorities lie.

Within Product Portfolio, there remains no commitment to promote political tourism as a recognizable experience. This is surprising, given that Simon Calder (a well recognized travel writer), in writing in *The Independent* back in August 2007, stated that the UK’s top attraction is the open-air gallery in west Belfast with its ‘dark, passionate and sometimes shocking murals from both sides of the religious divide’, and he encouraged people to go and visit as they were open 24 h a day and ‘they have yet to start charging admission’. Over recent years, it has become clear that Northern Ireland’s history and culture of conflict and violence is now satisfying the uniqueness demanded by contemporary tourists constantly seeking the next new and challenging destination, and political tourism is on the rise at least in cities like Belfast and Londonderry/Derry. Political tourism, however, divides public opinion, and while some see it as an opportunity to positively transform the legacy of the past 30 years (Devine and Connor, 2005), others believe it exacerbates differences and sectarianism (Crooke, 2001). Boyd (2000) argues that there will always be an element of visitors to Northern Ireland, who want to see landmarks that reflect a turbulent past. Murals, for example, are part of the wider culture of both communities in Northern Ireland. While some people

Box 12.1. Top ten key priorities of the NITB.

Developing and managing product

1. Titanic (Maritime) Belfast
2. Giant’s Causeway, Antrim and Causeway Coast Area
3. Walled City
4. Mournes
5. St Patrick and Christian Heritage
6. Product Portfolio

Developing markets and gateways

7. Republic of Ireland (residents and international gateway) and Northern Ireland markets
8. Visitor Information

Developing enterprise and delivering world class visitor experiences

9. Research and intelligence
10. Industry development programme

Source: NITB (2008a).

celebrate the paintings and consider them an expression of popular culture, political resistance or working class-defiance, others consider them as expressions of power or even as acts of intimidation. Albeit the controversy they generate, murals have become popular with the media, which use them to convey a sense of distinctiveness, place and authenticity. However, they have become even more popular with tourists, who see them as a *matériel* remnant of the conflict, a legacy of the last 30 years, a remainder of a past that should not be forgotten or concealed (McCormick and Jarman, 2005; Peace Line Tours, 2008).

The extent to which the political climate has moved on is reflected in the first ever debate in the Northern Ireland Assembly on political tourism under private members' business. Not surprisingly, little agreement was reached across political parties, but what is significant is that debate took place (Northern Ireland Assembly Official Report, 2008). There were, however, criticisms of the NITB's failure to develop the necessary infrastructure, and as a consequence, political tourism operates through few private sector tourist companies and organizations.

An assessment of the level of visitation enjoyed by attractions across the Province (by select years) reveals that sites that have some political association are still not well visited. Tables 12.1 and 12.2 rank the top ten visitor attractions for select years over the past decade and half. Table 12.2, reveals that up to 2000, no political tourism attraction featured in the top 10 attractions across the Province. The only attraction that has any links to Northern Ireland's political past is visits to the Historic Walls of Londonderry/Derry: one of Western Europe's best examples of a walled city intact today (Table 12.2).

According to the official figures, political sites and attractions (e.g. certain museums and mural sites) still remain as sites of lesser significance for the majority of visitors to Northern Ireland. However, it must be noted that there is a tendency to promote political sites and attractions under the wider umbrella of cultural and heritage tourism. As a consequence, specific statistics relating to

Table 12.1. Top 10 tourist attractions visited in 1994, 2000 and 2007 in Northern Ireland.

Attraction	1994	Rank	2000	Rank	2007	Rank
Giant's Causeway Visitor Centre	330,000	1	395,247	1	712,714	1
Ulster Museum	256,020	2	217,811	3	Not open	–
Pickie Family Fun Park	230,000	3	350,000	2	Not in top 10	–
Exploris	211,129	4	124,500	9	Not in top 10	–
Belfast Zoo	188,946	5	204,458	4	294,935	2
Ulster Folk & Transport Museum	186,656	6	155,847	7	168,866	9
Belleek Pottery	148,386	7	193,672	5	171,569	8
Murlough Nature Reserve	128,000	8	–	–	Not in top 10	–
Dunluce Centre	118,116	9	78,000	15	Not in top 10	–
Ulster American Folk Park	117,081	10	120,464	11	157,325	10

Sources: Timothy and Boyd (2003); Northern Ireland Tourist Board (2008b).

Table 12.2. Top 10 visitor attractions in 2007 in Northern Ireland.

Rank	Attraction	Visitor numbers	% change on 2006
1	Giant's Causeway Visitor Centre	712,714	+29
2	Belfast Zoo	294,935	+14
3	W5 (Science Museum opened 2001)	247,506	+5
4	Carrick-a-Rede Rope Bridge	222,613	+20
5	Oxford Island Nature Reserve	216,713	-17
6	Historic Walls of Derry	213,415	+3
7	Belfast Lough RSPB Reserve	210,000	0
8	Belleek Pottery	171,569	+46
9	Ulster Folk and Transport Museum	168,866	-1
10	Ulster American Folk Park	157,325	+8

Source: Northern Ireland Tourist Board (2008b).

politically oriented tourism are not yet available. The debate by Northern Ireland's main political parties concerning political tourism reveals that perhaps the climate is changing and that public sector organizations are beginning to realize that there is an ever growing interest to view places of political and 'darker' appeal that have helped shape the cultural/political landscape of the Province over the past 40 years. At the same time, it is important not to dwell on political tourism as all that Northern Ireland offers visitors; rather it is necessary to stress that this should only be one element of the product mix and experience, and that visitors are also interested in experiencing the Province's culture, heritage and coastal landscapes.

The chapter now shifts to presenting a case study of political tourism in Northern Ireland as carried out by the authors in 2008, addressing first the methods used, followed by the results and wider discussion and implications.

The Study: Political Tourism in Northern Ireland

Methodology

This essentially qualitative study was based on site visits, archival research, participant observation (of political tours), and interviews of managers and senior officers of public and private tourism organizations, representatives of religious institutions (from most denominations) and representatives of the Province's main political parties. All interviews and participant observation of tours took place over a 2-month period in 2008. A combination of face-to-face and telephone interviews was employed to carry out the study. A purposeful sampling method was employed to select the appropriate experts to interview (Hemmington, 1999).

Based on their experience, role and influence in policymaking in tourism, 32 key participants were chosen among visitor and convention bureaux, city councils, the Northern Ireland Tourist Board, the Orange Order, companies involved in the organization of walking, bus and taxi tours, community

organizations, two museums, political parties, and churches and cathedrals. The interview questions and participant observation tours aimed at investigating the respondents' views on the following: the role of political tourism as a force for better understanding and improved relations between the two communities forming the Northern Ireland society, the importance of political tourism in terms of fostering peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, the contribution of political tourism towards the development of the local economy and its capacity for employment creation, the educational value of political tourism for the indigenous population and for visitors (especially those from politically unstable destinations), and its potential to assist international cooperation.

All conversations were recorded: face-to-face interviews on a Dictaphone and telephone interviews via a telephone conversation recorder. All recordings were transcribed *verbatim* soon after completion and notes were produced during the transcription process. The transcripts and notes were deconstructed in order to identify key themes. This allowed for the breakdown of the transcripts and notes into manageable blocks, which were then classified into codes and groups. The emergent findings are discussed below. Since some respondents expressed the wish not to be identified, on occasions, the authors were unable to state the respondents' names. When this was the case, the organizations the respondents represented were stated instead.

Results and Discussion

Peace and reconciliation through political tourism

The principal explanation provided by the NITB for the exclusion of political tourism from the organization's product development portfolio and promotional material is that the Troubles are very recent, people are still hurting and, therefore, there is a need to be sensitive. The NITB recognize that 'murals are becoming a big thing within tourism in general [but] we haven't at the moment a political or tourism line to take with regard to our support ... we have to listen to costumers' needs and expectations, but we have to be very sensitive in how we promote the package and develop it on the ground' (C. Reynolds, Belfast, 2008, personal communication). However, political tourism is not considered as controversial and divisive by the communities as it is by the statutory authorities.

This is supported by a political tour that the authors took in Belfast in May 2008. The tour was organized by the republican ex-prisoners organization Coiste na nIarchimí. It incorporated various sites on the Falls Road and ended at the Milltown Cemetery, which is where Bobby Sands and other hunger strikers are buried (Fig. 12.2). The tour group was formed by visitors from different European nationalities and journalists from Britain. The tour guide was aware that the authors were researchers. To everybody's surprise, at the end of the tour, the guide, who was an ex-prisoner, encouraged the group to take a parallel tour of the Loyalist Shankill Road in order to get a comprehensive



Fig. 12. 2. H-Block memorial to Bobby Sands and the other hunger strikers, Falls Road, West Belfast.

picture of the conflict. After the group agreed, the guide contacted a gentleman from the loyalist ex-prisoners' organization Epic and handed the group over.

That the republican and loyalist ex-prisoners' organizations in Belfast cooperate on a regular basis emerged in a number of interviews. For example, Shankill Tourism's Tourism, Culture and Art Development Officer explained that:

[Coiste] would do the nationalist and catholic side and [Epic] do the loyalist and protestant side. But at the minute [Epic] ... is not really geared for delivering tours. They are doing it on the back of Coiste's marketing. Coiste would take the bookings and [when] people want both sides of the story, Coiste then ring Epic.

(R. Small, Belfast, 2008, personal communication)

Cooperation between the former foes does not take place only in Belfast, but also in Londonderry/Derry. The Museum of Free Derry, for instance, which is popular with political tourists interested in the story of the Civil Rights Movement, the events of Bloody Sunday, and the creation of Free Derry in the 1960s and 1970s, is managed by a cross-community board (D. Harrigan, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication). Moreover, the Museum of Free Derry is collaborating with the Apprentice Boys Memorial Hall, which is a Museum dedicated to the 13 Protestant Apprentice Boys who closed the city gates in 1688, as part of the Walled City of Derry Signature Project (NITB, 2008a; P. Ramsey, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication). Also, several organizations that currently do not do so are planning to or would like to collaborate with the other community in the future. For example, the chair of TaxiTrax, a West Belfast taxi association, which takes visitors around the Republican murals, stated that:

If there was money made available, help with training, publicity for the tours, it would be great if I could do a tour for an hour and a half and then hand over to a Protestant driver and he could do the tour of the Protestant area. You would get a balanced view from a local man from each community.

(M. Kelly, Belfast, 2008, personal communication)

Similarly, the manager of Free Derry Tours, which is a community organization running political tours of the Bogside, explained that they are planning to offer joint tours with the Loyalist community because visitors often inquire about the Unionist side of the history of L/Derry (M. Cooper, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication). The General Secretary of the Apprentice Boys Association even stated that:

If this had been done years ago then, possibly, we wouldn't have had 3500 deaths in our country. There would have been a better understanding of each other's community and tradition. I think [cooperation] is the only way to reach out, to create this good neighbour relationship and hopefully, we'll never have to revisit what this generation has endured for the last 30 odd years.

(W. Moore, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication)

The potential of political tourism to contribute towards the local economy is also widely recognized. According to Belfast City Sightseeing's Business Development Manager:

The most political areas tend to be, the most economically deprived [they are] ... the idea behind our route is that you are encouraging vibrancy and economic growth in a post-conflict environment ... tourism is quite important in that perspective ... this tourism brings everyday 200 people in those areas and they buy, food, coffee ...

(A. McCormack, Belfast, 2008, personal communication)

A similar view is shared by Sinn Féin's (SF) representatives, who maintain that 'political tourism has massive potential to grow the tourism industry and will assist in the regeneration of many areas of social need throughout the North' (Northern Ireland Assembly Official Report, 2008).

From the examples above, it follows that political tourism is allowing the two communities forming the Northern Ireland society to overcome circa 30 years of mistrust, suspicion, prejudice and hatred, thus supporting the view of the advocates of pro-peace tourism (D'Amore, 1988; Var *et al.*, 1994; Khamouna and Zeiger, 1995). Political tourism was not the cause of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland, but was born out of it, possibly out of economic opportunities. Nevertheless, these economic opportunities are probably one of many motivations not to resurrect the conflict. This is in line with Litvin's (1998) view that the economic benefits of tourism are an incentive for ending conflict. Evidently, political tourism is contributing to reconcile the two communities, which for many years have been at opposite sides of the political divide through collaborative projects that allow them to explain their different viewpoints in a peaceful fashion and are, therefore, contributing to cement the Peace Process. This supports the reconciliation tourism literature, which advocates the potential of tourism to foster conflict resolution within divided societies and among nations (Sönmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000; Braithwaite

and Lee, 2006; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Kim *et al.*, 2007). As expected, in line with the opponents to the pro-peace literature (Brown, 1989; Litvin, 1998) some interviewees, argued that political tourism has the potential to push the communities further apart and that murals, in particular, perpetuate sectarianism. However, these respondents represented a smaller percentage and their opinions were not supported by facts.

The educational value of political tourism

At the height of the conflict, Northern Ireland was considered a no-go area and visitors stayed away altogether. Things couldn't be any different today. Not only are visitors back, but a percentage of them are visiting because of the legacy of the conflict. Increasing numbers of visitors, including from politically unstable destinations, and students from all over the world are, in fact, visiting Northern Ireland as part of international projects to learn about the 'Troubles' and to see first-hand the effects of peace in a divided society. This is supported by the Coordinator for Coiste, who stated the following:

A lot of groups, especially from America ... bring lots of students, pupils with them and they may be interested in the conflict or conflict resolution ... So that's very useful for them, if they are doing dissertations or studies on it ... [to] ... come in and ... talk to people who were imprisoned, people who helped to shape these communities as they are today and paid a big sacrifice in terms of their own lives and family lives.

(S. Creagh, Belfast, 2008, personal communication)

Similarly, the Manager of Free Derry Tours stated that:

Lots of European groups are student groups. [The conflict] is on their curriculum. And we have a lot of people from the Basque Country, Catalonia, Palestine ... A lot of students, backpackers who come here because of their situation, very specific parallels [are] drawn.

(M. Cooper, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication)

Moreover, Derry City Council's Tourism Officer further explained that:

The Museum of Free Derry has contacts with the likes of Robben Island Museum in South Africa [and] some of the concentration camps that are in Poland and the Czech Republic ... The Museum of Free Derry would get a lot of visitors from [those places] because of the connections between the communities.

