DEVELOPMENT OF A FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL CRISIS RESPONSES FOR THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

V KANLAYANASUKHO

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VORAWAN KANLAYANASUKHO

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Abstract

Political crises in or near tourist destinations impact various tourism trade organisations including the host population, tourists, and the indigenous tourism industry (including the private, public and voluntary sectors). Additionally, due to the international nature of tourism, inbound tour operators with overseas head offices can also be affected. Disruption caused by political crises such as the Arab Spring, the Thai political crises, the September 11 attacks or the Bali bombings have drawn attention to the effects of political crises on tourism and prompted scholars to research the subject. There are several studies of tourism crises caused by terrorism and natural disasters, but only a few in-depth studies explore the impact of political crises on the tourism industry. As the academic literature remains lacking in studies specifically addressing tourism crisis management for political crises, this study sets out to explore the impacts of political crises upon the tourism industry by integrating crisis management study with political crisis study for the purpose of developing a framework for political crisis responses.

Drawing upon qualitative research, the primary research focuses upon crisis management for political crises. The study had access to professionals who play significant roles in the United Kingdom (UK) tourism industry. Twenty semi-structured in-depth interviews were undertaken with a wide range of trade organisations including two destination organisations, three tourism consultants, two travel agents, and thirteen tour operators. The study depicts how tourism experts understand and respond to the impact of political crises within their current crisis management procedures. Based upon their understanding and interpretation of crisis management, different themes emerged. These themes are interconnected through the issues emerging from varied political crisis situations that managers in the UK tourism industry had encountered. Data was coded and differentiated themes were identified and analysed.

The findings demonstrated that there is a diverse range of perception and understanding of political crises within the tourism industry. Political crises can be viewed differently from one region to another. The findings demonstrated that the impacts of political crises upon tourism organisations fall into two categories: direct impacts which include the perception effect, financial effect and the aftermath, and those that influence the direct impacts, which include the coinciding effect, ripple effect, and spill over effect. The findings demonstrate that perception affects destination image most significantly of these. Moreover, the importance of different sources of crisis information has been identified. Understanding of political crises and their effects then leads to the introduction of a political crisis classification model developed by this study. The findings then reveal political crisis strategies implemented according to each phase of a political crisis.

This thesis contributes to knowledge in two main ways. Firstly, by the development of a political crisis management framework for the tourism industry and secondly by formulating a framework of political crisis responses, neither of which have been offered before. The political crisis framework is broken down into the different phases of a political crisis's lifecycle. This framework should be able to help the tourism industry to understand the dynamics involved, and how to effectively

manage each phase. The framework of political crisis responses outlines strategies according to each phase of a political crisis. Focus has been placed on crisis management response.

Notably, these frameworks are based on the detailed reflections and attitudes of a sample of tourism experts in the United Kingdom towards destinations as they pertain to previous political crises, as well as crisis management literature; a perspective that is seldom taken in other research. These frameworks are intended to assist trade organisations in the tourism industry to mitigate the impacts of political crises and apply crisis management in a meaningful way.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Political crises

The topic of political crises is of vital importance globally, as it affects whether or not tourists will decide to visit an area. The first and central requirement of tourists is not scenic or cultural attraction, but political stability (Richter & Waugh, 1986). The success or failure of tourist destinations depends on their ability to convey an image of a safe and secure environment for visitors. A politically unstable country experiencing political crisis events can experience an immediate effect in terms of a decline in the number of foreign visitors and damage to their destination image. Political crises can impede tourism by affecting the fragile nature of a destination's safe image, particularly when such a crisis is tied to military activities (Hall, 1994). Political crises are neither rare nor relegated to the modern era. Although they have occurred for centuries, recent population growth and technological developments have greatly increased the pressures on society and industry that can spark political crises. Media communication, accelerated by the digital age, brings political crises to worldwide consciousness faster and with more visibility, which has an unavoidable impact on destination image. As destination's safety has become a fundamental requirement for most visitors, fluctuations in the public perception of current political situations will affect travel to destinations, particularly following political incidents that suggest a destination poses potential risks to tourists. Thus, concerns regarding the effects of political crises within the tourism industry warrant attention and research.

