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THE PEACE PROPOSITION: TOURISM AS A TOOL FOR ATTITUDE CHANGE

by

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Abstract

The author seeks to demonstrate how tourism experiences can be managed to encourage the adoption by individuals of attitudes conducive to more harmonious relationships among people of different cultures. The paper focuses on negative dispositions - prejudice, stereotyping, ethnocentrism - and ways in which these may be changed for positive dispositions - tolerance, compassion, goodwill, justice and respect. Tourism is seen as able to contribute by providing experiences which involve communication and hospitality (in the broadest sense), and by expressing an ethic incorporated into tourism education and training. Suggestions are offered for measuring the success of such provisions, and some additional considerations are indicated.

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THE PEACE PROPOSITION: TOURISM AS A TOOL FOR ATTITUDE CHANGE¹

Ian Kelly

Some writers argue that aggression has been fundamental in helping people survive. Through centuries of experience, humans learned that aggressive behavior enables them to obtain material goods, land and treasures; to protect property and family; and to gain prestige, status and power. In fact, we might wonder whether the human species could have survived had it not used aggression (Bartol and Bartol, 1986:150).

Do not think that those who love their own country must hate and despise other nations or wish for war, which is a remnant of barbarism (Socialist Sunday School precept, source unknown).

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Introduction

Aggression can be avoided or controlled and attitudes more conducive to peaceful relationships nurtured.

The above quotations encapsulate a dichotomy with which any view of tourism as a contributor to a more peaceful world must deal. If it is true that humans are genetically programmed for aggression, only rigid control, fear and intimidation can save us from annihilation as our destructive capabilities develop. As Lorenz (1966) noted, we are long past the evolutionary stage at which survival of the species is maintained through relatively harmless ritualised combat involving a few group members competing for leadership.

However, there is a view that, like other dispositions, a tendency to aggression among humans is learned in the social environment – a more optimistic view suggesting that aggression can be avoided or controlled and attitudes more conducive to peaceful relationships nurtured.

A number of scholars have commented on the ability of tourism to contribute to world peace and provided useful reviews of literature on the subject (eg, D'Amore, 1988; Var et al, 1994; Pizam, 1996). Examples of relevant empirical research are rare. Kelly (1998) found that study tours conducted by an aid organisation were useful in raising awareness, a sense of responsibility and a willingness to provide material assistance, but noted that participants were already predisposed towards these objectives (see Action agenda, below). Kelly (1999)² also examined the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities

¹ This is an edited version of a paper published in *Riding the Wave*, Proceedings of the Council of University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference, Coffs Harbour, 2003.

² See also IIPT Occasional Paper No. 2, 2006.

and threats of tourism as an agent for more harmonious relationships among the world's peoples and reached the conclusion that, with appropriate management, progress towards the peace objective is possible, but that it would be 'partial, painfully incremental and marked by frequent setbacks and failures.'

Brown (1998) and Litvin (1998) submit that, while tourism benefits from peaceful conditions, those involved in tourism lack the power to exert control over governments and other organisations which pursue their ends through violence. They also argue that the industry emphasises on visitor numbers, profitability and the provision of a hedonistic experience preclude any meaningful contact with host communities. However, both authors recognise the potential for tourism experiences to change the attitudes of individuals.

In summary, the literature suggests that, where tourism can make the desired contribution, it will do so primarily by:

1. helping to raise living standards in less developed economies and deprived communities;
2. respecting and helping to protect community biophysical and sociocultural environments; and
3. encouraging the development of favourable attitudes among visitors and destination residents.

Although these approaches are inter-related, the primary focus of this paper is on the third approach. It is recognised that attitudes are extremely complex and not yet fully understood, and that the discussion which follows will be regarded as simplistic by those who have specialised knowledge based on psychological studies. Nonetheless, it is the purpose of this paper to consider how tourism, as an increasingly important element of the social environment, might be managed to contribute to the achievement of more harmonious relationships through modification of attitudes. It should be noted that the argument is not confined to international tourism, and that it is relevant to urban-rural and majority-minority relationships within a society.

Case Study: The Peace Boat

Andreas slowly walked the short distance from his apartment block in Brisbane, Australia to his travel office. It was just after 9 a.m and all of his staff were at work, engaged in one of the most exciting projects the company had ever put together. His company had chartered a ship for a Millennium cruise, which would take some 250 Australians, most of them relatives of servicemen, to the Anzac Cove at the Gallipoli Peninsula in Turkey. This was to commemorate the 85th Anzac Day anniversary of what Australians consider a National Day of Remembrance, dedicated to those who fought and died during the 8-month campaign, which started with the landing at the Gallipoli Peninsula on the morning of the 25th of April, 1915. Close to 10,000 Australians lost their lives and more than 90,000 Turks died protecting their country.

The phone was unusually busy this morning of the 17th of August 1999 as Shirley, the office manager, walked into Andreas' office. "There was a strong earthquake in Istanbul and lots of people have died. We do not know yet if any travellers were killed or have been affected", Shirley said in an anxious voice holding back her tears.

Soon after, all telephone lines were busy with people calling to cancel their holidays to Turkey, while others were inquiring about relatives who were currently in the country. Later in the afternoon it was established that no tourists were injured and most of the hotels as well as the Turkish monuments were unaffected. The epicentre of the earthquake was north of Istanbul and had severely affected the town of Izmit and the surrounding area where thousands of people had been killed.