(D. Harrigan, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication)

The examples above indicate that tourism, particularly political tourism, is spreading awareness about the positives that can be achieved through conflict resolution. Through tourism, Northern Ireland is demonstrating to students and visitors the benefits of the Peace Process, which include economic development, employment creation, improved intercommunal relations, progress and reconciliation. This way, political tourism has the potential to influence other destinations' peace processes. The tourist experience, in fact, encourages visitors to reflect on the situation back home, re-examine their own traditions and draw parallels between the destination visited and their own



Fig. 12.3. Piece of artwork supporting the cause of Palestine on a gate, Bogside, L/Derry.

country. Once they go home, the tourists are likely to share their experience with family and friends, thus, becoming messengers of peace in their own countries (Richter, 1983; Askjellerud, 2003; Crooke, 2005; Brin, 2006; Kelly, 2006; McDowell, 2008).

Interestingly, although the NITB seems to be reluctant to promote political tourism, they provided funding for the Museum of Free Derry, therefore, 'they obviously recognise the importance of political tourism' (Derry Visitor & Convention Bureau, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication).

The potential for international cooperation

According to Darby (2005), no peace process stands in isolation. Furthermore, there is a tendency in every peace process to look at what is regarded as 'best practice' to adopt or adapt it to the local circumstances. For instance, the Northern Ireland peace process built on previous links with South Africa and meetings between negotiators throughout the process. Similarly, later on, the Basque Country process looked to Northern Ireland as a model. It is well documented by the press that Father Alec Reid, a Belfast priest who was instrumental in the Irish Peace Process and who witnessed, along with Reverend Harold Good the decommissioning of the IRA arsenal, was invited to the Basque Region by Basque Country priests in the hope that he could help to end their conflict. In the course of 4 years, Father Reid held negotiations with Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) activists, their affiliated political party Batasuna, and a range of civic and community leaders, which eventually led to the declaration by ETA of a ceasefire in March 2006 (Sharrock and Keeley, 2006). The ceasefire, however, was suspended after a few months.

Despite the negative ending of the Basque Region's Peace Process, the influx of visitors from the Basque Country, who visit Northern Ireland because of the similarities between the political histories of the two countries to learn about the Irish Peace Process, the Civil Rights Movement and to witness the effects of peace, has never stopped (Coiste, Belfast, 2008, personal communication; Derry City Council, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication; Derry Visitor & Convention Bureau, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication; Free Derry Tours, L/Derry, 2008, personal communication). As discussed earlier, these political tourists, by sharing their experiences with families and friends and propagating political messages upon returning to their countries and communities, become messengers of peace (Richter, 1983; Askjellerud, 2003; Crooke, 2005; Brin, 2006; Kelly, 2006; McDowell, 2008). Although the person-to-person level of contact through tourism is considered to be somewhat less effective than Track One (government-to-government) relations, it has been demonstrated that it still provides a positive influence in promoting peace (Kim *et al.*, 2007). It follows that tourism born out of international cooperation can, even when the cooperation has ended unsuccessfully, still enhance peace efforts (Figs 12.3 and 12.4).

In addition, during the ETA's ceasefire, a delegation from the Basque Region including the Basque Minister for Justice and the Human Rights Director, made a visit to Northern Ireland to learn about the peace process and its effects on the communities. The delegation met Republican ex-prisoners' organization Coiste and Loyal ex-prisoners' organization Epic, which gave a joint presentation on the role of the ex-prisoners in the conflict, the legal barriers they faced, and their contributions to the communities and the peace process after their release (Coiste, 2006). If it is true that 'cooperation between



Fig. 12.4. Mural depicting Civil Rights Protests of the 1960s and 1970s, Bogside, Londonderry/Derry.

the opposing sides in a mutually beneficial economic endeavour may boost the peace process' more than other conventional methods (Sönmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000. p.42) and that 'the provision of economic support in Northern Ireland from public and private donors to buttress the Good Friday Agreement has made a return to war much more difficult' (Darby, 2005, p. 9), then the involvement of ex-prisoners' organizations and other community groups with political tourism and its contribution to economic growth and employment creation should represent a 'best practice' example for the Basque Region and motivate it to resurrect the peace talks.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter has attempted to contribute to the debate on the role of tourism as a force for peace and international understanding by investigating the role that tourism and, in particular, political tourism, plays in fostering better relations between the Loyalist and Nationalist communities across Northern Ireland society, and assisting the peace process and reconciliation efforts in the Province. In addition, the authors sought to explore the educational significance of political tourism for students and visitors, especially from destinations, which were or still are affected by conflict, and its potential to assist international cooperation.

The findings revealed that political tourism, despite being considered controversial and even divisive by some public sector bodies and a few members of the tourism industry, is nevertheless contributing to reconcile the two communities, which for the first time ever, are being able to explain their different perspectives in a peaceful manner, thus discouraging the resurrection of violence and conflict. The main implication of these results for tourism in general is that tourism can indeed contribute to peace and reconciliation. However, the level of contribution depends on a number of factors. The first factor is the stage of the pacification process in the destination. In a situation of conflict, tourism ventures can bridge ethnic differences, thus encouraging better understanding, whereas when a ceasefire has been declared and the economic effects of cooperation are evident, tourism can more effectively strengthen the peace process and promote reconciliation as in the case of Northern Ireland. The second factor, which affects the capacity of tourism to contribute to peace, is the predisposition of tourists to become messengers of peace (Askjellerud, 2003). For instance, visitors interested in Civil Right Movements, peace and reconciliation such as political tourists, are more likely to propagate political messages and share their experiences with family and friends upon returning to their country and communities in comparison with other segments of the leisure market as with visitors to Northern Ireland from the Basque Region and Palestine.

Whether the statutory authorities including the NITB, and a number of other organizations shy away from political tourism or not, political tourism will continue to attract visitors (First and Second World War sites are still popular with visitors) and contribute to the local economy through the

regeneration of deprived areas, creation of employment, and the spill-over effect of tourist spending. Given Northern Ireland's temperate climate and location at the periphery of Western Europe, the increasing competition by more diversified tourist destinations such as the Asia Pacific region, the increasing dissatisfaction with conventional mass tourism products, and the global economic recession, the NITB would do better to capitalize on those resources that are authentic and unique to the Province and political tourist attractions certainly are.

As previously illustrated, it is argued by tourism scholars that the economic benefits of tourism are one of the many reasons to end conflict (Litvin, 1998; Sönmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000). This might not sound a very 'noble' reason compared with other possible motivations such as preservation of cultural heritage, respect for human life and the desire to live in a more harmonious world. Nonetheless, economic reasons seem to be effectively fostering peace efforts in various destinations including Northern Ireland, Cyprus and Korea. If there is a tendency in every peace process to look at what is regarded as 'best practice' examples (Darby, 2005), and if tourism born out of international cooperation can, even when the cooperation has ended unsuccessfully, still enhance peace efforts as a result of tourists acting as messengers of peace (Richter, 1983; Askjellerud, 2003; Crooke, 2005; Brin, 2006; Kelly, 2006; McDowell, 2008), the potential of economic reasons to foster international peace and reconciliation should not be underestimated.

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13

How Stable is Peace Linked with Tourism? The Case of Mt Geumgang Tourism Development Project on the Korean Peninsula

YONGSEOK SHIN

Korea Culture & Tourism Institute

Introduction

It has been maintained that tourism can have positive effects by cultivating peace in conflicting areas and between nations that are hostile to each other. The Korean Peninsula has remained divided since 1945, and North and South Korea are still technically at war. Although there were occasional talks and exchanges at governmental levels, travel by ordinary people between the two Koreas was impossible. However, the situation took a dramatic turn in 1998 when the Hyundai Group, a South Korean conglomerate, sent South Korean tourists by cruise ship to Mt Geumgang in North Korea. Since the beginning, the Mt Geumgang tourism development project has suffered from low profitability, political opposition by the conservative party in South Korea and military actions by North Korea. Nevertheless, the Mt Geumgang project has grown gradually, thanks to the strong support by the past South Korean administration with an open and progressive diplomatic policy towards North Korea. The number of South Korean tourists visiting Mt Geumgang reached one million in 2005, and has recorded an average 300,000 a year since then.

However, the Mt Geumgang project faced a serious challenge in August 2008 when a South Korean tourist visiting Mount Geumgang was shot dead by a North Korean soldier. The incident stopped Mt Geumgang travel, and the deadlock seems to be continuing, because both North and South lack the political will to solve the dilemma. What is worse, this incident has led to serious tension between the North and South Korean governments. Once Mt Geumgang travel was regarded as a symbol of peace on the Korean Peninsula, but now it has become a symbol of the worsening relationship between the two Koreas.

This chapter aims to show, by investigating the case of the Mt Geumgang project, that peace made by tourism could be very fragile if there are no appropriate institutional arrangements at the political level.

Mt Geumgang Tourism Development Project

Background

During the late 1980s, reforms and openness in the former USSR led to major political changes in other communist countries. The wind of change was also felt on the Korean peninsula. To begin with, in July 1988, the South Korean government announced the Special Declaration in the Interest of National Self-Esteem, Unification and Prosperity. At the international level, in the 1990s, South Korea established diplomatic relationship with a few communist countries, including North Korea's major ally, the former USSR, in 1990 and China in 1992. By 1990, inter-Korean relations had improved with the beginning of South-North High-Level Talks between the prime ministers of the two Koreas. At the fifth round of the High-Level Talks in 1991, the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation, also known as the South-North Basic Agreement, was signed.

However, it was during the South Korean Kim Dae-Jung Administration, from 1998 to 2003, that big political changes were made in the relationship between North and South Korea. The Kim Dae-jung Administration maintained that the reunification of Korea could not be achieved in the near future, as the two Koreas had been facing off for more than half a century, so cooperation and coexistence between two sides should be pursued first. It was believed that North Korea could be changed not by force but only through trust based on exchanges and cooperation. With this belief, the South Korean government adopted the so-called Sunshine Policy,¹ which emphasized mutual economic cooperation between two Koreas. Since its articulation, the policy has brought increased contacts and exchanges between North and South, including the first Korean summit at Pyongyang in 2000, between South Korean president, Kim Dae-jung, and North Korean leader, Kim Jong-il.

With the improvement in relations between two Koreas, the aggressive efforts of the Hyundai Group, a South Korean business conglomerate, to initiate business with the North Korean government played an important role in the launch of the Mt Geumgang project. The late Chung Ju-yung, the founder of the Hyundai Group, had tried to get North Korea's approval for his business plans in North Korea since 1989 when he visited North Korea for the first time in secret.

¹ The term 'Sunshine Policy' originated in Aesop's fables. The Kim Dae-jung Administration believed that only peaceful efforts could, like warm sunshine, open North Korea voluntarily, and not forceful aggression like the harsh wind in the fable.

Chung² finally got a deal with North Korea when he met Kim Jong-il in 1998, but the price was huge. The Hyundai group agreed to pay almost US\$1 billion over 6 years in fees alone, plus all costs for tourism facilities such as ports and roads, which would later become a big financial burden for Hyundai.

Stage One: Trial and Error (1998–2000)

Although the Hyundai Group succeeded in getting an agreement with the North Korean government, there were many things to be done in launching the Mt Geumgang project. Because there were few tourism facilities, not even a single modern hotel, in the Mt Geumgang region, Hyundai had to make many preparations in a very short time in order to bring in South Korean tourists. To solve this problem, Hyundai purchased two cruise ships, which enabled them to not only transport tourists from the South, but also to accommodate them. At last, on 18 November 1998, the historical first visit by South Korean citizens to Mt Geumgang was achieved. The first Hyundai cruise ship, carrying 937 South Koreans, embarked from Port Donghae, South Korea and sailed to Port Janggeon, North Korea, close to Mt Geumgang (Fig. 13.1).

The Mt Geumgang visit in the initial period was very simple because of North Korea's strict controls over tourists and the lack of tourist facilities. South Korean tourists were allowed neither to talk to North Korean residents nor to take pictures in non-designated spots. They had to come back to the ship for the night when daytime sightseeing was over. Tourists had to pay high price of US\$300–500 for the trip because of Hyundai's commitment of a monthly payment of US\$12 million, which had been agreed in the contract between the North Korean government and the Hyundai Group.

Despite the high price and limited freedom, Mt Geumgang travel at first drew much attention from South Koreans, since Mt Geumgang has beautiful scenery and a special historical significance.³ South Koreans were thrilled to see it for themselves for the first time in a half century. By 2000, more than 300,000 South Korean visitors had visited Mt Geumgang (Fig. 13.2). However, that achievement was overshadowed by several incidents. Conflict between the two Koreas' naval forces in the Yellow Sea took place in June 1999 and there was a long-range missile test by North Korea in August 1999. The most serious incident in the initial stage was the apprehension of a female South Korean tourist who made critical remarks about North Korea's political system. She was held in Mt Geumgang by North Korea for 4 days before release. Media and the public in South Korea raised the issue of safety and security in response to this incident, and the South Korean government banned Mt Geumgang

² Chung Ju-yung was born a poor boy in a small rural village, Tongchon, North Korea, in 1915. He ran off to South Korea when he was a teenager, dreaming of becoming a rich businessman, which came true later. It is said that his roots in North Korea were the major factor in the Hyundai Group's involvement with business in North Korea.

³ The name, Geumgang, means Diamond in Korean.



Fig. 13.1. The location of Mt Geumgang.

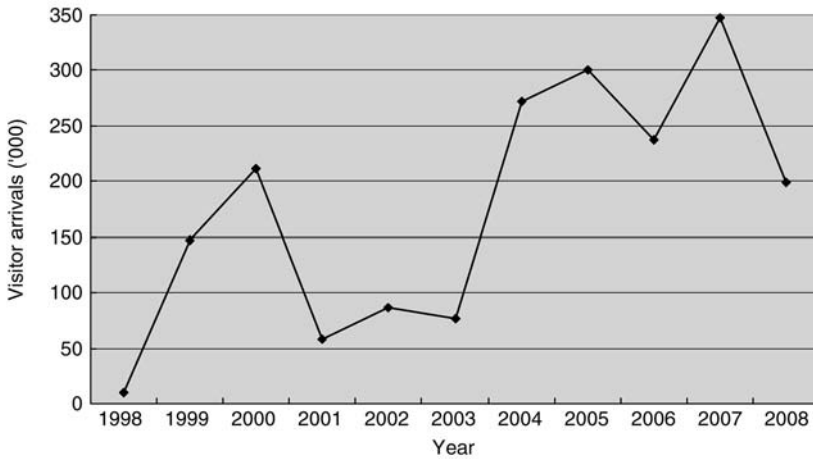


Fig. 13.2. Annual Mt Geumgang visitor arrivals. Source: The Ministry of Unification, South Korea.

travel, ordering the Hyundai Group to make a concrete agreement with North Korean authorities to secure the safety of South Korean visitors. It took almost 40 days until Hyundai finally made the agreement with North Korea and could again send cruise ships to Mt Geumgang.