Recent political crises such as the prolonged Thai political protests, the Arab Spring or the China-Japan Island dispute warrant the need for the tourism industry to study the impact of such events and to develop effective crisis management strategies. In the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks and the 2004 tsunami, awareness of and academic research into terrorism, crises and disasters affecting the tourism industry have increased (Beirman, 2003; Blake & Sinclair, 2003; Toh, Khan & Erawan, 2004; Hitchcock & Putra, 2005; Blunk, Clark & McGibany, 2006; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Ritchie, 2009; Scott, Laws & Prideaux, 2008, 2010). A

number of scholars have studied the effects of political instability on the tourism industry (Aziz, 1995; Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996; Sonmez, 1998; Ioannides & Apostolopoulos, 1999; Richter, 1999; Berno & King, 2001; Stafford, Yu & Armoo, 2002; Urry, 2002; Ritchie, 2009); among these, Sonmez (1998) comprehensively demonstrates the effects of diverse political events and terrorism on tourism. However, less attention has been paid specifically to the impact of political crises upon the tourism industry and how tourism trade organisations responded to them. A significant number of crisis and disaster tourism studies have been conducted at affected destinations; yet only a few have been conducted in tourist generating countries (Hall, 2012). This study agrees with Hall (1994), that to emphasise the value of an understanding of tourism and politics, and subsequently political instability and its related impacts (Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996) is highly important. Given the recent increase in international political conflicts, it is necessary to understand the effects of political crises on the tourism industry, in order for tourism organisations to be better prepared in future.

There have only been a small number of research studies into the impact of political crises within the context of tourism. Teye's 1988 study of a military coup's impact on the Ghanaian tourism industry found that frequent military coups impeded every facet of the country's socio-economic structure. Other studies include research by Schwartz (1991) on the case of Tibet during martial law, where tourists who witnessed violent demonstrations, in which the police killed civilians, were urged by local citizens to carry their message to the outside world. In China, the tourism industry suffered from the worldwide coverage of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and subsequent massacre (Gartner & Shen, 1992). Poirier (1997) studies political risks for Multi National Enterprise (MNE) investment and concluded that certain developments within a host country do pose a potential risk to tourism investment. Richter (1999) comments on how political instability disrupted the tourism industries of the Philippines, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Seddighi, Nuttall and Theocharous (2001) draw attention to the need for assessment, evaluation and analysis of the various relationships between political instability and the tourism industry with an emphasis on cultural background. Calvek (2002) studies the crisis behaviour of tour operators in Croatia, and concludes that there was always an

attempt to minimise the possible risk to clients. However, Sonmez (1998) is one of the very few researchers to conclude that risk perceptions among tourists might change after a destination has been chosen, and attain levels that could cause drastic changes in their subsequent travel behaviour.

A considerable number of researchers have examined the effects of war, and confirmed its wider impact on tourism. Teye (1986) demonstrates the effects of Zimbabwe's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on Zambia's tourism industry: Zimbabwe's war of liberation affected tourism in surrounding areas. Mansfeld (1999) suggests that tourists did not return immediately to the Middle East after the 1990-1991 Gulf War ended, because they had already booked holidays elsewhere.

Moreover, terrorism has profound impacts on the tourism industry, as illustrated by time-series analyses of the effects of terrorism, conducted by Enders, Praise and Sandler (1992) on the period between 1968 and 1988. Their study identified how the generalisation effect deters tourists from one country when its neighbour experiences terrorism. Tourism was also found to react to terrorism after a period of 6-9 months. Moreover, growing numbers of commentators on religious terrorism, such as Hipple (2002); and Krueger and Maleckova (2002), suggest that terrorist acts are often rooted in deep social, political and sometimes religious motives and confirm that the growth of religious terrorism worldwide appears to account for the increased severity of terrorist attacks.