Andreas was at a loss trying to reconcile his sadness for the devastation in Turkey and settle his concern about the financial damage to his travel business. “How can you think about business when thousands of people have just lost their lives?” a little voice cried inside him. When he raised his head again Jodie, one of his travel consultants, was standing in front of him with a shy smile on her face. “You know”, Jodie said, “not everybody is cancelling. I had a client who said, ‘I am not cancelling, it is now more than ever Turkey needs Australian tourists’”.

In a flush of inspiration Andreas picked up his phone to call his PR company. “Please write this title down”, he said to Satu his PR consultant – “It is now more than ever Turkey needs the Australian tourists. Kompas Holidays commits \$10.00 for each person who will travel to Turkey in the year 2000. All monies collected will go towards the people affected by the earthquake”. “Please prepare a press release”, he continued with urgency in his voice. The next day Andreas was sitting among some 10 other Australian tour operators specialising in Turkey, who had also agreed to make the same offer to their client base.

This was the first time ever that competitors, instead of fighting for market share, were jointly contributing to a PR campaign for the benefit of people affected by the earthquake. At the same time they were naturally promoting their travel businesses. The Turkish consul who was also present at this meeting commented with some emotion in his voice. “Sir, I never expected a Greek Australian to come forward with this initiative.” “You will be pleased to learn”, he continued, “that the first crew who reached and assisted the earthquake victims yesterday in Turkey was also Greek”. The press world-wide commented on the fact that the Greek crew being the first to reach the disaster area in Turkey was a paradigm shift in the politically strained relationships between the two countries.

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The Arcadia cruise ship sailed leisurely into the Dardanelles with 240 Australians quietly watching the coast where over 100,000 people lost their lives 85 years earlier. Their solemn, reflective faces were a poignant contrast to the rugged coastline, which had borne witness to the loss of life of thousands of young soldiers. It was a beautiful spring morning of the 23rd of April 2000. Two days later, on the 25th April, all of the people on board would participate in the Dawn Service marking the 85th Gallipoli Commemorations. However, not everybody was on deck. Franko, Gail, Casilda, Gloria and Zag representing a US organization called Airline Ambassadors, were busy filling dozens of colourful plastic bags and boxes. Little toy bears, dolls, pencils, toothpastes, cakes of soap, school supplies and hundreds of T-shirts offered by the Greek captain, were among the things being packed away with care and pride.

The next morning upon arrival in Istanbul, a small van and an army truck supplied by Red Cross parked at the dock, while the ship's crew loaded all the plastic bags and boxes. Soon after Andreas, his wife Nicolien and the Airline Ambassadors boarded the van, which was followed by the truck and headed Northeast of Istanbul to Izmit. They were to deliver the material aid donated by the Australian tourists on board Arcadia to the earthquake victims of Turkey. All of them were struggling with mixed emotions as they reached the scene of the devastation before arriving at the tent city of Izmit.

The small group was greeted by the lieutenant responsible for the logistics of this makeshift village. He explained that close to 1,000,000 people were affected by the earthquake. He was deeply thankful for the visit and proudly explained how the whole operation of taking care of this many people was run. On the left wall there was a notice board outlining the countries, which had provided various levels of material help and assistance. "Poorer countries like India have given the most!" exclaimed Gail. On the opposite wall there were dozens of hand-made cards displayed, which were sent by school kids from around the world.

"It must be so hard for you there", one of them read, "we are thinking of you, we love you" - words swimming in between little drawn flowers, cute hearts and butterflies.

Soon after, it was time to meet the people of Izmit. A soldier pushed the trolley with several plastic bags full of presents, followed by the group of visitors. Within seconds the Turkish kids laughing and jostling, surrounded the group. One little girl tightly hugged a yellow toy duck almost bigger than herself and a young boy took 3 teddy bears, waving at his little sisters, reassuring them of their presents.

It took no more than 20 minutes and the party was over. Kadir explained to the group that the rest of the supplies would be distributed more systematically at a later stage. A Turkish woman waved at Andreas to follow and soon the group found themselves in the village coffee shop. Half an hour later the kids reappeared with their local teacher who explained in English that they had made presents for the visitors. As the little van pulled away followed by the kids, all were affected and humbled by this experience. "We have taken away with us so much more than we brought", murmured Franko of Airline Ambassadors, reflecting everybody's feelings.

That night as the ship sailed away from Istanbul, Andreas was on deck enjoying the quiet of the evening and as he gazed at the sky he remembered what he had read in a book some time ago:

Shoot for the moon. Even if you miss, you will land among the stars!

By Andreas Larentzakis

Dedicated to my 2 mentors of Peace:

Louis D'Amore - President of IIPT (International Institute for Peace through Tourism)

www.iipt.org

Nancy Rivard – President of Airline Ambassadors www.airlineamb.org

For further information on the people affected by the 1999 Turkish earthquake

<http://www.koeri.boun.edu.tr/depremmuh/earthquake1.htm>

Attitudes

It is probable that a sense of justice acts as a counter to prejudice.

In the late 19th century, the term ‘attitude’, hitherto used for the posture or stance taken up by artists’ models, was adopted by psychologists to connote a state of readiness for mental and physical activity (Allport, 1954). There is still debate about the definition of ‘attitude’, and some examples are provided by Saks and Krupat (1988). However, for the purposes of this paper the definition by Ajzen (1988:4) – ‘a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event’ – is adopted.