Stage Two: Hardships (2001–2003)

When the Hyundai Group opened business in Mt Geumgang, they were optimistic about the success of the project. Hyundai expected 450,000 tourist arrivals in 2003, climbing to 1.3 million by 2006 (Hyundai Asan Co., 2001 in Kim and Prideaux, 2003). However, after 2 full years of operation, it became clear that the original tourist demand forecasts were not based on careful consideration, but rather on a naive wish. To reach break-even point in the business, at least a half million tourists a year were required to visit Mt Geumgang, but only 147,460 in 1999 and 212,020 visitors in 2000 were achieved.

The business situation in Mt Geumgang project worsened in 2001. The number of monthly visitors to Mt Geumgang dropped to below 10,000. There were two major factors in this: one was a decline in public interest in South Korea, and the other was the high price of the Mt Geumgang travel product. The decline in public interest was an inevitable result of the lack of variety in the travel product due to the many restrictions enforced by North Korea, and initial enthusiasm faded. The issue of price was related to the contract by which Hyundai had agreed to pay the fixed monthly fee of US\$12 million regardless of demand for the product.

The Hyundai Group was suffering from a vicious cycle composed of low sales due to a high price and the burden of excessive fees to the North Korean government. They were forced to make late payments of monthly fees due to a liquidity crisis, and requested North Korea to reduce the fees and the South Korean government to permit casinos and duty-free shops on the cruise ships, but both requests were rejected. The number of tourists who visited Mt Geumgang was 58,833 in 2001, 87,414 in 2002 and 77,683 in 2003, which was even less than in the initial period of business. Hyundai was at a critical point in deciding whether they should keep the Mt Geumgang project going. Fortunately, both North and South Korean governments did not want to see the end of the Mt Geumgang project, and they eased their position on Hyundai's requests. North Korea agreed to change the fee payment to US\$100 per tourist. The South Korean government did not change its position on casinos and duty-free shops, but took different actions to help Hyundai. The South Korean government lent about US\$70 million to the Korea Tourism Organization (KTO), and made KTO become involved in the Mt Geumgang project as a partner and investor, a move which was severely criticized by the conservative party against the Sunshine Policy in South Korea. The conservative party argued that the money generated by the Mt Geumgang project would be spent only to maintain Kim Jong-il's authoritarian regime.

Stage Three: Growth (2004–2007)

In spite of the reduced fees to North Korea and the aid from the South Korean government, Hyundai was not yet out of the woods. More fundamental measures were needed for a breakthrough to profit in Mt Geumgang business. It was recognized that the travel product based on cruise ships was not a good business model, because the operation costs were high and the ships could not carry many passengers in a day. Indeed, from the start of business Hyundai had prepared a plan to change the travel mode from the sea route to overland to carry more tourists at less cost, which would be more profitable. However, the North Korean government was reluctant to approve the overland tour, because it meant that the inland border would be opened officially to South Koreans. After negotiations, however, North Korea finally agreed. Since the fees to North Korea now were paid according to the number of visitors, the North Korean government approved the overland tour, attracting more tourists and hence more money.⁴

Although the overland tour was launched in 2003, success did not emerge until 2004, because of the 2-month travel suspension in 2003, which had been requested by the North Korean government, fearing SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) contagion. As the overland tour became stabilized, the demand began to increase. The overland tour was able to provide visitors with more varied itineraries than the cruise tour, and the travel package price became less expensive. Tourist facilities also improved as hotel, restaurants and roads were constructed.

The Hyundai group suggested an ambitious master plan to North Korea for developing the Mt Geumgang area as an international tourist complex, and North Korea and Hyundai agreed to designate Mt Geumgang as a special tourism zone. The designation of special tourism zone allowed South Korean tourists greater freedom than before. Greater freedom, reduced price, curiosity and the ability to cross the border by land for the first time since the Korean War all contributed to an increase in demand for Mt Geumgang travel. The number of tourists to Mt Geumgang in 2004 reached 272,820, which was almost four times as much as the previous year, and growth continued. In June 2005, Mt Geumgang travel achieved the historic one-millionth visitor after 6½ years (Fig. 13.3). It was a delayed achievement, considering Hyundai's original expectations, but meant that the Mt Geumgang project began to thrive at last. There was a nuclear test by North Korea in July 2006, but it had little impact on the growth of Mt Geumgang travel, because South Korea's Roh Moo-hyun Administration maintained the same stand as the former Kim Dae-jung that economic cooperation like the Mt Geumgang project would not be affected by diplomatic issues. From 2004 to 2007, the average annual tourist visitation was about 300,000, and Hyundai began to make profits from 2005. At last, the Mt Geumgang project seemed to bear fruit.

⁴ The fees to North Korea were reduced again when the overland tour became available. It depended on the length of travel, but the average fee per tourist went down to US\$50 in 2004.

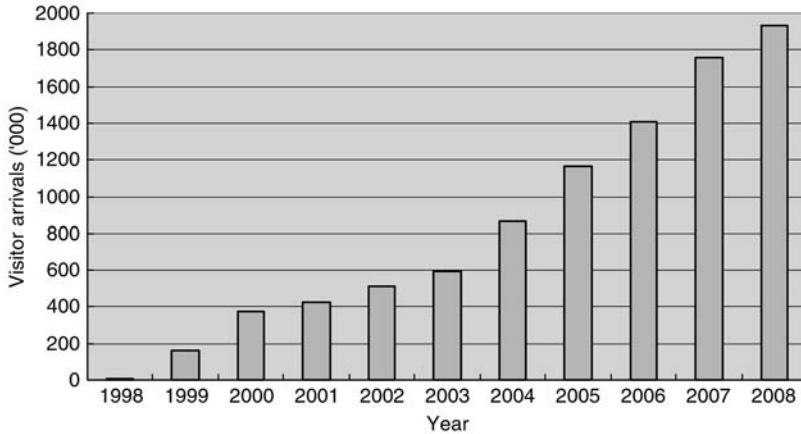


Fig. 13.3. Accumulated Mt Geumgang visitor arrivals. *Source:* The Ministry of Unification, South Korea.

Stage Four: Suspension or End? (2008~?)

In February 2008, there was a significant change in South Korean politics, with a new administration installed. The new president, Lee Myung-bak from the conservative party, took a different approach to dealing with North Korea. He stated that any support and cooperation would be sustained only if North Korea would officially give up its pursuit of nuclear weapons. North Korea regarded his statement as an intervention in the right to defence, and condemned the Lee Myung-bak administration for trying to damage the peaceful relationship between the two Koreas and denying the treaties that had been made during the preceding Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations. New tensions between two Koreas began to grow and relations became chilled accordingly.

However, the Mt Geumgang project did not seem to be threatened by the distant relationship between North and South Korea. Monthly visitation to Mt Geumgang remained steady, and additional tourist facilities, such as a new golf course, were opened. A new tourist route to inner Mt Geumgang was opened to South Korean tourists in March 2008. Hyundai expected to witness the two-millionth visitor in only 3 years from year 2005, and this achievement would celebrate the 10th anniversary of Mt Geumgang travel. Then a tragic incident changed everything.

On 11 July 2008, a woman in her 50s, a South Korean tourist, was shot dead by a North Korean soldier while walking on the beach in the Mt Geumgang area. North Korea claimed that the woman entered a restricted military area and fled despite a warning shot to stop her. The South Korean government barred travel to Mt Geumgang right away and demanded an on-the-spot joint investigation by North and South. North Korea rejected the demand, and continued to argue that all the facts were clear, and that the incident was entirely the victim's fault. Moreover, North Korea blamed South Korea for

suspending Mt Geumgang travel for political reasons. Both North and South maintained their positions on the incident, and suspension of the tours continued. Four months after the suspension, financial losses began to be incurred by Hyundai, and these kept growing.

In addition to the suspension of the Mt Geumgang tour, more bad news about the relations between North and South followed – anti-North Korean leaflets flown in balloons by conservative South Korean activists and the Lee Myung-bak Administration's support for a UN resolution on North Korea's human rights record provoked North Korea. Finally, North Korea declared an all-out confrontation posture against South Korea in January 2009. In May 2009, North Korea conducted the second nuclear test in 3 years.

Now Mt Geumgang travel was not the only problem to solve. The entire relationship between two Koreas was put in serious peril, and no one could predict when it would be normalized. Likewise, the future of the Mt Geumgang project also remains to be seen. As of July 2009, 1 year has passed since the ban, and there is still no sign of change.

Tourism and Peace

Although there is a lack of universal agreement, it has been argued by a number of authors that tourism has the potential to make a contribution to understanding and reconciliation by improving relations and providing opportunities for building a culture of peace. Most of these arguments are naturally interested in successful cases where tourism has been used as a catalyst to promote exchanges and increase contacts between nations or regions that are in conflict. Several cases, such as USA and China (D'Amore, 1988), China and Taiwan (Zhuang, 1993; Yu, 1997), North Korea and South Korea (Kim and Crompton, 1990; Kim *et al.*, 2006), and North Cyprus and South Cyprus (Akis and Warner, 1994), have been studied.

Butler and Mao (1996) made a significant research contribution on tourism in conflict areas. They suggested the term *quasi-state*, 'a currently separate political unit, once part of a larger unit, subdivided by internal (religion, ethnic origin, etc.) or external (colonization/decolonization, occupation, war, etc.) forces (p. 94).' Butler and Mao (1999) also argued that the tourism between quasi-states is dynamic, reflecting the political reality in which it happens. They explained that the pattern of travel between partitioned states evolved as follows: (i) zero-tourism stage; (ii) VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourist stage; (iii) middle stage; and (iv) mature stage (Table 13.1).

On the other hand, there exist arguments refuting the claim that tourism is a promoter of peace (Cho, 2007). The key point of these arguments is that it has not yet been empirically examined that tourism makes a realistic attribution to peace, and the relationship between peace and tourism is tenuous. Din's (1988, p. 80, in Var *et al.*, 1994, p. 28) statement clearly showed the negative view on the contribution of tourism to peace:

The universal desire for peace and the desire to see tourism as an avenue for cross-cultural understanding which is a prerequisite to such goals, have long been

Table 13.1. The development process of travel between partitioned states.

Stage	Relationship characteristic	Type of travel
Zero-tourism stage	Political hostility and sovereignty disputes No diplomatic relationship	None
VFR tourist stage	Bilateral relations begin to improve	VFR travel on an individual basis
Middle stage	Confrontation may still exist Normalizing inter-relations with the growth of exchanges	Growth of VFR travel
Mature stage	Evolution of each independent state or reunification of the two states	Possible package tour All types of travel without political constraints

Source: based on Butler and Mao (1999).

expressed. Unfortunately, such expressions of desire and hope have never been actually pursued beyond ritual occasions ... Thus, at this stage, 'Tourism as a vital force for peace', remains at best a futuristic statement.

Litvin (1998) argued that if there is any relationship between tourism and peace, tourism is not a generator of peace, but a beneficiary. It can be explained that the gap between contrasting perspectives on the relationship between tourism and peace is not from the degree of peace, but from the concept of peace in context. Notably, Galtung (1996) suggested two kinds of peace concept: negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace means simply the absence of war or physical violence. Since negative peace emphasizes nothing more than the absence of overt violent conflict, there may still exist hostility between the parties and nations even if the conflict ceases. Also negative peace is not always pursued by peaceful means. Positive peace, on the other hand, means not only the absence of violence, but also a range of relationships up to a state where the parties and nations may have collaborative arrangements. Moreover, positive peace should be pursued by peaceful means.

Applying Galtung's concept of peace to the relationship between tourism and peace, it can be argued that optimistic views on the contribution of tourism to peace mainly are from a negative peace perspective. It is clear that violence is not normally occurring in conflict areas where tourism is happening, but has tourism fundamentally changed the relationship or has positive peace become established between the states? This question is not easy to answer, because it should take holistic perspectives into consideration. Hall (1994, p. 91) criticized the supporting views on the relationship between tourism and peace because of their narrow perspective as follows:

Therefore, the idea that tourism is a force for peace is an overly simplistic interpretation of complexities of tourism and international relations. Such gross simplification of the political dimensions of tourism may serve to provide a platform for politicians and consultants to launch nice-sounding statements, but it does little to improve our understanding of tourism's position in the political environment.

It is also confirmed in the case of the Mt Geumgang project that evaluations of tourism and peace may differ according to the research perspective.

From a socio-cultural perspective, it has been argued that the Mt Geumgang project acted as a cultural intermediary or a catalyst to provide an opportunity for mutual understanding between North and South Korea (Kang, 1999; Kim and Prideaux, 2006). These arguments are supported by a survey on Mt Geumgang Travel by KTO. According to the survey results, over 70% of South Korean visitors answered in the affirmative that they could have better understanding of North Korea and more interest in unification of the two Koreas through the Mt Geumgang travel experience (KTO, 2007; Fig. 13.4).

However, from a political perspective, there is a different evaluation – that the Mt Geumgang project's contribution to the integration of North and South Korea was very limited. Cho (2007) proposed the Mt Geumgang Peace Index (MGPI) to examine how the Mt Geumgang project really had made a contribution to peace on Korean peninsula. The MGPI used news events related to the Mt Geumgang project, which ranged from conflictive to cooperative dimensions of political interaction. If an event was classified as positive, such as an agreement or exchange, which strengthened the political relationship between the two Koreas, it received a plus score on a weighted scale. On the other hand, if an event was classified as negative, such as condemnation or conflict, which weakened the relationships, it received a minus score. Where the index is high, it means the relationship between North and South Korea is inclined to a peaceful cooperation state. However, according to Cho's examination, the average of the yearly MGPI was only 1.4, which suggests that the political contribution of Mt Geumgang project was not significant.