Recent studies include the work of Cohen and Neal (2010) on the cumulative effects of Thailand's multiple economic and political crises on the Thai tourism industry. Moreover, Campiranon, Laws and Scott (2011) analysed how the Thai government responded very differently to the impact on the country's tourism industry of the 2004 Tsunami and the 2008 Bangkok airport closure crisis. They concluded that in the case of the 2004 Tsunami, the response benefited the tourism industry, while in the case of the 2008 Bangkok airport closure crisis; the response was detrimental to it.

Academic literature confirms that the tourism industry has suffered from various political crises such as war, coups, terrorism, strikes, riots and political unrest, which all impact the image of a destination. They cause re-orientation of tourist flows, and leave the affected destination suffering long after the crisis has abated, due to the negative image that is created. These incidents may also occur in direct response to tourism development. It is clear that for crisis management in these cases to be effective, detailed planning is required to compensate for both shortfalls in foreign demand and long recovery times after a crisis is over.

It emerges from the literature that the proportion of crisis management research that is focused on political crises is comparatively small and of that, very little is concerned with managing the effects of political crises in the tourism industry. Tourism is an increasingly significant economic sector, particularly in emerging countries; yet the industry as a whole is most vulnerable to political crises, which can bring dire consequences to regional and national economies. With fast internet communication and the magnifying effect of social media, even relatively minor incidents can be perceived as significant in tourist generating regions. This impact is heightened in the increasingly competitive tourism sector where tourists can readily alter their plans in favour of an alternative destination.

While the tourism industry is a victim rather than an actor in political crises, the judicious practice of crisis management can help the tourism industry mitigate the damage caused by political crises. Furthermore, failure to manage the effects of a political crisis may lead to organisational collapse that has broad ramifications on the economy as a whole due to loss of employment and disruption of public services. Therefore, the necessity of crisis management in cases of political crisis warrants this thesis.

1.2 Research parameters

Although crisis management study is highly important, it is necessary to delimit its scope in terms of this thesis. Various crises have affected the tourism industry tremendously and a large amount of such incidents have been studied. Because crisis management, as it pertains to political crises, remains largely under-researched, in order to frame this thesis, the literature review focuses on two issues; political crises and crisis management. Tourism crisis and disaster management have been considered to further develop the literature review and methodology. Regarding tourism crisis and disaster literature, a number of studies that deal with crises have been conducted within the context of natural disasters. This thesis is aimed squarely at political crises, their specific impacts and appropriate crisis management strategies.

Political crises clearly impact various stakeholders in both destinations and tourist generating regions. These stakeholders include tourists, governments and trade organisations (including tour operators, travel agents, destination organisations, and tourism consultants). However, the progression of the study into its primary research phase is limited to trade organisations that are based in generating regions. Academic literature confirms a lack of research being undertaken at generating regions. Most research has been conducted at destinations themselves. In terms of this study which deals with crisis management, it is important to understand how tourism stakeholders in a generating region, in this case the United Kingdom, respond to the effects of political crises.

Therefore, this study seeks to gain insight into trade perceptions and crisis management of political crises within the tourism industry. The development of research directions resulting from the integrated perspective of interviews with trade organisations will be outlined with a particular focus on crisis management and experience analysis. It is hoped that this will provide scope for a significant contribution to knowledge to be made by this study. To achieve this goal, five aims guide the research:

1.3 Aims

1. To analyse the concept of politics and crises with regards to tourism.
2. To evaluate the strategies for managing the effects of political crises.
3. To analyse trade organisations' perceptions of political crises and their effects on tourism.
4. To examine trade organisations' management responses to political crises.
5. To develop a framework of political crisis responses for the tourism industry.