While the majority of attitudes held by individuals are of little or no significance in the present context, there are some which must be addressed because of their negative influence in intercultural relationships. These include attitudes contributing to ethnocentrism, stereotypes and prejudices.

Ethnocentrism refers to the tendency to evaluate other societies and ways of life purely by the standards and practices of one’s own society. It is generally recognised that a degree of ethnocentrism is required for the maintenance of group solidarity (Champion et al, 1984), but it often leads to the conclusion that the familiar way of life is superior to others. At more extreme levels, ethnocentrism can contribute to feelings of contempt for other societies, and even xenophobia – fear, mistrust and hatred of the unfamiliar. Ethnocentric views run counter to the tenets of cultural relativity which argues that all elements of a way of life should be judged in terms of the setting within which they occur.

Stereotypes are ‘generalised assumptions about *all* members of a particular social category’ (Champion et al, 1984:155). These can be positive (eg, ‘Australians are friendly and hospitable’) or negative (eg, ‘Scotsmen are tight-fisted’). Stereotypes are difficult to counter because it is often easy to identify individual members of a society with such characteristics.

Prejudice – adherence to a judgment of an individual or group which is not based on experience or careful consideration - is closely linked to acceptance of stereotypical views. Some prejudices, unquestioned and deep-seated, remain unmodified even when the holder is presented with new information exposing them as fallacious.

Ethnocentrism, stereotyping and prejudice have provided justification for discriminatory behaviour by individuals and institutions. Even within a society, the rights of certain individuals or groups may be denied because they differ from the majority in such attributes as race, religion and ability. Discrimination has been reflected in the maintenance of social distance and, in more extreme cases, segregation, removal and extermination (eg, ‘ethnic cleansing’).

There are also personal attributes which can be regarded as generally positive in the present context. These include tolerance, compassion, goodwill, a sense of justice and respect. Tolerance may represent a state of neutrality, an acceptance of the existence of alternative views and practices but with no disposition to actively oppose or adopt them. Compassion incorporates sympathy, an inclination to relieve the distress of and bring comfort to others. Compassion may also involve empathy, the ability to imagine oneself in the position of another and thereby to understand their experience.

As Wright (1971:134) has noted,

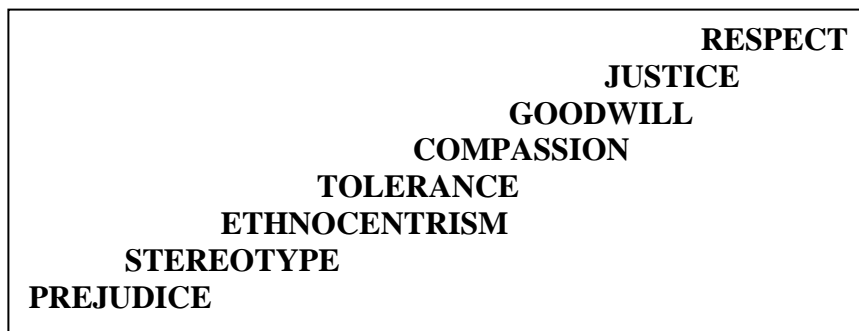
One of the striking features of racially prejudiced people is their failure to respond empathically to the sufferings of the members of the groups they have rejected. This failure in empathy is probably related to their prejudiced belief that the others are not quite human, or that their suffering is merited. Many prejudiced beliefs can be interpreted as ways of rationalizing away, or protecting the self against, empathic emotional response.

The ability to empathise is likely to contribute also to goodwill, a disposition to act in ways which benefit others, and may relate to a strong sense of justice. According to Landesman (1985), the just person recognises values such as fairness and equality, and is disposed to treat others in a non-discriminatory and non-prejudiced manner, that is, with appropriate respect for the rights which everyone possesses as human beings.

It is probable that a sense of justice, accompanied by the ability and willingness to critically analyse one's opinions and beliefs, acts as a counter to prejudice. Such self-criticism is facilitated by acquiring information, a view supported by reported research (Bagley, 1973) which indicated that, in Britain, racial prejudice is least likely to occur among people who are better-educated and of higher occupational status.

Figure 1 illustrates a continuum of relevant dispositions on which individuals could be placed according to the views held in general or at any given time. The question to be addressed is: How can tourist experiences be designed to encourage an upward movement on the ladder by development, in individuals, of positive attitudes and associated behaviour, and discouragement or modification of attitudes which are negative?

Figure 1: The Peace Through Tourism Disposition Ladder



Issue in focus: Attitude change

It is emphasised that many attitudes are deeply rooted and that efforts to change them have had only limited success (Warren and Jahoda, 1973). Difficulties encountered with respect to attitude change include:

- the innate nature (and perceived survival advantage) of selfishness and suspicion of anything strange;
- the inertia of apathy (reflected, perhaps, in tolerance rather than hostility);
- differing latitudes of acceptance/rejection;
- differences in the aspect of attitude – belief, feeling or action tendency – for which change is sought; and
- the ability of people to live with cognitive dissonance, that is, inconsistencies between what they know and how they feel or behave with respect to an object.

Nonetheless, there is evidence that some change in attitudes can be brought about.