On the basis of these arguments and differing research dimensions, it appears to be necessary that we take a broad perspective in both socio-cultural and political dimensions when addressing the relationship between tourism and peace.

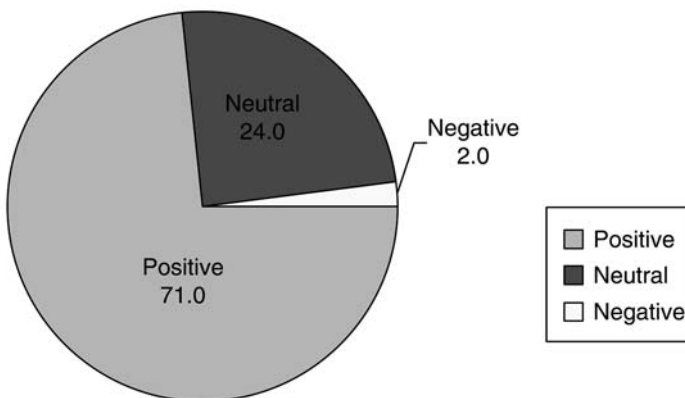


Fig. 13.4. South Korean tourists' opinion change toward North Korea after visiting Mt Geumgang (%). *Source:* Korea Tourism Organization (2007).

Discussion and Conclusion

As the start of Mt Geumgang project was unexpected, so was the stop. Why should it have stopped so suddenly? The death of a South Korean tourist, of course, was a big blow to the Mt Geumgang project, but it was the ostensible reason. The incident was not the reason for the project stoppage, which was really the result of all the latent problems.

To begin with, the North and South Korean governments had different agendas surrounding the Mt Geumgang project. The South Korean government saw the Mt Geumgang project as one of the elements of the Sunshine Policy, which had a goal to open North Korea in a peaceful way. However, the North Korean government was not much interested in this cause. The interest of the North Korean government in the Mt Geumgang project was the generation of foreign currency. By the time Mt Geumgang travel was stopped, Hyundai had paid a total of about US\$480 million, an important source for North Korea, which was suffering from a serious lack of foreign currency.

As noted previously, Butler and Mao (1999) suggested that travel between partitioned states should develop over time from non-commercial travel like visiting friends and relatives to commercial forms like package tours, which is true in most cases. For instance, travel between China and Taiwan changed from visiting friends and relatives in the earlier years to sightseeing vacations in more recent years, and has gradually become a two-way process (Guo *et al.*, 2006). However, Mt Geumgang travel did not follow this evolutionary process, because it was commercial from the beginning, skipping the stage of visiting friends and relatives. Besides, Mt Geumgang travel was unique, with a variety of restrictions limiting tourists' freedom, which is rare in mainstream commercial tours.

Second, the pre-arrangements for Mt Geumgang travel were poor. Insufficient tourist facilities surely caused a decline in the attraction of Mt Geumgang travel, but the bigger problem was the lack of institutional arrangements for making travel safe. Since Hyundai was in a hurry to launch the project and the North Korean government wanted to limit the involvement of the South Korean government as far as possible, agreements regarding the Mt Geumgang project between Hyundai and the North Korean government were mostly business-oriented, neglecting important fundamentals such as safety and security. For example, the treaty that guarantees the safety of visitors to Mt Geumgang was made only after a South Korean tourist was apprehended in 1999 when almost a half year had already passed. Even that treaty was not complete, because it was not made at government levels, but at a business level. Strictly speaking, the South Korean government did not have an official say in the Mt Geumgang project, because all the contracts were made between Hyundai, a private company, and the North Korean government.

These latent problems caused difficulties in the development as seen in the review of Mt Geumgang project. However, a collapse was avoided while South Korea maintained its Sunshine Policy despite North Korea's provocative actions, but it was a different story when the conservative Lee Myung-bak administration took office because the new government no longer adhered to

the Sunshine Policy. The relationship between the two Koreas was already not what it used to be when the death of the tourist occurred, and it could not be resolved through negotiation.

It is partly true that the Mt Geumgang project made some contribution to improving relationships between the two Koreas, especially in the socio-cultural dimension. When Mt Geumgang travel began, regulation by the North Korean government was very strict – no photographs in restricted areas, no talking to North Korean residents, North Korean soldiers on trails to watch South Korean tourists. Even a single mistake was subject to a warning and a fine. But the atmosphere began to change gradually as time passed. Most of the soldiers returned to their base, and regulation became looser. Most of all, although there were strict limits, South Korean tourists could experience part of North Korea for themselves for the first time in almost half a century. Through experiencing North Korea, South Korean visitors could feel closer to North Korea as seen in the KTO survey, which may be regarded as one of the positive effects of tourism in the socio-cultural dimension.

However, from a political perspective, the Mt Geumgang project contributed little to the integration of North and South Korea. Diplomatic stability was sometimes endangered by several incidents such as North Korea's missile tests and naval battles. It was the South Korean government's continuous efforts based on the Sunshine Policy that allowed Mt Geumgang travel to go on. However, the political environment surrounding the Mt Geumgang project was changed when the new conservative government was set up.

It is too early to make a final judgement on the Mt Geumgang project, because it has only a 10-year history. Despite the 1-year suspension, there is no initiative to solve the problem from either the North or South Korean government. This implies that the Mt Geumgang project is strongly subject to political reality. As Kim and Prideaux (2003, p. 675) state, in the case of the Mt Geumgang project, 'tourism is the consequences of a political process aimed at rapprochement, not the genesis of the process'. So the Mt Geumgang project was partly successful in securing negative peace and improving understanding in the socio-cultural dimension, but it could not be said to have brought positive peace in the form of political integration between North and South Korea.

As Hall (1994) argued, tourism is not able to be isolated from where it happens, which is true of the Mt Geumgang project. Mt Geumgang occupies a socio-political space affected by the changing political relationship between North and South Korea. While the relationship was not hostile, although it was only possible from South Korean government's Sunshine Policy, the Mt Geumgang project was able to be maintained.

Therefore, it is submitted that the cause-effect relationship between tourism and peace cannot be generalized. It may be said that progress toward peace through tourism is possible, but it should be noted that the contribution of tourism to peace varies with each situation. Moreover, it is very difficult to develop tourism to enhance political integration rather than just improvement to the socio-cultural relationship between nations or states. In conclusion, it is argued that tourism cannot bring significant reconciliation in partitioned states or conflicting areas unless careful planning and political consideration has been

taken in advance. Without these prerequisites, the effect of tourism on peace will be minimal and short-lasting if political turmoil reoccurs, as happened with the Mt Geumgang case.

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14 Divided or Reunited? Prospects for the Cyprus Tourism Industry¹

B. MUSYCK,¹ D. JACOBSON,² O. MEHMET,³
S. ORPHANIDES⁴ and C. WEBSTER⁵

¹*School of Economic Sciences and Administration, Frederick University, Cyprus,* ²*Dublin City University, Ireland,* ³*Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus,* ⁴*Independent Researcher, Cyprus,* ⁵*University of Nicosia, Cyprus*

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to determine the probable impact a political settlement of the Cyprus question would have on the performance of the tourism industry in Cyprus. More specifically, the aim of the study is to establish whether a political settlement of the Cyprus issue would benefit the tourism industry as a whole on both sides of the demarcation line,² in terms of arrivals and revenues.

The Cyprus problem is an issue that has persisted for many years. Since its inception, the Republic of Cyprus has suffered a great deal from its ethnic divisions. The ethnic conflict has resulted in a small island divided into two political entities: one, an internationally recognized republic in which almost all Greek Cypriots reside, and the other, a state lacking international recognition, in which almost all Turkish Cypriots reside. The political dividing line is referred to as the 'Green Line' (Fig. 14.1).

Despite this political division, the Cyprus economy in both the north and the south has relied heavily on tourism. Over the last few decades, the tourism industry on the island has developed into a significant employer and contributor to gross domestic product. This development was influenced by the course of the conflict; the tourism industry had to adjust to changes in the political environment. The absence of direct international flights to the airports in the north is one of the most important examples of how the political environment

¹ This chapter draws on Mehmet *et al.* (2008). We acknowledge the support of all the members of the research team and of the coordinator, Bulent Kanol of the Management Centre of the Mediterranean, Nicosia and of the funder, the British High Commission, Nicosia.

² Referred to below as *the south* or *southern part*, in contrast to *the north* or *northern part*.

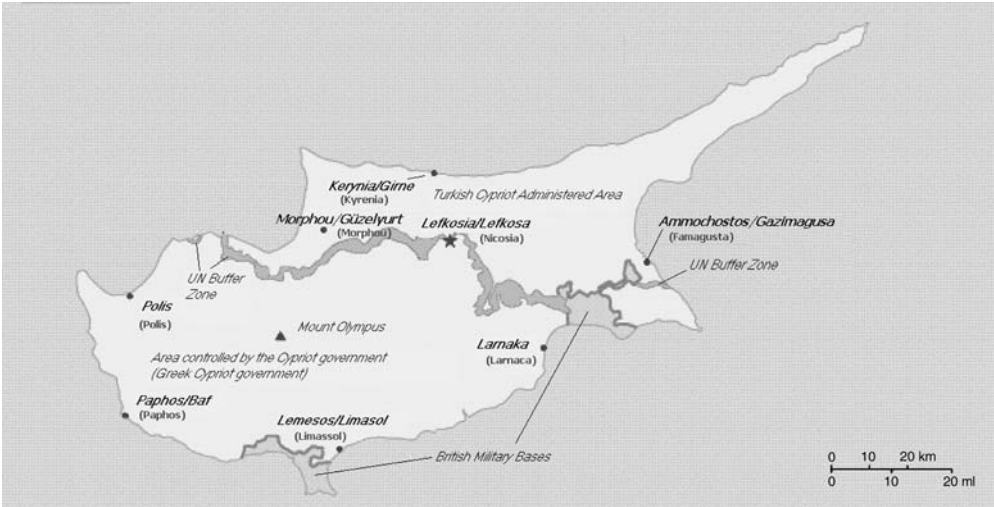


Fig. 14.1. Map of Cyprus.

can affect tourism. In contrast to the north, the south enjoys international recognition and all the benefits that came with its European accession. This facilitates unrestricted access to international flight connections and more inward investments. On the other hand, EU membership also subjects the country to restrictions in relation to state funding and anti-trust regulations, among many others.

The case of the Cyprus tourism industry in the context of the Cyprus problem has been studied both by consultants and academics, and some of these studies have been published in the international literature. Prior to the April 2004 referenda,³ north and south, a study prepared by Tourism and Transport Consult International was submitted to the Cyprus government. This study (TTC, 2004), commissioned by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation (CTO), was an attempt to assess the impact on the island's tourism industry of the proposed UN plan for the settlement of the Cyprus problem. Other studies (Ayres, 2003; Hadjispyrou and Pashardes, 2003; Eichengreen *et al.*, 2004) considered possible gains from a solution and/or costs of a continuation of the status quo. Further, Altinay *et al.* (2002) attempted to assess which political conditions were more favourable for the Turkish Cypriot tourism industry, and examined arguments in favour and against a reunification on one hand and the continuation of the division on the other.

All the above studies were completed within a certain context shaped by the respective political situation of their time. While the present study acknowledges the changes in the political situation since the referenda in 2004, it merely analyses the probable behaviour of the tourism industry in the south, including its interaction with the north, in the case of a solution of the Cyprus

³ In April 2004, the Annan Plan was put to the people of Cyprus in simultaneous referenda. The Greek Cypriots voted against, the Turkish Cypriots in favour of the Plan.

problem. The leaders of the two communities have regularly reiterated their commitment to a settlement based on a bizonal, bicomunal federation but the exact form of the sought solution remains a matter of negotiation. Discussion on the possible forms of the agreed structure and constitution is avoided in this study; the question here is about the nature of tourism in the context of a solution, whatever it may be, as long as it is accepted by both sides.

The chapter first analyses the results of a questionnaire designed for this study and addressed to professionals in the hotel and travel industry; the views of key informants, as provided in interviews, are also considered. In a second section, the chapter discusses various policy options in the light of the survey outcome. The last section of the chapter deals with the governance of tourism policy in a united Cyprus.

The Survey

The research reported in this chapter was led by an independent group of Cypriot and international researchers on both sides of the demarcation line in Cyprus to answer the question: what happens to tourism in both parts of the island with or without a solution?

During the past few years, the future of the tourism industry on the island has been the focus of much discussion, especially in the light of the continuous division of the country. Various authors have considered the costs and benefits for the tourism industry of a divided or reunited island (Clements and Georgiou, 1998; Ioannides and Apostolopoulos, 1999; Sönmez and Apostolopoulos, 2000; Altinay, 2000; Altinay *et al.*, 2002; Ayres, 2003; Altinay and Bowen, 2006); others have studied the various strategies needed on the island to support the industry – as a contributor to the sustainable development of the country – in the next 10–20 years (Altinay and Hussain, 2005; Gilmore *et al.*, 2007). The focus of the present study is to draw some light on the above questions from an empirical perspective through a survey of tourism professionals on both sides of the Green Line. The survey provides the respondents' subjective analysis of expectations, fears and hopes regarding the impact of a settlement acceptable to both communities on potential profits and losses.

In October 2004, 6 months after the referenda, the climate became less favourable for cooperation between the two sides, as Greek Cypriot civil society members who participated in bicomunal projects funded by the United Nations Development Programme were attacked in the media for allegedly having been bribed in order to publicly favour the Annan Plan. Although these allegations were at best far-fetched (Drousiotis, 2005), the intensity and the duration of this campaign – which reflected the views of the then President Tassos Papadopoulos – may have further decreased the willingness of Greek Cypriots to be involved in bicomunal cooperation.⁴ Isolated cases of

⁴ The defamation campaign was directed mainly against politicians and journalists who expressed support for the UN plan in the run up to the referendum though individual members of the civil society had also been targeted (Drousiotis, 2005).

partnerships in business or of expression of interest in such partnerships also resulted in negative media coverage; this further reduced the willingness of business people to get involved in bicomunal business cooperation. The survey on which this chapter is based was undertaken against this backdrop.