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Following the introduction, two chapters present the study's literature review. Chapter 2 specifically focuses on political crises and the tourism industry, offering rich literature review of political crises and their impacts upon the industry. The chapter provides a full picture of this study by detailing crisis literature and political crises literature with regards to the tourism industry. Moreover, the importance of politics and tourism is discussed. The links between politics and tourism that are relevant to the tourism industry are those of political stability being a foundation for the tourism industry to flourish. Chapter 2 contains three main sections which discuss crisis, political crisis, and the impacts of political crises upon tourism. After these sections have been presented, the importance of considering political crises in the tourism industry is then examined.

In an attempt to gain insight of trade organizations' perceptions and their crisis management response toward the impacts of political crises, the rich crisis management literature is reviewed in Chapter 3. It covers various crisis strategies developed by a number of scholars for the tourism industry. Different approaches are detailed according to three main phases of a crisis. Those include pre-crisis phase, crisis phase, and post-crisis phase. Various crisis techniques and strategies are also contemplated, including quantitative strategies (e.g. forecasting, scenario, risk analysis) and qualitative strategies (e.g. interviews). The strengths and weaknesses of each crisis strategy are reviewed and the effectiveness of existing crisis management framework is further examined. The outcome of the reviews of

Chapters 2 and 3 are coupled to form the foundation of understanding crisis management for political crises in this study.

The methodology of the study is then detailed in Chapter 4. The research philosophy and approach that grounded this study along with the primary data collection are explained. As this research is grounded on interpretivism, inductive research and strategies are identified to achieve the aims of this research. Twenty interviews were conducted with tour operators, travel agents, destination organization, and tourism consultants. The procedures for the analysis of the data gathered are outlined and attention is paid to both quality issues and ethics in research.

Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate the findings of an analysis of this primary research. Chapter 5 specifically focuses on the impacts of political crises upon tourism organisations; important factors emerged such as sources of obtaining crisis information and the importance of destination image to stakeholder confidence. As an inductive study, both chapters exclude literature to structure or guide the analysis. Instead, differentiating themes that emerged from the interview data are taken into account. Different themes are formed including political crises' effects (e.g. perception, financial, the aftermath, coinciding, ripple, and spillover effects), stakeholder confidence (e.g. investor confidence and tourist confidence), and the sources of crisis information (e.g. tourism trade organizations, destination organizations, the media, ground operators). Chapter 6 provides crisis management strategies in accordance to four phases: mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery.

The analyses of the findings are detailed comprehensively in Chapter 7. A discussion ensues of the primary data analysis with regards to academic literature. The chapter presents a new model to classify political crises and the definition of political crises as it pertains to the tourism industry. This chapter also analyses the findings linked with tourism literature. Finally, a framework of political crisis responses is developed.

The thesis concludes in Chapter 8 when the contribution to knowledge offered by the study is articulated. There are two contributions: first is the framework of political crisis responses as presented in Chapter 7; second, a political crisis management framework is developed and concluded in Chapter 8. Its quality is evaluated using the standard identified in the methodology (Chapter 4), and the strengths and the limitations of the study are discussed. The thesis ends with recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: POLITICAL CRISES AND THE TOURSIM INDUSTRY

2.1 Introduction

Political crises have been the subject of reflection for decades, particularly since World War II. The definition of a political crisis varies between academic disciplines. This chapter provides the framework for the study, discussing relevant literature in order to better understand the idea of crises and political crises within the tourism industry. The first section examines the definition and classification of the term ‘crisis’. The second section discusses the relationship of crises to politics and tourism, and the definition and classification of political crises. The third section details various political crisis situations and their impacts on the tourism industry. The final section investigates political crises with regards to the tourism industry

2.2 The term ‘crisis’

There are many instances where the term ‘crisis’ is employed in everyday use of language to signify an occurrence or event that is usually unexpected, thus interrupting the normal pattern of living or business transactions. Since the late 1980s, there have been various schools of thought regarding the precise definition of the term ‘crisis’ (Keown-McMullan, 1997; Santana, 2004). This section serves to provide a discussion of the term ‘crisis’ and its classification in academic literature; it also examines how the term is applied to the area of politics within the context of tourism. Subsequently, political crises and related phenomena will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.1 ‘Crisis’ and ‘disaster’ – definitions