Sampson (1991) claims that human experience is divisible into three components – knowing (the cognitive component), feeling (the affective or evaluative component), and doing (the conative or behavioural component). He refers to the persuasion model of attitude change, which argues that change may be brought about in one or more of these through communication focusing on the cognitive component.

The effectiveness of communication aimed at changing an attitude (Hovland, 1973, Sampson, 1991) relates to three major factors:

- the credibility of the source - based on expertise, trustworthiness, attractiveness, legitimacy, perceived objectivity, authority and closeness to the receiver;
- the attributes of the message – the type of appeal (positive or negative, use of fear), the salience of the related group norm, and the evidence used to support conclusions; and
- the attributes of the receiver – persuasibility, level of self-esteem, the importance of group conformity, relevance of the issue, and mindful involvement.

It has been noted that there is often a ‘sleeper effect’, whereby resistance to a change in attitude declines over a period of time during which the message may become internalised. It has also been noted that resistance may increase with an initial communication (‘the inoculation effect’) but weaken as the message is reinforced.

Sampson (1991) also refers to the difference between high and low self-monitoring persons, and the inclination of the former to adopt attitudes appropriate to the social circumstances in which they find themselves. There are parallels in the conclusions of De Bono (1987, in Sampson, 1991) who distinguishes other-directed persons seeking to conform to situational expectations – the social-adjustive function – from inner-directed persons who adhere to their internal evaluation – the value-expressive function.

Reference to the social-adjustive function indicates the importance of a moderator (eg, the situational circumstances), defined by Sampson (1991:177) as ‘something that intervenes between the statement of an attitude and the behavior that presumably should follow from it.’ For example, according to Bern (1973), attitudes can be manipulated by involving a person in role-playing, whereby they are required to argue for or behave in a way endorsing a particular belief. This is consistent with Sampson’s (1991) argument that persons required to think about their attitudes are more likely to act in accordance with them.

In summary, it appears that attitude change, while difficult to bring about, may be achievable through efforts to overcome the barriers to change which exist in individuals. These efforts may include:

- incorporating an educational element into experiences;
- a focus on persons more amenable to adoption of positive attitudes;
- effective communication using appropriate sources and meaningful messages;
- placing people in situations where they are likely to question their attitudes;
- placing people in settings where expressions of negative attitudes are 'out of place'.

The role of tourism

The task is to provide travel experiences which encourage appropriate attitude change.

Can tourism act as a moderator in reducing negativity and fostering positive intercultural attitudes, feelings and behaviour among tourists and members of host communities? Tomljenovic and Faulkner (2000), in their review of tourism as a contributor to world peace and analysis of two empirical research projects, refer to contact theory which submits that contact between different groups will improve intercultural attitudes and reduce tension. They add, however, that tourist-host contacts often fail to bring about the desired changes because of:

- their infrequency and fleeting nature;
- misleading destination promotion;
- visitor isolation in tourist enclaves;
- poor guiding (including guide acceptance of tourist sentiments);
- dominance of intra-group relationships;
- high intercultural anxiety;
- language and cultural barriers;
- status disparity; and
- the service nature of interactions.

With this understanding of what must be done and what must be avoided, the task is to provide travel experiences which encourage appropriate attitude change and overcome the barriers identified above.

There is some reason for optimism. Among the 'success stories' reported to the 1999 International Institute for Peace Through Tourism Conference were the following:

- Tour operations devoted to the provision of labour and funding for schools, clinics and solar-power generators in remote areas of Nepal.
- North American First Nation and Aotearoa (New Zealand) Maori visitor attractions designed to inform the non-indigenous population and assist with the national reconciliation processes.
- Exchange programs involving young artists, scholars and activists from peripheral and marginalised communities.

- Conversion to visitor facilities of military bases disbanded with the demise of the Cold War (part of the so-called ‘peace dividend’).
 - An international network of Peace Museums (as a counter to the more common commemorations of war).
 - Cooperative government-sponsored programs in Africa, Central America and Southeast Asia.
 - International network organisations encouraging families to participate in home hosting and exchange relationships.
 - Not-for-profit community-run accommodation facilities aimed at protecting cultural and heritage resources.
 - A growing market for volunteer involvement in humanitarian missions and study tours conducted by non-profit organisations and providing meaningful contact with host communities, often in remote locations.
 - Projects aimed at encouraging fair trade and educating communities in the development of non-damaging forms of tourism.
 - Projects aimed at providing economic autonomy for women in deprived communities and less developed countries.
 - Wide adoption of ecotourism principles in management in a variety of tourism fields.
- There are also web sites inviting travellers to participate in volunteer environmental and development projects, to provide assistance to refugees, to meet with members of organisations whose interests they share or whose causes they might support and to acquire work experience in other countries.

These are, of course, not mainstream tourism operations, but they serve as examples of ways in which tourism can be managed to provide educational experiences and intensive host-visitor interaction, ensure equitable distribution of benefits, and place travellers in situations where they must examine their attitudes and adopt particular roles.

It is submitted that positive attitude change can be encouraged through enhanced performance in three tourism-related areas – communication, hospitality and education.

1. Communication

Some studies indicate the importance of a predisposition to learning about other societies.