The basic hypothesis of the study is that a settlement acceptable to both communities will result in significant efficiency gains for all,⁵ or a win-win outcome for the entire tourism industry in the north and south as a result of expansion of foreign demand for holidays in a united Cyprus. The behavioural assumption here is that foreign tourists, being rational decision-makers carefully choosing where to holiday, will prefer a united rather than a divided destination. They will have free and unimpeded access to more historic sites, expanded facilities, more competition, a more competitive air transport market and more choice in terms of location on the island. Equally significantly, unification will enhance prospects of cooperative tourism development between investors and operators in both parts of the currently divided island.

The information on which the study is based is generated by respondents in the tourism industry. An identical questionnaire was used by the research teams in both areas. Seventy respondents in the north and 92 in the south voluntarily provided the required information during the survey stage of the study. In addition, key informant interviews were undertaken.

The sample in the north is highly representative because the 70 respondents represent over 50% of the total industry, and 100% of all four- and five-star hotels. For the south, the owners or managers interviewed represent 29% of the relevant number of hotel beds in Cyprus. No hotels of less than three star, nor 'aparthotels' of less than B registration were included in the survey. The agencies included in the survey account for the vast majority of tourism business in Cyprus. It is difficult to quantify the representativeness of the agencies surveyed, however, as the data are not available, neither on numbers of tourists by agency, nor on turnover or revenue by agency.

The Situation as it is Today

In the present divided Cyprus, two separate tourism sectors exist, each operating under totally different, partly non-competing markets. In the north, the presence of the state is dominant in all facets of tourism; this is to compensate for the political isolation the north is experiencing. In the south, the semi-governmental Cyprus Tourism Organization is responsible for strategic planning, promoting and regulating the tourism product, under the aegis of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism. While there are direct flights to the airports in the south, this is not available in the north, where flights have to go through Turkey, generating significant time delays and indirect costs for tourists. In both areas, there is a corresponding publicly owned and managed

⁵ Efficiency gains can be defined as 'peace dividend' following an agreed settlement between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in Cyprus. The peace dividend is expected to be huge. For a recent estimate of the peace dividend, see Mullen *et al.* (2008).

national airline, Cyprus Airways in the south and Turkish Cypriot Airlines in the north. Both are high-cost, over-staffed and loss-making enterprises. This is changing in the south, where the combination of strong market competition and community law on state aid has pushed the airline to engage gradually in a meaningful restructuring process. It is not clear where this process is leading in the long run; Cyprus Airways may not survive as a state-owned company and may follow the fate of other European state-owned airlines like Olympic Airways and Alitalia.

Despite these differences, customers are taking advantage of competition as a result of freedom of movement between north and south. Thus, Turkish Cypriots and EU citizens (mainly British and German) residing in the north are able to use Larnaca airport, while Greek Cypriots can use the airport of Ercan (referred to as the airport of Timbou by the Greek Cypriots) to fly to Turkey, thereby taking advantage of lower fares. (It should be noted, however, that the use of Ercan airport by Greek Cypriots is frowned upon by the government and probably concerns a very limited number of passengers.)

Obstacles facing tourism

Greek Cypriot enterprises identified the low frequency and high cost of flights to Cyprus as the major obstacle that the sector faces. One third of the respondents said it was the first obstacle they faced; the high cost of holidays on the island is deemed the second most important obstacle for the tourism industry and the lack of trained personnel and wages was identified as the third most important obstacle. The fourth largest group of respondents identified other reasons as the major obstacles. Many were related to international competition and environmental degradation, Cyprus's image, the lack of marketing, and the lack of infrastructure. The competition from the Turkish Cypriot tourism industry is not perceived as a major obstacle (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 11).

In the north, the isolation experienced by northern Cyprus is perceived as the greatest obstacle the tourism industry faces. A massive 84% of respondents cited the low frequency and high cost of flights to the island as their number one obstacle. Just over half gave lack of trained personnel/cost of personnel as the second ranked obstacle, and 47% ranked the high cost of holidays in Cyprus as the third obstacle. By comparison, other obstacles ranked relatively lowly (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 16).

Cooperation between north and south

Greek Cypriot tourist professionals are reluctant to engage in joint activities with Turkish Cypriot tourism professionals given the current political situation in Cyprus. Only 11% of the respondents participate in such activities. Among the reasons for the lack of cooperation, the main factors are lack of interest and 'other'; more specifically, reservations rested upon the current political

situation, ethical considerations, resentment towards current users of Greek Cypriot properties in the north and the lack of a legal framework⁶ (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 12).

Under the existing circumstances, there is limited cooperation between tourist agencies and hotel enterprises in the north with their counterparts in the south. Of those surveyed in the north, only 20% reported any kind of engagement with owners or managers of tourism establishments in the south. Two types of cooperation were cited: (i) arranging visits to the other side; and (ii) cooperating with tour guides or agencies. The reasons why the remaining 80% of the respondents were not engaged in collaboration with the other side included – for the majority – a lack of interest, and the fact that this type of engagement is not deemed profitable (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 16).

The Tourism Industry in a United Cyprus: Expectations, Fears and Hopes

In this part of the study, we focus on how a possible settlement of the Cyprus Problem is expected by respondents to impact the tourism industry. Expectations of likely impact of a possible settlement were contrasted against the prospect of continuation of the current (divided) situation. Respondents were asked to give their subjective opinions of the impact of a possible settlement in terms of the following four options: (i) win–win for both sides; (ii) win for Greek Cypriots and loss for Turkish Cypriots; (iii) loss for Greek Cypriots and win for Turkish Cypriots; and (iv) loss for both sides.

Under the current situation

Among Greek Cypriot tourism enterprises, there is a high degree of uncertainty over the future of the industry if the status quo remains unchanged. There is on the other hand, confidence over the future in the case of a settlement. Table 14.1 shows that the most common view was of a continuation of the current situation leading to a lose–lose impact in both communities. Over a quarter of the respondents apparently agreed that it would have a negative impact on tourism in the south, but a positive impact on tourism in the north. This leaves a small but significant one fifth of respondents with the view that a continuation of the status quo will have a positive impact on tourism in the south with diverging opinions on what happens to the north.

⁶ Some respondents gave the following answers when asked to explain why they were not involved in cooperation with Turkish Cypriots: ‘inappropriate’, ‘invaders occupy my home my business’, ‘it is not the right situation’, ‘it is illegal’, ‘we do not want’, ‘still a problematic situation’, ‘we must solve the problem first’, ‘by mistake I was born a Greek Cypriot’, ‘since my country is divided and illegally occupied I consider it a treachery to do so’, ‘unethical’, ‘not allowed’, ‘there are insurance problems’, ‘because the Cyprus problem is still pending’.

Table 14.1. Impact of the continuation of the existing situation (south).

Likely impact	Frequency	Percentage
Win–win for both sides	11	12
Win for GCs and loss for TCs	7	7.6
Win for TCs and loss for GCs	25	27.2
Loss for TCs and loss for GCs	41	44.6
N/A	8	8.7
Total	92	100.0

GC, Greek Cypriots; TC, Turkish Cypriots.

Table 14.2 shows that Turkish Cypriot respondents clearly regarded the existing situation with a strong sense of pessimism. Almost three out of four replied that if the existing (divided) situation continues, Greek Cypriot tourist entrepreneurs will win and they themselves will lose. Other respondents considered that under the existing conditions, the most likely scenario would be loss for both sides. No respondent regarded the present circumstances win–win for both sides or win for the Turkish Cypriots. Overall, the Greek Cypriots see a lose–lose situation while the Turkish Cypriots clearly feel that they are losing out to the benefit of Greek Cypriots. Neither of the two sides sees the current situation positively.

The continuation of the current situation limits opportunities for cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriot tourism enterprises. Just over 20% of the respondents in the south said that joint activities were possible. Such activities could include joint marketing, participation in joint tourism fairs abroad or other joint operations such as excursions to the other side, reciprocal visits and other forms of cooperation (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 17). The majority of those respondents who do not see the possibility for joint activities point to the lack of a legal framework in the north or simply a lack of interest to engage on the other side. In the north, the proportion of those who see a possibility of joint tourism activity under the current situation is almost double the figure in the south (39%). The majority of those respondents are interested in joint marketing with the Greek Cypriots. Most of the remaining 61% who are not interested in collaboration with the other side under the current conditions explain this by a lack of interest. These results clearly indicate that the current situation leads to apathy; there is a general lack of interest on both sides to collaborate and joint marketing is potentially the only common activity that can

Table 14.2. Impact of the continuation of the existing situation (north).

Likely impact	Frequency	Percentage
Win for GCs and loss for TCs	52	74.3
Loss for GCs and loss for TCs	18	25.7
Win for TCs and loss for GCs	0	0
Win–win for both sides	0	0
Total	70	100.0

be undertaken together. However, this has never been done so far, mainly because of a complex variety of issues mainly related to political recognition (see detailed discussion in Webster *et al.*, 2009 and also Hatay *et al.*, 2008 on psychological barriers).

In case of a settlement ...

As seen in Table 14.3, a very large majority of the respondents believe that a settlement of the Cyprus problem will have a positive impact on the tourism industry of the island as a whole. In the event of a settlement of the Cyprus problem, around half of the surveyed Greek Cypriot tourism professionals expect an increase of up to 20% during the first three years following a solution (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 20). Increase in business is expected mainly because of the availability of additional flights, increased volumes of tourists (economies of scale), joint marketing, availability of personnel and additional choice of airports. Increased arrivals are expected from Cyprus's traditional markets, e.g. the UK, Germany and Russia. Also worth noting is that in the event of a settlement, Greek Cypriot tourism entrepreneurs have high expectations regarding arrivals from Turkey, as three in four respondents expect to start business with this market (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 22).

A much higher proportion of Turkish Cypriot respondents, almost 100% (Table 14.4), viewed a possible political settlement as a win-win for the tourist industry in the north and south. Only one respondent felt that a political settlement would create win for the Turkish Cypriot side coupled with loss for the Greek Cypriot sides. Turkish Cypriot respondents were extremely positive about possible gains from a settlement. No less than nine out of ten expected more than 20% increase in turnover; indeed 39% anticipated increased

Table 14.3. The impact of a settlement (south).

Likely impact	Frequency	Percentage
Win-win for both sides	73	79.3
Win for GCs and loss for TCs	0	0
Win for TCs and loss for GCs	10	10.9
Loss for TCs and loss for GCs	3	3.3
N/A	6	6.4
Total	92	100.0

Table 14.4. The impact of a settlement (north).

Likely impact	Frequency	Percentage
Win-win for both sides	69	98.6
Win for TCs and loss for GCs	1	1.4
Win for GCs and loss for TCs	0	0
Lose-lose for both sides	0	0
Total	70	100.0

turnover of more than 30% (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 27). Settlement was viewed as being highly positive in terms of its impact on the volume of tourists coming from all the traditional markets, including the new markets of Greece, Scandinavia and possibly Arab states (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 28).

Discussion and Policy Recommendations

Two major findings stand out in this study: (i) pessimism is dominant on both sides if the present (divided) situation remains in force, suggesting lost business opportunities for the tourism industry as a whole; and (ii) there is optimism and expectation of higher profits in the event of a settlement acceptable to both sides. The rates of growth of the tourism industry on both sides of the dividing line have been fluctuating, partly according to economic growth in Europe and the rest of the world. In recent years, the trend has been downward, especially in the south. The structural problems faced by the sector (especially in the south) are such that rising revenue trends are considered not sustainable in the long run, except perhaps in the case of a settlement.

The expectation of a quick settlement does not appear to be the dominant view amongst tourism professionals. A significant transition period for healing and reconciliation may be necessary before cooperation in the industry is possible. Particularly in the south, there is widespread resentment over property previously owned by Greek Cypriots but currently used by Turkish Cypriots. Related to this, there is also a general reluctance to acknowledge the major investments that current users of properties in the north have undertaken to improve properties to enhance the final product on offer in the north. Extensive education and reconciliation is required to overcome the widespread hostility, which is likely to bar future cooperative projects in tourism between Greek and Turkish Cypriot businessmen.

In the event of an acceptable political settlement, there will be greater competition in the tourism industry on the island between existing stakeholders (airlines, hotels, restaurants and transport providers). There will also be greater choice available to tourists, within easy access. As a result, two economic consequences are predictable: (i) convergence of prices and costs in all-island tourism; and (ii) the existence of winners who will be able to provide price- and quality-competitive tourist services, and losers whose businesses will cease to exist because they will be unable to compete in the new environment.

Since the north and the south will effectively become EU territory, both will be subject to the same rules and conditions under the *acquis communautaire*. For the north, this will also mean, amongst many other things, that the industry will need to operate in a 'zero-public subsidy' environment, combined with the application of a large range of new regulations in the fields of the environment, health and safety, consumer protection and competition law to name a few. The south will have an advantage over the north, having already operated in an EU environment since 2004.

Tougher competition will also be combined with greater opportunities in the case of a settlement. A substantial majority of respondents in the north and

the south are optimistic about the impact of an acceptable settlement, expecting foreign demand to expand. Interestingly in the south, Turkey is regarded as a potential new market. Concurring with this finding, Mullen *et al.* (2008, pp. 46–47) predict an annual peace dividend of 385 million euros from expanded Turkish tourism following a settlement.

Our study is to some extent limited by its timing and scale. The findings, however, are strong and clear, and support a number of conclusions and recommendations. Carefully planned support for progressive stakeholders from the two sides to come together in joint tourism development projects would contribute substantially to reconciliation in the tourism industry. The first step in this direction might be a series of carefully organized seminars facilitated by academics and supported by international experts. Such seminars could play a vital role to help overcome sensitive issues (e.g. property of previous owners versus investment by current users) and result in joint brochures, advertising and marketing plans. Such seminars, and the interaction engendered, will help achieve agreement, for example on the wording of the brochures produced for joint marketing.

Education and publicity campaigns, launched by officials and industry bodies, as well as on a voluntary basis by tourism businesses themselves, should replace the current ‘enemy image’ of the other side. A policy of ‘Correct Tourism’ would seek to achieve neutrality and thus would among other things, refrain from stopping foreign tourists from crossing the Green Line. All obstacles to island-wide travel and tourism should be reduced or eliminated. These include among others, restrictions on transportation and advertisement across the line.⁷

In the north, a deregulated air transport market (as prescribed by the EU) will stimulate greater competition in transportation to and from the island. Also in the north, excessive government control of the industry is causing high transaction and operating costs. To reduce these costs, more privatization and self-government of the tourism sector (e.g. by creating a Tourism Board) is a pre-condition for a leaner, more competitive environment. In human resource practices, political appointments need to be replaced by professionalism and merit. In the south, the trend to increasingly rely on inadequately trained temporary foreign manpower may have to be reversed. The sector would need to regain its image of providing friendly and genuine Cypriot hospitality, one of the pillars of the successful development of tourism on the island over the last three decades.