Before the term ‘crisis’ entered into vernacular languages the world over, “the word originated from the Greek word *krisis,* meaning to separate, to choose, to judge or to decide” (Koselleck & Richter, 2006, p. 358). From the seventeenth century, the term was used as a metaphor, expanding into politics, economics, history and psychology. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the term took on religious and theological connotations after its application to the events of the French and

American revolutions. Until the nineteenth century, the word crisis was used in everyday language in the areas of medicine, social science, economics and politics. For example, in medical terminology it defined a turning point between life and death during the course of an illness.

Since the Cuban Missile Crisis ushered in the politically charged decade of the 1960s, the term has been frequently used in politics. Scholars such as Binder, Coleman, LaPalombara, Pye, Verba, and Weiner were pioneer scholars who propounded the importance of crisis study. Their cumulative work *Crises and Sequences in Political Development* (1971) presented studies on a series of crises which nations must face in the process of political development and was highly debated amongst scholars (Holt & Turner, 1975).

Scholars of each decade have made attempts to define the meaning of the term crisis; however it is clear that the definition varies between the different fields of knowledge and its application in various disciplines. For example, in the area of business management, a crisis is a turning point of an organisation, for better or worse (Fink, 1986, 2000). In some research disciplines, the original meaning from the Greek, 'to decide' has still been applied (Glaesser, 2003). This section looks at how the term 'crisis' has been applied in different research areas and the evolution of the term's popularity since the 1960s.

In the 1970s, Verba was amongst a small number of scholars who suggested the definition of crisis as "a change that requires some governmental innovation and institutionalization if elites are not seriously to risk a loss of their position or if the society is to survive" (1971, p. 302). The definition of crisis suggested by Verba (1971) has been applied widely by scholars of political and economic disciplines. Subsequently, the term was introduced to behaviour research and its definition in the field suggests that "a crisis was characterised by three factors: high threat, a short amount of time to make a decision and an element of surprise" (Hermann, 1972, p. 14). The work of Hermann (1972) in *International Crises: Insights from Behaviour Research* attracted scholars to explore the definition of this term for the following 20 years.

In the late 1980s, the term ‘crisis’ was introduced for cases including Union Carbide’s Bhopal disaster (1984) in India, the Tylenol poisonings (1982) and the Ohio bank failures (1985) in the United States. Fink (1986) offered his comprehensive crisis management handbook, which remains widely regarded as a point of reference. In it, he concludes that a ‘crisis’ is:

> “any prodromal situation that runs the risk of: (i) escalating in intensity, (ii) falling under close media or government scrutiny, (iii) interfering with the normal operations of business, (iv) jeopardizing the positive public image presently enjoyed by a company or its officers, and (v) damaging a company’s bottom line in any way” (p. 15).

In the work, Fink also introduced an application of crisis management for organisations and further suggested that organisations should prepare for crisis situations. The work of Fink (1986) provides more recent scholars a foundation for the study of crisis management.

Given that this study looks into political crisis management for the tourism industry, the definitions of the term ‘crisis’ in relation to management practices have been examined in this chapter. For several decades, a number of scholars have attempted to define a crisis to help improve our understanding of this phenomenon. The term’s definition ranges from the simple “turning points in organisational life” (Regester, 1989 p. 38) to more complex, detailed definitions. Pauchant and Mitroff (1992) provide a comprehensive definition of ‘crisis’, proposing a continuum that begins with an incident; continues with an accident; follows with a conflict; and ultimately ends with a crisis – the most serious form of disruption. In this context, Pauchant and Mitroff (1992) suggest that a crisis is a “disruption that physically affects a system as a whole and threatens its basic assumptions, its subjective sense of self, and its existential core” (p. 15).

Darling (1994) concludes that what defines a crisis in international business depends on a number of variables: the nature of the event, the importance of the issue to

foreign and local governments, the impact on other firms and industries, etc. He further elaborates on the term, offering the feelings of panic, fear, danger or shock.