In noting that social and environmental conflict often stems from lack of destination understanding among visitors, Gunn (1994) argues for pre-travel educational programs covering weather conditions, customs, social contact, privacy concerns, foods, religious beliefs, history and politics of, and ways of communication with the destination community. It is clear that destination communities, too, should be informed on visitor cultures and that the greater the knowledge people have of each other the less they will suffer from anxieties attached to dealing with the unfamiliar. Furthermore, in addition to reducing the likelihood of tension, there is evidence (Kelly 1998) that educational programs contribute to experiential satisfaction, itself a factor in the development of positive attitudes.

While it appears that many tourists are not interested in learning about the culture of their hosts, there are also many who take pleasure in demonstrating their knowledge of how to behave in alien environments. Reisinger (1997) outlines the difficulties commonly encountered in intercultural contacts and suggests that such problems may be alleviated by educational programs for those involved in international tourism and greater use of intermediaries.

With respect to communication, the leadership function of the tour guide is of central concern. In addition to instrumental responsibilities such as adherence to schedules and attention to participant safety, the guide is expected to act as mediator in visitor interaction with the local population and ensure an appropriate balance between integration and insulation. As a 'culture broker', the guide may select visitor experiences; disseminate information with accuracy and precision; provide interpretation which explains the exotic in familiar terms; and distinguish authentic elements, even in a staged presentation.

As indicated above, there is a possibility that goodwill can be more easily generated among certain travellers. Some studies (eg, Kelly, 1998, Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2001) indicate the importance of a predisposition to learning about other societies, and study tours are a means by which such potential goodwill can be tapped. It is submitted (Mustric, 1999) that children, less influenced by prejudice, are likely to respond more positively than adults to enjoyable intercultural contacts, suggesting that children should not be regarded as incidental travellers, and should be provided with appropriately formative experiences.

2. Host Community Hospitality

Hospitality is not merely a business category, but is in fact a destination attribute.

Writings on tourism and peace have tended to focus on the interaction between visitors and host communities, with representatives of the tourism industry (tour operators, guides and travel writers) as mediators, positive and negative, in the experience. However, it may be argued that hospitality is central to the host-guest interaction elements of tourism, suggesting that the hospitality sector can play a key role in contributing to harmonious relationships among people of differing cultures.

Tomljenovic and Faulkner (2001:31) conclude that 'while tourism has the potential to promote intercultural understanding and tolerance, it has an equally strong potential to have the opposite effect (and that) *one of the core conditions for ensuring positive outcomes is the quality of services provided at the destination*' (emphasis added).

'Hospitality' may be defined broadly as including accommodation and catering, plus other tourism operations involving host-guest interaction, for example, farmstays, souvenir outlets, study tours, painting schools and visitor information centres. However, it is important to recognise that hospitality is not merely a business category, but is in fact a destination attribute which, in ideal circumstances, is demonstrated in the behaviour of all members of the community as they interact with visitors. While it is impossible to exercise the degree of control required to guarantee this level of community cooperation,

national and regional tourism organisations can help by ensuring that the contribution of visitors is fully appreciated, even by those who do not see themselves as involved with tourism. It is equally important to ensure that, where possible, host-guest contacts are voluntary, do not demonstrate power disparities, and do not place participants in situations of stress. There is no place for a patronising or intimidating manner on either side.

However, it is noted that purposeful management is required to ensure that these interactions are appropriate with respect to the peace proposition, and it is thereby proposed that the following interrelated objectives be pursued:

- *Extended stays:*
Hospitality suppliers should participate strongly in efforts to encourage visitors to stay for longer periods in the destination areas. Apart from the obvious financial advantage involved, extended stays provide opportunities for visitors and community members to become better acquainted with each other. Local festivals and events are recognised as attractions which provide insights into local culture and encourage repeat visitation.
- *Meaningful contacts:*
Hospitality suppliers could work in partnership with tour operators to arrange host-guest contacts based on common interests. It is important that such interactions do not involve ‘othering’ (Hollinshead, 1998) – a process which emphasises the distinctions rather than the similarities among people from different societies. Host communities may demonstrate concern for and contribute to the welfare of visitors through, among other measures, provisions for travellers with disabilities. Farmers from generating regions could discuss problems and solutions with farmers from the destination region. Hobbyists could be introduced to community members sharing their passion. In such situations, even where interpreters are required, communication is easier and less superficial.
- *Optimisation of community benefits:*
This may best be delivered through a focus on small-scale developments. For example, the interests of visitor and resident are brought together in the local market, a venue providing a meeting place, an outlet for local produce, pleasant shopping and a lesson in the destination geography and way of life. As with small-scale family-run hospitality establishments, there is evidence (Tucker, 1999) that the earnings are less vulnerable to leakage and contribute more significantly to the local economy than those operating under transnational management. It is also submitted that in small establishments the relationship between host and guest is more equal and that guests can be provided with deeper insights into the ways of life in the local community.

3. Training and Education

The pursuit of peace objectives through tourism must involve those working in the field.

The growth of tourism and hospitality education in schools, colleges and universities is an important development, since it is clear that the pursuit of peace objectives through

tourism must involve those working in the field. Encouraging trends include the internationalisation of tourism curricula, involving student exchange and study abroad schemes, and the use of sophisticated distance education approaches to reach students in remote locations.

However, it is apparent that training and education for tourism staff has tended to focus on practicalities, worker productivity and profit-oriented management. While the value of long-term strategies to ensure sustainability is recognised in such courses, the justification is often based on commercial rather than ethical concerns. Furthermore, these provisions do not yet meet the continuing need for training in less developed countries.