Possible Forms of Tourism Cooperation in a Pre- or Post-solution Cyprus

Leaders of the two communities in Cyprus have been negotiating since the 1970s for the introduction to a bizonal bicomunal system that provides for

⁷ Today, goods and services ‘from the other side’ are not advertised in the media, newspapers refuse to carry adverts from business across the line (Hatay *et al.*, 2008).

the creation of a Greek state in the south and a Turkish Cypriot state in the north, bound in a federation. Professionals in the Greek Cypriot tourism industry clearly demonstrate their preference for a centralized tourism policy body. Its duties would include not only the organization and coordination of marketing efforts for the whole island but also tourism development planning. This body would operate along the same lines as the tourism board in the south – the CTO – does today. In other words, decision making over tourism policy matters and tourism marketing would not be left to each single federal government but to a special body of the central government.⁸ This argument, however, ignores the downward trend of the tourism industry in the south, triggered by loss of competitiveness, increasing cost and environmental degradation, despite, if not because of, the strategic planning of, and implementation by, the CTO.

A study on the probable impact of the reunification of the island on the tourism sector commissioned by the Greek Cypriot tourism planners prior to the 2004 twin referenda, argued that in the long run, it is not *who* will decide the tourism policy but *what* decision making will be achieved, that will affect the performance of the tourism sector in both parts of island. Either coordinated or not, in the final analysis the outcome will depend on the Greek Cypriots' ability to reposition Cyprus on the tourism map and the Turkish Cypriots' desire to resist the temptation of opportunistic development (TTC, 2004). It seems that each community should rethink its respective tourism policy; on the one hand, CTO is unable to control tourism development and focuses almost entirely on marketing (Sharpley, 2001) while on the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot authorities fail to steer tourism development towards sustainability (Altınay and Hussain, 2005). Tourism planners on both sides of the island should also include in their agenda key environmental issues such as water and energy supply, waste management and city planning to name a few, in order to counter the *laissez-faire* development of the private sector.

In the case of a settlement, the two communities will have to choose an appropriate level of cooperation between the two constituent states and the federal government in the area of tourism policy. Such collaboration may range from a mere exchange of experience between the tourism boards of the federated states – as in the USA – to a more interventionist model as applied

⁸ Such opinions were expressed in the context of qualitative interviews with Greek Cypriot key informants who justified their preference for a central tourism policy body because of the necessity of avoiding an antagonistic relation between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot tourism industry in a post-solution Cyprus (interview with the Director General of the Cyprus Hotel Association, Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 76; the President of the Cyprus Car Rental Association, Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 79, and a statement made by the CTO in the context of this study, Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 82). On the other hand, Turkish Cypriot key informants see benefits in joint marketing efforts (interview of the President of the Cyprus Turkish Tourism and Travel Agents Association, Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 63), or argue in favour of harmonizing legislation (interview of the President of Restaurateurs' Association, Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 61) but express fears of a possible Greek Cypriot dominance due to the wealth existing in the south (interview of the President of the Cyprus Turkish Chamber of Commerce, Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 59).

by Austria and Germany. In the USA, the responsibility for tourism promotion lies in the hands of state or territorial tourism offices and cooperation among them is restricted to an exchange of experiences, with the federal government keeping itself out of any related activities (TIA, 2006). In Austria and Germany, federated states and central governments share responsibility. While the federated states are primarily responsible for issues related to planning and development, the federal government is in charge for providing infrastructure or financing for the operation of bodies responsible for marketing the country's image.⁹ These operate independently from other institutions at the federal, regional, local or municipal level. The website of the German tourism board (www.deutschland-tourismus.de) lists 15 tourism marketing companies (one for each federated state or *Bundesland*). In the case of Bavaria, by far the largest federated state in terms of area, there are four regional marketing organizations, and several sub-regional and local tourism-marketing organizations (these are displayed graphically on an interactive map, which can be found on www.bayern.by).

In view of the above, if achieving a win-win situation in the post-solution Cyprus is a priority, the tourism industry on both sides of the island may consider not delaying cooperation for any longer. In fact, there is already some low level cooperation between tourist enterprises in the form of 1- or 2-day excursions of tourists who otherwise spend their holiday in the south (Webster *et al.*, 2009). 'This cooperation becomes necessary, as somebody who knows the situation regarding – for instance – paperwork has to escort the groups that cross to the other side', according to Thasos Katsourides, General Manager of the Association of Cyprus Travel Agents in the south (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 75).

Such cooperation will not be easily achieved; the mere notion of cooperation with the other side evokes strong negative emotions, particularly among Greek Cypriots. 'As long as the property question remains pending, it will be difficult, if not impossible to have a member of the Cyprus Hotel Association sit at the same table with someone who illegally operates a hotel unit in the occupied area owned by our member. This makes cooperation very difficult if not impossible', according to Zacharias Ioannides, Director General of the Cyprus Hotel Association in the south (Mehmet *et al.*, 2008, p. 77).

However, nothing should actually hinder the two sides from engaging in a dialogue about how to create the right preconditions for a win-win scenario in case Cyprus is re-united. The pending property question should not serve as an excuse for not engaging in an exchange of ideas on how to develop the island's tourism industry in a way that will be beneficial for both communities on the island, if possible, prior to a settlement. In this process, should the current political situation continue, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots may eventually recognize that mutual interest prescribes a co-existential and non-antagonistic regime in the tourism sector. Moreover, compared with other sectors of the

⁹ The German model is discussed extensively in a publication of the Federal Ministry of Economics and Labour (BWMA Germany, 2003). For the Austrian model, see publication of the Federal Ministry of Economy and Labour (BWMA Austria, 2009).

economy, the tourism sector – for which the territory of the island as a whole constitutes a major ‘factor input’ – is fertile ground on which to sow the seeds of future collaborations.

Nationalist feelings should not prevent the two sides from introducing a cooperative regime similar to the one applied in Ireland. There, a joint tourism board (Tourism Ireland) has been established to market both the Republic of Ireland as well as Northern Ireland abroad (Anson, 1999; Zuelow, 2006). There are other examples around the world of less conflicting codes of conduct, as for instance the case of St Maarten/St Martin (which is becoming an important air transport hub in the region; Kuhn, 2009) where the Dutch and French administered parts of the island do not engage actively in cooperation but at least refrain from undermining each other (TTC, 2004); and, as a model of minimal cooperation there is the Mount Geumgang (Kumgang) project in north Korea, an otherwise hostile political environment.¹⁰

Conclusion

The research presented here has shown how people involved in tourism at the highest levels of management perceive cooperation between the two political entities on the island. The findings leave some questions unanswered that should be addressed by future research. First, how do *citizens* on both sides of the Green Line view cooperation in tourism? Something is known about the attitudes of Greek Cypriots who are crossing the Green Line (Webster and Timothy, 2006; Hadjipavlou, 2007); however, nothing is known about Turkish Cypriot attitudes towards crossing the Green Line. More needs to be learned about how citizens understand the economic and political meaning of the Green Line. Moreover, at present little or nothing is known about public opinion regarding cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots on tourism-related issues. We may find that there is broad support for such cooperation. We may also find that there are segments of the population who are strongly opposed to such cooperation. Understanding the basis of the opposition may help to address it.

Second, future research should look into the question of how *tourists* perceive the Green Line. One should seek to learn if tourists have security concerns regarding the division of the island or whether in fact the division is something that lures them to the island. How many visitors who come to Cyprus or visit Nicosia do so in order to experience a divided city? How many are attracted by the prospect of crossing a contentious ‘border’? Are there ways in which the authorities on both sides could actually collaborate to

¹⁰ Henderson (2002) explains that this project was based on an agreement between the company Hyundai Asan and the North Korean government to transform Mt Geumgang in the north into an international tourist attraction including an airport, accommodation and golf courses. Hyundai secured the exclusive rights for the development in exchange of payments to the North Korean government. Subsequently, the South Korean government agreed to provide public funding for the project too.

capitalize on this specific type of tourist demand? In essence, market research could show that the division, in a sense, may be financially exploitable for tourism purposes and may (paradoxically) lead to cooperation between the authorities involved to market the political situation as such. Visits across the line in Nicosia in particular have already been offered to tourists since crossings were allowed in 2004 (Leonard, 2007; Lisle, 2007; Webster *et al.*, 2009) and the opening of the Ledra/Lockmaci gate in the centre of old Nicosia has given a major boost to these activities (Jacobson *et al.*, 2009). In these activities, the private sector has been the one and only driver, while public authorities on each side of the line have retained their entrenched attitudes.

While in the short run 'wall tourism' (i.e. the Green Line seen as a curiosity) may bring together the various stakeholders, the further promotion of this type of 'Checkpoint Charlie' sightseeing may not be beneficial in the long run. It may distract the tourist from the wealth of treasures that the whole of the island has to offer. Instead of concentrating on the wall that divides the island, it may be more profitable to re-brand Cyprus as an island of multiple facets where it is possible to combine in one trip an endless range of different experiences including languages, religions, cultures, foods, nature, antiquities and other tourist attractions. There are also other countries in the region where 'holidaying in a multicultural environment' is recognized as a prime asset (notably the Holy Land, Lebanon and Syria), but these countries are not always easily accessible. Thus, Cyprus offers a unique potential for such tourism, but to be fully realized and exploited, the tourist experience on offer needs to be based on the whole of the island. Cyprus's asset is its diversity, but as yet, the picture is incomplete.

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15 Tourism and Reconciliation

IAN KELLY¹ and ALEX NKABAHONA²

¹*University of South Australia, Australia,* ²*Makarere University, Kampala, Uganda*

Introduction

The roots of the tragic events in the Balkans during the 1990s were traced in part to the Battle of Kosovo, which occurred in 1389. On 12 July every year, marchers in Belfast, Glasgow, Liverpool and other cities triumphantly celebrate the victory of Protestant English King William of Orange over the Catholic Irish at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. The visitor centre at Culloden in Scotland educates the visitor on the cruelty and ruthlessness with which, in 1746, the English army destroyed the Scottish Jacobite supporters of the Stuart pretenders to the throne of Britain. The enmities of several hundred years ago are kept alive today.

In Japan, the Yasukuni Shrine honours 2.4 million Japanese war dead, including a number executed as Class A war criminals. Its presence is a continuing contributor to tension between Japan and China. In Kanchanaburi, Thailand, the River Kwai Cemetery and Museum commemorates those who died while used by the Japanese occupiers for slave labour on the Burma–Thailand railway. Despite the horrors documented in the Death Railway Museum, the setting is peaceful and attractive to a large number of visitors. However, while Thailand welcomes Japanese tourists, very few of them visit this memorial.

Goldstone (2001) reports that the site of the My Lai massacre in Vietnam still has a memorial that urges visitors to ‘forever hate the American invaders’, but notes that the Vietnamese Museum of American War Crimes was renamed the Museum of War Remnants when American tourists began visiting the country. The bravery of Australian soldiers at the Battle of Long Tan (1966) in Vietnam is recognized in a monument at the battle site.

It is clear that, despite the changes noted, many commemorative visitor sites deliver a message that does not contribute to the peace objective. This chapter demonstrates that tourism can be one of the forces helping to counter continuing hostilities stemming from past and current events. It identifies:

- the important contribution which reconciliation can make to peaceful conditions;
- various processes through which reconciliation may be pursued;
- how tourism can play a part in reconciliation; and
- a number of difficulties likely to be encountered in this endeavour.

The Need for Reconciliation

We propose that reconciliation is required when the societies involved in a conflict evolve widely shared beliefs, attitudes, motivations and emotions that support the adherence to the conflictive goals, maintain the conflict, delegitimize the opponent and thus negate the possibility of peaceful resolution of the conflict and prevent the development of peaceful relations. (Bar-Tal and Bennink, 2004, p. 12)

The need for reconciliation stems from a variety of historical experiences perceived as involving injustice and a denial of human rights. Episodic events include massacres and atrocities, often occurring on a large scale and linked to ethnic cleansing, genocide and terrorism. Staub (1992) attributes these to economic or political crises, a history of division between groups with unequal power, feelings of victimization, scapegoating and a lack of action (sometimes seen as endorsement) by those who remain unthreatened. The tragic impact of these factors was demonstrated in Rwanda in the early 1990s, when close to a million people, mainly Tutsis and moderate Hutus, were slaughtered by extremist element among the Hutus. Clusters of such events are often associated with wars, including civil wars and rebellions, which not infrequently have involved deliberate terrorization of civilian populations.

More prolonged experiences relate to the institution of slavery in various forms and locations; subjection to repressive governments; colonialism, as in the establishment of empires; and dispossession, as has occurred most notably in the Americas and Australasia. The impacts of these are felt in the present and will continue into the future. According to Minow (1998, cited in Lorey and Beezley, 2002), the goals of reconciliation processes include overcoming denial, establishing facts, creating respect for democracy and human rights, fostering healing, acknowledging victims and expressing the aspiration that such events will not occur in the future. It is noted (Bar-Tal and Benninck, 2004) that reconciliation does not automatically follow from a formal agreement to end a conflict, and that such treaties are often rendered unstable because of continuing hostility between the adversaries.

The major obstacle to reconciliation is the desire for vengeance, often viewed as an essential demonstration of respect and support for the victims. Reconciliation may be more difficult to achieve in the aftermath of recent events, but it is clear that even the healing effects of time have not eliminated traditional intergenerational hatreds. Nonetheless, there is perceived value in the pursuit of reconciliation. Although the South African model is perhaps the best known, truth and reconciliation commissions (under various names) have

been established in a number of countries, commencing with Argentina in 1983 (Table 15.1). Despite the similarity to courts, these commissions do not have the power to impose punishment or deliver compensation, but they have been instrumental in exposing the facts and highlighting individual or institutional responsibilities.

It must be acknowledged that these commissions have not been completely successful. Ignatieff (1997) commends them for exposing the facts pertaining to the events in question and, in some instances, converting guilt to shame, but submits that they failed to explain adequately how evil regimes came into being, and where the moral responsibility lay. It should also be noted that reconciliation does not contribute to justice. Admissions of guilt and expressions of remorse by offenders may be required but punishment and reparations do not follow. Ignatieff claims that the reconciliation achieved is of the mind rather than the heart, and it may be that this is a gap to be addressed by tourism.