Another perspective of the term 'crisis' is that it reflects a negative event, as suggested by Barton who states that "a crisis is an incident that is unexpected, negative, and overwhelming" (2001, p. 2). Fern-Banks (1996) likewise supports this idea that a crisis serves as a negative event; the authors define a 'crisis' as "a major occurrence with a potentially negative outcome affecting an organisation, company, or industry, as well as the public, products, services or the good name of people or services" (p. 1). Thus, a crisis is a circumstance that interrupts normal business transactions and can potentially threaten the existence of an organisation.

Mitroff and Anagnos (2001) define a crisis as "an event that affects or has the potential to affect the whole organisation. Thus if something affects only a small, isolated part of an organisation, it may not be a major crisis. In order for a major crisis to occur, it must exact a significant toll on human lives, property, financial earnings, reputation, or general health and well-being of an organisation" (p. 34-35).

Although most scholars (Seeger, Sellnow & Ulmer, 1998; Coombs, 1999; Barton, 2001) have suggested that the term crisis is represented as a negative outcome, there remains some debate over the perceived negative or positive connotation of the term. For instance, the Chinese word for crises is a combination of two words, *wei* and *ji*, compounding the words 'danger' and 'opportunity'. Scholars who agree with this nuanced concept include Fink (1986) and Davies and Walter (1998), who suggest that a crisis can be a turning point for better or worse. Friedman (2002) also concurs that "[a] crisis is not necessarily a bad thing; it may be a radical change for good as well as bad" (p. 5). In fields of application such as political science and communication research, the term does assume largely negative connotations; in other contexts, such as economics and investment, the term can have a positive meaning (de Sausmarez, 2003). Whether a crisis is viewed as positive or negative will depend on the values associated with the outcome. The unifying feature of these various definitions of the term crisis, then, is the presence of unpredictability as outcomes may emerge that can be interpreted as either positive or negative.

As natural disasters of recent decades have impacted the tourism industry, a growing awareness of crisis study has emerged with the term ‘crisis’ and ‘disaster’ applied to the area of study. Faulkner (2001), Ritchie (2003), and Shaluf, Ahmadun, and Said (2003) seek to differentiate between ‘crisis’ and ‘disaster’. This distinction eliminates confusion between the concepts of disaster and crisis that can otherwise occur, especially where a crisis situation may arise as a direct result of a disaster (Ritchie, 2009). Parker (1992) reviews the concept of disaster and suggests that the preferred definition is an unusual natural or man-made event, including an event caused by failure of technological systems, which temporarily overwhelms the response capacity of human communities, groups of individuals or natural environments and which causes massive damage, economic loss, disruption, injury, and/or loss of life. Ritchie (2009) likewise asserts that profound psychological aspects can be associated with disasters and crises. According to PATA (2003), a crisis can be defined as:

> “Any situation that has the potential to affect long-term confidence in an organization or a product, or which may interfere with its ability to continue operating normally” (p. 2).

According to Zamecka and Buchanan (2000), a disaster is defined as:

> “A catastrophic event that severely disrupts the fabric of a community and requires the intervention of the various levels of government to return the community to normality” (p. 8).

Examples of such defined disasters include the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and Tsunami, the 2011 Christchurch earthquake, the 2011 earthquake off of the Pacific coast of Tohoku, and the 2010 and 2011 Queensland floods. The term ‘disaster’ is also described as “unpredictable catastrophic change that can normally only be responded to after the event, either by deploying contingency plans already in place or through reactive response” (Prideaux, Laws & Faulkner, 2003, p. 478). Events of this nature may occur regularly but remain unpredictable in terms of frequency, intensity and location.

Crises may include life-threatening incidents, product recalls and environmental damage (Bland, 1998). Service-based sectors, such as tour operating, trade predominantly in the international arena and thus rely to a large extent upon customer goodwill. These sectors are particularly vulnerable to the effects of crises such as those that arise from terrorist incidents (Evans & Elphick, 2005). However, in contrast to disasters, crises may offer some scope for prediction based on analysis of the causes of previous crises and the predictability of similar future problems. (Prideaux et al., 2003).