Hultsman (1995) argues for the incorporation of a tourism ethic as a prerequisite for recognition of tourism as an academic discipline with professional status. It is submitted here that this may be partly met by the inclusion of elements directed to development of attitudes and abilities consistent with the peace objective – pride in the key role of tourism and hospitality in bringing people together, interest in and empathy with other people, appreciation of the *dignitas* attached to employment in the industry, and consciousness of the impacts and responsibilities associated with the service role.

Measuring Success

How will we know if these measures have the desired effect? The effectiveness of the strategies outlined above can be demonstrated only by research which confirms that attitudes have been changed in the desired direction. This research would have to address the following questions:

- *What variables could be used to ascertain whether or not, and to what extent, attitude change had occurred as the result of the recommended tourism strategies?*

One approach is to conduct surveys of travellers with relevant experiences. For example, Kelly (1998) made use of pre- and post-trip questionnaires and reported changes in attitudes following participation in Community Aid Abroad study tours (see Action agenda, below). While many respondents claimed to have merely confirmed pre-existing attitudes, others identified a stronger sense of responsibility for the conditions in less developed countries and deprived communities, greater support for foreign aid and, perhaps most importantly, enhanced willingness to join and/or contribute to aid and environmental organisations.

- *What would constitute a valid sample for survey purposes?*

With such a large number of tourists and tourism offerings, there is a problem of manageability. However, with a focus on the effectiveness of particular tourism offerings and strategies, samples need not be large. It is more important that they be representative of the range of travellers (for example, with respect to demographic, socioeconomic and lifestyle characteristics) who participate in the experience being tested. Providers of relevant travel experiences could be induced to include questions pertaining to attitude change in their follow-up marketing research.

- *How can we distinguish the influence of travel experiences from that of other factors?*

It is recognised that attitudes are influenced by a range of experiences and information sources. With respect to tourism, while it is impossible to replicate laboratory conditions, a degree of control is acquired by ensuring that each research project

concentrates on one strategy or type of travel experience. For example, one project may focus on travellers given insights into indigenous Australian culture while another investigates the impact of participation in a Tuscany art school.

It is possible that the research process, by obliging respondents to think about their attitudes, will itself have a beneficial effect

Conclusion

The objectives of the strategies proposed are modest, and it might be claimed that a specific measure was successful even if only one participant reported positive attitude change.

However, there are some important issues not covered in the above discussion. Firstly, it may be argued that attitudes are unimportant as long as people behave in ways which avoid conflict. Indeed, Sampson (1991) reports that the Japanese regard an inability to separate attitudes from actions as a sign of immaturity. Nonetheless, the tourism experiences recommended are aimed at fostering 'responsible believing' (Schick and Vaughn, 2002:103), a condition achieved by ongoing critical examination of one's knowledge and feelings, and 'a prerequisite for responsible acting'.

Secondly, it is easy to point to cultural beliefs and practices, such as those which discriminate against women or condone cruelty to animals, which even open-minded visitors will deem unacceptable. It is difficult, if not impossible, to ignore the intense indignation felt when there is a perception that moral rules are being broken. However, there is hope that the demands of tourism and other globalising influences will lead to modification of such practices and the universalisation of certain basic principles pertaining to human and animal rights.

Thirdly, is it likely that those involved with mainstream tourism will make the necessary adjustments to provide the type of tourism experiences required? In answer, it should be noted that, while their true value lies in the contribution which they might make in countering prejudice and encouraging recognition of our common humanity, there is nothing in these recommendations which would conflict with the business objectives of tourism and hospitality providers, and long-term advantages are likely to be generated by their adoption.

As cross-border interaction increases, a number of international organisations (eg, Rotary International) profess a vision which focuses on the positives of peace rather than the negatives of war. Sister-city/town/state relationships have been developed on the basis of mutual interests. As Rothwell (2002:26) notes, multiculturalism is the way of the future, and it 'works best when people respect, enjoy and learn from a different culture without feeling their own culture being threatened.' Tourism is not alone in the quest for a more peaceful world.

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Action agenda: Measuring attitude change³

Proponents of tourism as a force for world peace place considerable value on person-to-person contact. Nussbaum (1997) emphasises the need for people to overcome regional or group perceptions and recognise themselves as 'human beings bound to all others by ties of recognition and concern' (p38). It is likely that the ability of tourism to contribute to a more peaceful world by encouraging appropriate contact experiences may be enhanced by recognition of its potential to do so and by the purposeful implementation of actions directed to that end.

Among Australian organisations addressing the issue is Oxfam/Community Aid Abroad. Through its subsidiary travel organisation, One World Tours, CAA aimed to encourage world peace by providing travellers with experiences which raise their awareness of developing country needs; increase financial support for development projects; promote trade opportunities for developing countries; stimulate understanding of developing country cultures and problems, and of the complexities of the development process; and heighten support for increased and more effective Australian Government aid. In the pre-tour literature, participants are urged to adhere to the following guiding principles of 'responsible travel' (CAA, 1990):

- to understand the culture being visited;
- to respect and learn from the people hosting the visit;
- to tread softly on the environment of the hosts.

The investigation reported on here was directed to ascertaining the extent to which One World Travel Tours has been effective in encouraging the development of traveller attitudes deemed conducive to peaceful relationships among countries.