The Processes of Reconciliation

It is apparent that the concept of 'reconciliation' is complex. The term may be applied to an ongoing process and a specific situation. It may refer to the restoration of friendly relationships, acceptance of a given situation or condition, or bringing into balance (as in accountancy). It may also refer to relationships between countries or between conflicting groups within a country and differences in scale will relate to the size of the groups involved. All of these considerations may be seen as relevant in the current context.

Table 15.1. Truth and reconciliation commissions.

Country	Commission title
Argentina	National Commission for Forced Disappearances
Canada	Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Chile	National Truth and Reconciliation Commission
El Salvador	National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture
Fiji	Truth Commission
Ghana	Reconciliation and Unity Commission
Guatemala	National Reconciliation Commission
Liberia	Historical Clarification Commission
Morocco	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Panama	Equity and Reconciliation Commission
Peru	Truth Commission
Rwanda	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Sierra Leone	National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
South Africa	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
South Korea	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Timor Leste	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
	Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor

Source: Wikipedia (accessed 31 May 2009).

The essence of reconciliation is apparent in certain traditional African approaches (Nkabahona, 2007). The Rwandan Government has sought to heal the wounds of the 1994 genocide and other historical grievances between the mainly majority Hutus and minority Tutsis through *gacaca* courts (which have their origin in the Rwandan culture). People sit together in *gacaca* (literally translated as 'low grass') and settle their disputes. The guiding principles of *gacaca* are also seen in the very similar *Mato Oput* of the Acholi people in Uganda, now operating in the rehabilitation of former combatants from the Lord's Resistance Army (Muhongo, 2007). For reconciliation to take effect and work as a mechanism for healing the wounds of conflict, there are certain expectations of both offending and offended parties. Expectations relating to the offending party are:

- Voluntary confession;
- Truth telling – one of the most difficult moments, sometimes expressed by the offender simply bursting into tears;
- Accepting responsibility and accountability;
- Repentance;
- Asking for mercy and forgiveness;
- Acceptance of 'cleansing' rituals (where applicable); and
- Agreement to compensate the aggrieved party.

With respect to the offended or aggrieved party, expectations include:

- Coming to terms with the loss/offence/crime committed against him/her;
- Preparedness to forgive (though not forget); and
- Willingness to reach out to the offender to amend the broken relationship.

There is also a mediating party whose composition has been shifting over the years to include councils of elders, religious leaders and now local government leaders, or a combination of all or some of these. The role of the mediators is to:

- Promote dialogue between the parties;
- Listen carefully to both sides;
- Allow each to tell his/her/their story;
- Provide impartial counsel;
- Oversee the reconciliation process (which may involve certain rituals); and
- Determine an appropriate compensation (restorative justice).

Among other things, the *gacaca* process has helped to:

- Disclose the truth about what happened during the genocide, remove suspicion, dispel rumours and distrust, and establish individual responsibility;
- Administer justice in accordance with community standards, without recourse to lawyers;
- Ensure that the guilty parties are identified;

- Reintegrate the guilty parties into society more speedily; and, of great importance,
- Establish where the victims of genocide were dumped or buried for easy retrieval and decent reburial.

In summary, dialogue, truth telling, forgiveness, reconciliation and compensation or reparation, are the five pillars of the African conflict transformation and peace-building paradigm. Despite some weaknesses and limitations, where it has been effectively applied it has transformed antagonistic families, clans and tribes into healed, reconciled and vibrant communities.

What, then, are the elements of reconciliation? Saul (2001) submits that the dehumanization and pain associated with atrocities may be countered by public exposure, confrontation between victims and offenders, and a focus on understanding. There must be clear recognition of everything that happened and a sharing of knowledge, which ensures that nothing is forgotten, identifies where possible the rights and wrongs, and highlights the lessons to be learned. Differing versions of the truth must be compared and analysed, and myth distinguished from fact. Comte-Sponville (2001, p. 125) notes that, 'we forgive more readily when we are aware of the causes determining an action'.

The events in question should therefore be examined in the light of the circumstances that prevailed at the time, including the following:

- The role of culture in conditioning people to participate in or accept the actions now condemned;
- The social and economic conditions, which contributed to division and resentment;
- The influence of political figures and opinion makers;
- The rewards, threats and fears, which encouraged conformity or collaboration and militated against speaking out in protest;
- The factors behind the acquisition and misuse of power; and
- The extent to which responsibility may be regarded as individual rather than collective.

It is noted that these are criteria for reconciliation at the public and collective level. However, as Lorey and Beezley (2002, p. xxii) maintain, 'reconciliation ... is not possible without attention to individual trauma'. Genuine reconciliation must occur in the minds of individuals, and not least in those experiencing survivor guilt, the shame felt by those who did not die. A personal disposition towards reconciliation may be enhanced through the exercise of certain virtues of which the first is compassion, an expression of humanity perhaps best defined as sympathy with those who suffer and the opposite of cruelty and indifference. While compassion towards the victims is usually effortless, it may even be extended to the perpetrators of inhumanity when their involvement is fully understood. Understanding and compassion can be assisted by empathy – the ability to perceive experiences through the eyes of others – and a degree of introspection. Can we be certain that we would not have behaved as the offenders did in the circumstances that prevailed at the time? As is noted by Crick (2005, p. 41), 'The experience and fear of poverty and war everywhere

make men willing to sacrifice some liberty ...' We may also be reminded of the social psychology experiments, which demonstrated how people can be persuaded to cooperate in delivering harsh punishments according to the injunctions of someone in apparent authority (Milgram, 1974).

An objective of understanding, compassion and empathy in the reconciliation context is forgiveness. Murphy (2003) argues that, despite the virtuous nature commonly associated with an ability to forgive, the granting of forgiveness in the absence of remorse or repentance may be seen as a denial of respect to those who have been victimized. It is clearly easier to forgive when perpetrators of injustice or their successors admit guilt and express remorse. Therefore, it may on occasion be necessary to grant forgiveness as an exercise of will, a choice to accept that the past cannot be undone, and to reject anger and hatred as motives for future action. It should be recognized, for example, that current generations cannot be held responsible for the transgressions of the past, although they may be expected to acknowledge that, in some instances, they continue to profit from them. Forgiveness, however, does not extend to forgetting. To forget would be a further injustice to those who suffered, and maintaining awareness of breaches of human rights and of the contributory factors may help to reduce the likelihood of recurrence in the future.

The Role of Tourism

The pursuit of reconciliation through tourism may be regarded as a subset of the broader peace through tourism goal, which accepts that harmonious relationships can result from frequent, high-quality intercultural contacts. However, the circumstances relating to reconciliation are varied, involving, for example, cooperation between former enemies within countries or across borders, commemorative visitor sites, re-enactments and cultural exchanges.

The widespread adoption of the ecotourism ethic is a positive indicator of what can be achieved. At a broad level, there is potential for ecotourism to bolster the economic base and encourage cooperation among the inhabitants of conservation areas that overlap national boundaries. Strong-Cvetich and Scorse (2007) draw attention to the success of Peace Parks and, in particular, the Virunga-Bwindi region of Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, where collaboration between former warring parties is directed to protecting the endangered mountain gorillas. This development demonstrates that the economic contribution of tourism – a strong motive for cooperation – can be accessed only in peaceful conditions. The economic contribution is also emphasized in Pearson's argument (2007), which suggests a role for ecotourism as a form of 'practical reconciliation' allowing the indigenous people of Australia's Cape York region to acquire economic independence while protecting their cherished environment.

Despite the violent behaviour of some football (soccer) supporters, sports tourism is also seen as having the potential to encourage positive interaction between hostile groups. Höglund and Sundberg (2008) describe the process of

integration and development of a national identity in South Africa based on sports, especially those involving movement among formerly disparate communities. Jarvie (2003) refers to the easing of strained relationships between Japan and South Korea accompanying their joint hosting of the 2002 Football World Cup. However, the authors recognize that the impact of sporting events may be limited in scope and in durability. Stidder and Haasner (2007) report favourably on a project that involves children from Jewish and Arab communities in northern Israel in outdoor and adventurous activities (OAAs). The 5-day programme is based on practical application of core values of neutrality, equity and inclusion, respect, trust and responsibility. It is submitted that the experiences of the children contribute to a breakdown of cultural barriers, and there are plans for similar grass-roots intervention in Northern Ireland, Cyprus and South Africa.

However, as noted above, the objective of reconciliation in the present context is to encourage the ability and willingness of people to recognize and resist the forces contributing to breaches of human rights. Touristic involvement with history is generally based on visits to sites where notable events occurred and commonly involves an educational element. Interpretation is provided by displays, tour guides or by site managers using a variety of presentation media. In some instances (e.g. the Kokoda Track in Papua New Guinea), visitors may undertake a journey that replicates to some extent the experiences of the original participants.

As noted, many commemoration sites or activities with a tourist orientation recognize events of significance in the evolution of national or regional cultures, but it is apparent that they help to keep alive the hatreds of the past, especially where there is an emphasis on 'shock value'. At some sites such as war memorials, a concern with sacredness and patriotism may serve to discourage tourism involvement and critical analysis of the ethics involved in the event commemorated.

Commemorative and tourism functions are combined in Peace Museums, designed as an alternative to the more common war museums (van den Dungen, 1999). Many of these emphasize the horrors and futility, rather than the honour and glory often associated with war. Japanese peace museums and parks discuss atrocities committed by Japanese forces while presenting a case for nuclear disarmament. Some recognize the contributions to non-violence of individuals such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Those concerned with the aftermath of colonialism and slavery focus on the struggle for freedom and dignity. More than 100 Holocaust Centres remind us of our capacity for evil and the dangers of intolerance, but demonstrate that heroism and altruism can survive even in such extreme circumstances.

There are recent developments, which have a general focus on the objectives of reconciliation without attachment to particular places or events. An example is the 1993 Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, based on the Holocaust but also including the Tolerancenter devoted to encouraging an awareness of prejudice in everyday life (Lennon and Foley, 2000). A similar approach is used in the New York Tolerance Center and the Jerusalem Centre for Human Dignity.

Braithwaite and Lee (2006) describe efforts to heal the psychological wounds stemming from the Japanese occupation of Sandakan (Borneo) during the Second World War. Atrocities were inflicted on the native community, resident Chinese and Allied prisoners-of-war (of whom only a very few survived). The authors were involved with the local Sabah community in the development of a historical tourism strategy to generate economic benefits and encourage reconciliation. They recognize the importance of a 'sense of place' by which visitors feel they are welcomed, and the provision of interpretation, which is complete. Memorial sites are shielded by a zone that separates them from visitor facilities. The number of Japanese visitors is growing, and the Japanese government has built a Peace Park dedicated to all soldiers and civilians who were killed on the island.

The persistence of conflict in Northern Ireland demonstrates the role of contested heritage, stemming in this instance from the 16th- and 17th-century settlement of Scottish and English planters who differed from the native Irish in religion, language, customs, economic status and loyalty to Britain. Ceasefire agreements have been broken and the situation remains one of 'social apartheid' (Anson, 1999, p. 58) whereby each side maintains its separate existence and version of history. An attempt to counter this is the Tower Museum in Londonderry, a city that suffered disproportionate damage during the Troubles. Presentation of the city's heritage involved consultation with and participation by both communities, and the Museum's impartiality is recognized.

Contested heritage is also the subject of the Voortrekker Monument and Nature Reserve in Pretoria, the capital of South Africa (Opperman, 2007). It commemorates what became known as the Great Trek (1835–1854), during which the Boer Voortrekkers, seeking freedom from British colonialism, came into contact with African tribes moving from north to south, resulting in wars, campaigns and battles, during which thousands of people perished. It also commemorates the Boer War (1899–1902), when the Boer settlers took up arms against the British Empire. The scorched earth policy pursued by the British imperial forces, and especially the more than 40,000 women and children who suffered and died in the concentration camps, caused deep wounds that even today have not been fully healed.

In 2000, the management adopted a vision which moved the Monument from 'an icon of apartheid' to become a part of the total national heritage, acceptable and open to all South Africans and other visitors, based on tourism as the primary source of revenue. This involved the appointment of black guides, the use of Northern Sotho as a third language in the exhibition hall of the Monument, expanding the range of cultural exhibitions, active marketing aimed at schools from previously disadvantaged communities, specific invitations to leaders of the black community, inclusion of black intellectuals and community leaders in strategy workshops, participation in cross-cultural days, liaison with governmental authorities and institutions, presentation of seminars, support for the protection of other cultures and monuments, and demonstrations of being proudly South African.

The problem of healing a divided society is addressed by Higgins-Desbiolles

(2003), who examines efforts to achieve reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. She laments the rejection by Australian Governments of an apology for indigenous dispossession and notes the significance of symbolic gestures and of the tourism experience offerings, festivals, events and travel guides, which seek to inform visitors and diminish the barriers which exist. She reminds us (pp. 37–38) that:

... when Aboriginal people engage with tourism, they may be simultaneously attempting to secure their Native Title rights, build the self-esteem of their youth through revival of culture and secure a reconciled community in which their children can grow up in safety and comfort – as well as the obvious economic benefits that tourism can provide.

There are additional difficulties when a society has become divided by the imposition of a political border, as is the case with the Korean Peninsula, China/Taiwan and Cyprus. In these instances, reconciliation is seen as a step towards reunification, and tourism as a low-politics, people-to-people activity through which this may be achieved (e.g. Kim and Crompton, 1990; Yu and Chung, 2001). There has been a degree of relaxation in visitation between Taiwan and China, and Taiwanese travellers now contribute substantially to China's economy. Travel to and from North Korea remains tightly controlled, and contact with North Korean people strictly limited, but the development in North Korea of the Mount Geumgang tourism project (Shin, 2006), funded by the Hyundai Corporation, is seen as having major symbolic significance. Despite the increase in cross-border contacts, tensions continue at the high-politics level.