Methodology

CAA provided a list of 289 past tour participants. A questionnaire was mailed to a random selection of 192 of these, and 86 usable responses were received. Among the questions there were some which sought information on participant sociodemographics, travel history, reasons for joining and changes in attitude which they attributed to the tour experience. Questions relating to travel history and sociodemographics were closed, but respondents were encouraged to provide detailed answers to the remaining, open-ended, questions. Responses to these were categorised for presentation in tabular format.

It is recognised that responses to such open-ended questions may be of limited reliability, reflecting subjective perceptions rather than objective measurement. To partially compensate for this the investigator joined a OWTT tour on which he could observe the extent to which the guiding principles above were reflected in tour management and visitor behaviour, and to facilitate in-depth discussion of relevant questions with participants.

³ This section is based on a report commissioned by Community Aid Abroad in 1993, and a paper by I.Kelly, *Tourism and the Peace Proposition*, in Proceedings of the Asia Pacific Tourism Association Conference, Tanyang, Korea, August 18-21, 1998: 141-149.

Respondent Characteristics

Questionnaire responses indicated that CAA/OWTT tour participants were not representative of the general community in Australia in terms of certain sociodemographic characteristics. A key variable which emerged from the survey was gender, with the tour product appearing to be much more attractive to females than to males (57 females to 29 males.). This distribution matched that of the parent population. Seventy-five percent of respondents joined their latest tour alone and it is possible that the females among these attach value to the relative security offered by group travel. The majority of respondents lay in the 26-55 age groups. Most of the tours cited took place within the previous ten years, so it appears that participants were relatively mature.

Respondents also differed from the general population in that they were predominantly educated to a high level, with almost 90 percent holding university qualifications. This was reflected in the occupational distribution, with over 77 percent in academic, professional and managerial positions. The majority lay in the middle-income level, but with no or few dependants.

To provide some insight into participant lifestyles, respondents were asked to indicate their hobbies, and most listed a number of outside interests. The most popular category, physically active activities, included various sports and outdoor pursuits such as bushwalking. This was followed by an interest in the arts - music, film, drama and literature. Home activities included craftwork and gardening, etc., while a substantial number were involved in community service and environmental organisations and activities. There was little interest in passive activities such as spectator sports.

With respect to pre-tour organisation membership, a little more than half of the respondents had been members of CAA before undertaking their latest tour, with no significant difference between the sexes. Males were more likely than females to have been members of other aid or environmental organisations, but females were more likely than males to have joined other organisations in addition to CAA

It appears then that in sociodemographic and lifestyle terms, the market for CAA and OWTT tours has largely consisted of young and mature middle-income adults, predominantly female, highly educated, employed in professional or managerial occupations, and with a range of physically active, intellectually stimulating and community-oriented outside interests.

Respondent Travel History and Motivation

Responses reflected the two-to-one female to male ratio in overall tour participation, but it also showed that females were marginally more likely than males to participate in more than one tour. The majority of respondents had travelled only with CAA/OWTT tours, but a substantial number had also experienced travel with another organisation.

A wide range of destinations was represented in the sample. The most popular choice was India, probably because it had been offered for the longest period of time. Only Central America was more popular with males than with females.

Most respondents provided a number of reasons for choosing their last study tour. Overall, participants were most attracted by the opportunities to see at first hand the processes associated with development work, and CAA projects in particular. A large

proportion were drawn by the access the tour provided to particular countries, the prospect of meeting the host people, especially the villagers, and of visiting the more remote areas of the destination.

The access factor appeared to relate to the perception that the study tour offered a non-tourist, non-commercial experience. It also appeared to relate to the desire for an experience which was educational and/or cultural, and for a holiday which was purposeful. Some specific interests were listed, for example, in health and women's projects. However, it is apparent from the responses that the predominant concern was with authenticity and an expectation that the study tours would provide participants with an experience which was not staged for their benefit.

Impact of Tour on Participants

With respect to impact of the tour experience on holiday destination choice, a large proportion of respondents gave no answer or indicated no influence. However, a number of the latter, mostly experienced travellers, claimed that the tour experience had confirmed their previous views. Interest in Asia and less developed countries was stimulated by the tour experience, although some found the poverty disturbing, and the antipathy to mainstream tourism was again highlighted. A small number who indicated an increased interest in travel to Western countries were attracted by the comfort offered and the reduced potential for damage to these cultures.

It is clear from other responses that the tour experience did influence the attitudes of participants, many of whom stressed the importance of first-hand observation. A number of respondents, especially females, indicated that the tour experience had contributed to deeper understanding of the problems facing less developed countries, and an almost equal group accepted that countries like Australia bear some responsibility in this matter. Some respondents stressed the importance of interdependence in the relationship.

These views were reflected to some extent in respondent attitudes to foreign aid. The majority of those who indicated change in their attitude became more supportive of foreign aid as a result of the tour, while most of the rest became more selective in that they believed aid should be more carefully targeted. A small number became more doubtful about the value of foreign aid.

Most respondents favoured small-scale, grassroots projects which contributed to local community self-sufficiency and empowerment, especially of women. There was scepticism about the motivation behind and the conditions attached to some forms of aid, and concerns about the bureaucratisation associated with government involvement.