Cyprus differs in that even before partition the population was sharply divided. The majority of the population was of Greek ethnicity and Christian, while the large minority was Turkish and Moslem. Partition was imposed in 1974 following an invasion by Turkish forces aimed at preventing the island's union with Greece (enosis), considerable loss of life and atrocities committed by both sides. Cross-border travel was severely restricted for almost 30 years. However, in 2003, the authorities in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (recognized only by Turkey) unilaterally opened the border, allowing freedom of movement between it and the rest of the island, the Republic of Cyprus.

In relation to the potential for this border opening to lead to reconciliation, Webster and Timothy (2006) sought to explain why almost half the Greek population had chosen not to visit the north. They found that the primary reason was a refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the Turkish government. Many who did cross the border refused to spend money in the so-called 'occupied zone' for the same reason. Nonetheless, the volume of cross-border visitation is grounds for optimism about the potential for the two regimes to work together in a federal relationship, a view supported by Sitas *et al.* (2007) who, in an exhaustive survey, found high levels of disposition towards reconciliation (75.7%) and co-existence (94.6%) among the Greek Cypriots. It is noteworthy that this disposition was more frequent among those who had visited the north or had lived abroad.

Implementation Considerations

Goldstone (2001, p. 239) notes that there is a difficulty in ensuring that sites devoted to reconciliation such as those described above are not merely locations 'where people walk through the experience of victimhood on their way to shopping or a nice lunch – precisely what a tourist attraction requires.' Interpretation is central to the objective of reconciliation through tourism. Space and visitor time limitations impose a degree of selectivity in the texts, artefacts and images displayed, and in the stories delivered, but they must be truly representative and, perhaps, initiate a desire to learn more. Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004) emphasize the creation of 'a new narrative' – a shared perception of the past – which is developed through a re-examination of the beliefs about the justness of the conflicting goals, the validity of the issue(s) leading to confrontation, the image that each group holds of itself, the image that each group holds of the other, and the costs of conflict as opposed to peaceful relationships. It is important to avoid what has been termed 'presentism' – exclusively imposing perspectives of the present on the past. It is equally important to avoid conveying a view that the past is 'another world' of little significance in the present. Tour guides have a special responsibility to avoid the temptations of bias and sensationalism and to be fully equipped to answer questions. The above review suggests that there are certain criteria to be observed if involvement of tourism is to contribute to reconciliation:

- 1.** Location is important. A basic requirement is a site or sites to which visitors can be attracted. In the interests of authenticity, these locations often have direct spatial links with the events or persons commemorated.
- 2.** Presentation should ensure an appropriate atmosphere, maintained through the use of signage and landscape and/or building design which also facilitates visitor access and channelling. Restoration and repair measures may be required to maintain the 'sense of place' pertaining to events of the past. Separate spaces should be created for reflection and more mundane tourism activities such as shopping, dining and socializing.
- 3.** Development and maintenance of the site is likely to depend on the generation of revenue. Where this is so, visitors may be invited to make a donation rather than pay for admission. The availability of souvenirs is often welcomed, but stock should be carefully selected for relevance and appropriateness, and should include material that reinforces or extends visitor understanding.
- 4.** Opportunities for collaboration with non-tourism interests should be pursued. The link with museums has been identified above, but there are also clear synergies to be gained from collaboration between tourism and arts bodies seeking to attract visitors to cultural festivals, concerts, theatre performances and exhibitions with an anti-war or reconciliation theme. Community organizations such as Rotary International pursue peace as part of their vision and may provide assistance. Opportunities may be provided for the involvement of local historians in producing high-quality souvenir interpretive material.

Cautionary Comments

As Crick (2005, p. 66) notes, 'Revenge is ... a vain attempt to make the present abolish a suffering which is already past.' There are examples of conflict today which have defied all efforts to bring about a resolution. Furthermore, as Young (1993, in Lennon and Foley, 2000, p. 158) notes, 'Only rarely does a nation call upon itself to remember the victims of crimes it has perpetrated.' However, it is apparent that the growing interest in what has been termed 'dark tourism' (Lennon and Foley, 2000) provides additional opportunities to deliver to a wide audience a future-oriented message, which confirms a commitment to reconciliation and the rejection of violence – but there are some limitations to be taken into account.

Given the importance of locational coincidence between site and historic event, opportunities for development of reconciliation-oriented attractions are relatively rare. It is also clear that while economic viability is an essential consideration (with ramifications for what has been termed 'practical reconciliation'), the motivation for such developments should not be exclusively or obviously instrumental. It is also likely that among visitors to reconciliation sites there will be many who do not have the strong emotional involvement of the local community. The potential for conflict between the values of commemoration and tourism is exemplified in the popularity of Gallipoli as a pilgrimage site for young Australians recalling the unsuccessful First World War assault on Turkey by Anzac and other forces on 25 April 1915. There has been controversy over the appropriateness of infrastructure development, visitor behaviour, types of entertainment and litter disposal, and more stringent controls have been imposed. Despite this, a strong reconciliation element has emerged, with recognition of the humanity, courage and suffering of both Turkish and Anzac troops, and of the failures of political and strategic leadership that led to the event. Commenting on how Gallipoli can contribute to a better world, the Turkish Ambassador to Australia, Murat N. Ersavci (2006, p. 41), said, 'War is tragic and heroic, but it is also futile, brutal and unnecessary. Commemorating all those dead and all that our armies suffered helps prevent us from forgetting that truth.'

The process of reconciliation is incremental and it will remain difficult to identify a point at which reconciliation has been achieved. Efforts to bring it about will not always succeed. It is particularly difficult to change attitudes based on events that have become embedded in historical myth. Even where that is not the case, not everyone will exercise the willpower required to reject vengeance. There are instances of actions to which it is impossible to become reconciled, actions that cannot be explained by psychological disturbance, misconception, ignorance, coercion or persuasion, and that can only be regarded as evil, occurring, according to Morrow (2003, p. 19), 'when human behavior crosses certain lines beyond which more civilized vocabulary refuses to follow'. It is also argued by some that forgiveness can only be delivered by a divinity and that there is no meaning to forgiveness if it is not accompanied by genuine repentance on the part of the transgressors (Murphy, 2003).

It is not surprising, therefore, that rejection of reconciliation is apparent in very negative visitor book comments at some Holocaust and former prisoner-of-war sites (Lennon and Foley, 2000). It appears that exposure to the facts pertaining to certain events may serve only to reinforce hatred in some people. There is also a danger that an emphasis on atrocities may contribute to 'compassion fatigue' and desensitization among visitors. We live in an age in which euphemisms such as 'collateral damage' and 'friendly fire' have been adopted to cover what should be recognized as atrocities. However, it is clearly useful to highlight the circumstances in which such abuses of power became possible, and to identify measures that militate against a recurrence of these.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn attention to the existence of tourism attractions that contribute to the maintenance of hostilities stemming from past events involving injustice and denial of human rights, episodic and prolonged, and argues that tourism can make a more positive contribution by encouraging reconciliation. It is noted that Truth and Reconciliation Commissions have been established in a number of countries seeking to ensure that the injustices of the past do not lead to ongoing conflict in the future. There is also an examination of the traditional 'grassroots' approach used in Rwanda. The complexities of the reconciliation process relate largely to the psychological elements involved – recognition, understanding, compassion and empathy – all of which may hopefully lead to forgiveness, but not to forgetting. Maintenance of awareness is essential in avoiding a repetition of such injustices. Tourism, in various forms, can play a part through its ability to bring people together and combine on-site commemoration of events with interpretation, which incorporates mind-broadening insights into, for example, the heroism of soldiers on both sides of a conflict. Some guidelines are provided on the organization and operation of reconciliation sites.

Tourism is not alone, and is indeed a minor player in the encouragement of reconciliation. It may be pursued, for example, through other trade linkages, diplomacy, cultural exchanges, joint projects, engagement in sports and sister-city and school relationships. In the face of conservative accusations of betrayal and bias, Australian and British school history courses increasingly encourage students to question and examine interpretations of past events from a number of critical perspectives. There are pressures for Australia Day (26 January), which celebrates the establishment of the first European settlement in Australia, to incorporate recognition of the injustices experienced by the indigenous inhabitants of the continent.

It is clear that effectiveness is enhanced if a tourism programme delivers economic benefits to the host community, but it is recognized that there are difficulties in pursuing reconciliation through tourism, including reluctance to recognize past wrongs, unwillingness or inability to forgive, reinforcement of hatred and visitor desensitization. However, it is submitted that reconciliation is

more desirable than continuing hostility. The value of reconciliation is best illustrated through a consideration of the alternative. In the absence of reconciliation, there is a continuing state of resentment, uneasy or volatile relationships and, perhaps, an ongoing cycle of tit-for-tat actions with inevitable 'collateral damage' and reinforcement of hatred. A major strength of tourism as a contributor to reconciliation is the ability to make the first move, the move that breaks the bonds of inertia and encourages others to take action. Despite its focus on historic events, reconciliation tourism is not about the past. It is a counter against exploitation of the past for political or personal purposes, and about taking control of the future. Sites devoted to the reconciliation objective require us to look into ourselves, to examine what Morrow (2003, p. 250) terms 'the dialectic of good and evil in the human heart', and to maintain our awareness of the extent to which a repetition of such evils remains a continuing possibility.

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Conclusion

The diversity of submissions for this book – selected and not selected – demonstrate that interest in the relationship between peace and tourism is broad in its geographical and disciplinary dispersion. In selecting from the more than 50 submissions, the editors rejected some that were clearly relevant but that dealt with matters addressed elsewhere. These included, among others, papers on the role of tourism in alleviating poverty, tourism and globalization, tourism-based conflict and responsible tourism. It is recognized that these are tourism research areas in which important developments are occurring and publication through other channels is encouraged and supported.

A review of the published submissions indicates that there are at least two major areas for attention in the peace through tourism proposition. First, it is clear that many of the approaches and activities identified do not occur as spontaneous outputs of mainstream tourism. Therefore, as noted in the Introduction, the chapters selected focus on finding ways in which tourism can be purposefully managed to meet the peace objective.

The conceptual and theoretical foundations were laid in Chapters 1–3. In Chapter 1, Jacqueline Haessly discussed the complexities of the peace concept and demonstrated how people can be empowered through education to incorporate peace into their everyday lives. Renata Tomljenović (Chapter 2) evaluated arguments relating to the theory that intercultural contact contributes to understanding and concluded that purposeful management is necessary to ensure that such contacts are meaningful. In Chapter 3, Freya Higgins-Desbiolles and Lynda-ann Blanchard argued that there is a need for measures to overcome restrictions on the ability to practise the right to travel.

The encounter theme was taken up in Chapters 4–8. Senija Causevic (Chapter 4) outlined the largely negative impacts of political boundaries imposed in the former Republic of Yugoslavia and saw a role for tourism in helping to overcome this divisiveness. In Chapter 5, Darya Maoz examined attitude and relationship change with respect to Israeli–Egyptian contacts and noted the need for better management of the circumstances in which these intercultural contacts occur, especially at border crossings. Measures by which borders may be exploited in the pursuit of peace through tourism were

proposed by Alon Gelbman (Chapter 6). The influence of the circumstances in which contact occurs was examined by Nico Schulenkorf and Deborah Edwards (Chapter 7), with particular reference to sports as a medium for bringing communities together. The community involvement approach was also recommended by Gail Lash, Andrea Smith and Carla Smith (Chapter 8) in their instructive review of Peace Trail development.

Chapters 9–15 extended the discussion into the area of conflict resolution. Marina Metreveli and Dallen Timothy (Chapter 9) confirmed tourism's need for peaceful conditions, catalogued the damage resulting from violent conflict in South Ossetia and outlined the role for tourism in restoring peaceful relationships. Rami Isaac and Vincent Platenkamp (Chapter 10) described the work of volunteer tourists seeking to alleviate the impacts of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and to bring hope to the residents of the troubled areas. Omar Moufakkir (Chapter 11) dealt with the broader Israeli–Arab conflict and efforts to reduce hostility by emphasizing the benefits of tourism projects involving Israeli, Egyptian, Jordanian and Palestinian industry representatives. In Chapter 12, Maria Simone-Charteris and Stephen Boyd explained how political tourism is helping to heal the wounds of the Northern Ireland 'troubles' by contributing to understanding. The continuing effort to reduce tensions in the Korean Peninsula was taken up by Yongseok Shin (Chapter 13) in his analysis of the Mount Geumgang project, demonstrating the importance of support at the government level. The Cyprus situation was examined by Bernard Musyck, David Jacobson, Ozay Mehmet, Stelios Orphanides and Craig Webster (Chapter 14) and tourism is promoted as a channel through which the benefits of reunification on the island may be realized. The ultimate objective of conflict resolution is, of course, reconciliation, the subject of Chapter 15 by Ian Kelly and Alex Nkabahona. The authors have reviewed ways in which reconciliation is being pursued and offer practical advice on the development of appropriate tourist attractions.

A second area of concern is the absence of information on the commercial viability of the measures recommended, and the editors recognize that this is an issue requiring further investigation. There is the question of the extent to which operators in the tourism industry will adopt practices that increase costs and/or reduce profits in the interests of peace. However, even deniers of the peace through tourism proposition acknowledge that there is a clear positive correlation between peaceful conditions in a destination area and the commercial success of its tourism industry. It may be further argued that measures to enhance the quality of intercultural visitor experiences may not involve additional expense and will contribute to tourism enterprise sustainability as well as harmonious relationships as demonstrated in the studies involving Israelis and their neighbours – Egyptian, Jordanian and Palestinian.

A related question concerns the extent to which tourism operators will reject those aspects of the industry identified as counterproductive (environmentally, culturally and/or socially damaging) in the pursuit of the peace objective. The submissions to this collection suggest that this may be best addressed through the provision of wellbeing-oriented visitor experiences, which do not involve these negativities. The editors subscribe to the view that

people appreciate being part of a worthy profession and that tourism is a profession whose worthiness would be enhanced by adoption as a core ethic of the injunction, *Do no harm*, and by involvement in a worldwide institution devoted to the pursuit of peace.

If activities are, as we said, what gives life its character, no happy man can become miserable; for he will never do the acts that are hateful and mean. For the man who is truly good and wise, we think, bears all the chances life becomingly and always makes the best of circumstances, as a good general makes the best military use of the army at his command and a good shoemaker makes the best shoes out of the hides that are given him; and so with all other craftsmen. And if this is the case, the happy man can never become miserable.

(Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* Book 1, chapter 10)

The road to peace will be smoother if the characteristics of the 'good life' are incorporated into tourism.

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