Views were mixed on the issue of aid to deprived groups in Australia. Most were either more supportive or more selective, as with views on foreign aid. However, a substantial minority became less supportive. Most comments related to Aboriginal people, but other areas of deprivation were recognised. There was a view that all Australians had the right to Government support (rather than aid), and a concern that the problem is worsened by bureaucracy, paternalism, mismanagement and waste. Some respondents argued for a focus on the causes rather than the symptoms of deprivation in Australia. Some felt that aid, as distinct from government support, should therefore be directed overseas.

One indicator of activism is the extent to which tour participants take up membership in or contribute to aid organisations. At least nine respondents became new members of CAA after their tour, and at least six joined other aid or environmental organisations. One respondent terminated membership as a result of 'disillusionment' with the organisation following the tour experience.

The possibility of exaggeration in declared frequency of donations must be recognised, but responses suggest that financial support for aid organisations was at least maintained after tour experiences, and that females are more regular contributors to aid organisations.

Sample tour observation

As noted, the investigator also participated in a OWTT tour in order to observe the extent to which the guiding principles above were reflected in tour management and visitor behaviour, and to facilitate in-depth discussion of relevant questions with participants.

In terms of sociodemographic characteristics, reasons for choosing the tour, expectations and level of satisfaction, and impact on attitudes, the tour participants largely paralleled the survey respondents. An additional element of satisfaction related to the unscheduled people-to-people contacts initiated while waiting for repairs to the minibus.

However, it was noted that, when placed in 'mainstream' tourism situations, most tour participants displayed what are commonly regarded as mainstream tourism behaviours. This involved aggressive haggling over prices for craftwork and personal transport services, and avoidance, overt distrust and curt dismissal of beggars, even when their disabilities were clearly visible. It is likely that, to some extent, attitudes on haggling and beggars have been conditioned by claims in guidebooks and travel literature that the sellers enjoy haggling and that beggars should not be encouraged. However, in a poor country, the search for bargains is likely to be perceived as exploitative, and the rejection of beggars as insensitive.

Conclusions

The survey, tour participant responses and tour observation indicated the following:

- That the CAA/OWTT study tours attracted a relatively narrow segment of the Australian population distinguished by a predominance of females, high levels of education, professional and managerial in occupation, and leisure lifestyles involving intellectual, artistic or community-oriented activities.
- That those undertaking such tours are drawn by the perception that they are not mainstream tourism products, and that they offer opportunities to learn from culture-contact situations which are not staged
- That acceptance of the principles of 'responsible travel' is not necessarily translated into practice during a tour, suggesting a need for care in the selection of destination ground operators, guides and tour leaders able to set an appropriate example.
- That the CAA approach to achieving its objectives has been effective largely because its tours attract people who already have or are inclined towards the desired attitudes.

Discussion

The sad truth is that tourists, like other human groups, are subject to negative stereotyping based on perceptions of so-called mass tourism, an evolutionary development which, like it or not, will be with us for a long time. But there are other types of tourism less likely to be damaging or to create hostility, and there should be a greater focus on these. Concern for the natural environment is now reflected in ecotourism, which seeks to involve tour organisers and visitors in the protection, and in some cases, the enhancement of environments.

It is submitted here that the value of intercultural contact in reducing tensions is now widely recognised. D'Amore (1988) draws attention to the proliferation of student and cultural exchanges, twinning of cities and states, and international sporting events as demonstrating the commonality of human goals and aspirations. However, only tourism provides the opportunity for people to interact with others on the scale required.

Despite the limitations apparent in the CAA/OWTT approach, it is submitted that there are elements therein which could be adopted by other tour operators in the effort to reach a wider audience.

There is evidence that host community sensitivities and environments are better protected if visitors are pre-informed about potential problems and ways of avoiding them. The provision of pre-tour literature, reading lists and briefing evenings help meet this learning objective, and contribute significantly to the quality of and satisfaction with the eventual visitor experience. It is likely that educating the host community about the visitors would have similar positive effects. Above all, there must be recognition of the value of planning, and of the need to involve the local community in order to gain their support.

There is a need for travel organisers to ensure that host-tourist contacts are positive, to arrange for visitors and hosts to meet on equal terms rather than in some kind of master-servant relationship. McIntosh et al (1995) refer to 'people-to-people' programs by which travel organisers arrange for families to meet and stay with host families in other countries. Transnational friendships may be kindled by bringing together people with shared interests, for example, in farming, small business, music or child-rearing. The quality of communication in such interactions is important, suggesting that tour guides must be selected for their ability to mediate informatively between visitor and host and exercise appropriate levels of control over tourist behaviour.

The tourists themselves must take some responsibility for the outcomes of their travel, avoiding those activities which are demonstrably damaging and encouraging, with their patronage, tourism products deemed desirable. For example, it has been proposed that tourists boycott countries such as Myanmar (Burma) whose government-sponsored tourism development practices are grossly exploitative and fail to recognise the rights of their own people.

One element of the travel experience of which more might be made is the after-trip discussion. People are usually delighted with opportunities to talk about their travels, and this has been encouraged by CAA/OWTT as a means of promotion and channel for activism. Newspaper and travel magazine editors could play a part by commissioning or

more frequently accepting freelance submissions which seek to educate the potential traveller rather than merely advertise a product or destination.

In summary, it is apparent that the growth in tourist numbers, the expansion of tourism into remote and undeveloped 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.

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