Faulkner (2001) is one of the very few researchers who view the principal distinction between a crisis and a disaster as the extent to which the situation is attributable to the organisation itself or originating from outside the organisation. Thus, he views a crisis as a situation "where the root cause of an event is, to some extent, self-inflicted through such problems as inept management structures and practices or a failure to adapt to change", while a disaster can be defined as "where an enterprise is confronted with sudden unpredictable catastrophic changes over which it has little control" (Faulkner, 2001, p. 136).

From the preceding discussion, a crisis or disaster is likely to damage or diminish the reputation of an organisation, its products or services and even a tourist destination.

A wide variety of disciplinary interests are represented in the use of the term 'crisis', including all areas of politics, society and the economy. This prompts Glaesser (2003) to complain that the term is often misinterpreted. This study supports Preble's (1997) idea that the term 'crisis' has been employed in different areas of research and the use of the term varies depending upon the context and the research's discipline.

Given these numerous definitions, it is clear that its adoption and usage varies by research discipline. Due to the frequency of crisis incidents, the popularity of the term has seen a dramatic increase in recent decades. From the Bhopal tragedy in 1984 and the Luxor Massacre (1997), the September 11 attacks (2001), the Tsunami

(2004), the Arab Spring (2010 – 2011), the 2011 Japan tsunami, to the Egypt protests (2010 – 2013), it is clear that crisis study warrants the attention of tourism research.

2.2.2 Classification of crises

This section discusses different types of crises with regards to academic literature and the various classifications suggested by a number of scholars. The section outlines a classification of crises in the broader context, which subsequently leads to the political type of crisis considered in this study.

Crises are commonly classified into two categories: human-induced and naturally occurring (de Sausmarez, 2007). Human-induced crises, as their name suggests, are those that are the consequence of human activity in the development of technology or industrial evolution where mismanagement has occurred, thus causing a crisis situation. Such human-induced crises can stem from the activities of people, society, organisations or government. Examples include the Tylenol poisoning in 1982, the Bhopal industrial accident in 1984, the Lockerbie bombing in 1988, the Luxor Massacre in 1997, the Asian financial crisis of 1997, the September 11 attacks in 2001, the prolonged Thai protests between 2008 and 2010, and the 2013 haze that plagued Southeast Asia.

Shrivastava (1993) argues that industrial crises like the Bhopal industrial accident do not stem primarily from technological problems, but rather are the result of organisational, social and political failings. Similarly, it can be argued that competitive pressure on business and industry leads to increased frequency of human error while greater media visibility (the motivation for many terrorist attacks) leads to increased levels of terrorism.

On the subject of economic and technological development, Hall (2010) argues that the effects of crises are likely to increase in terms of both size and frequency as tourism becomes increasingly hypermobile and the global economy ever more interconnected. The literature confirms that human-induced crises are likely to occur

more frequently with potentially more profound effects on economies due to the development of international tourism and transportation along with the increased visibility of remote events facilitated by digital media.

Natural crises, on the other hand, are those events occurring as a consequence of natural activities or climate change. Such crises include floods, earthquakes, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions. Worldwide, they account for more than a million deaths annually while causing major economic loss, social upheaval and other disruption. Recent natural crises include the 2011 earthquake off of the Pacific coast of Tohoku which claimed the lives of 15,883 people; the February 2011 Christchurch earthquake, one of New Zealand's deadliest peacetime disasters that killed 185 people; and the Swine Flu pandemic of 2009 and 2010. While not causing death, the 2010 volcanic eruptions of Eyjafjallajokull in Iceland brought major disruption to air travel across western and northern Europe while causing significant economic damage to the aviation and tourism industries.

Another consideration is the multiple crises caused by a succession of events including natural and human-induced. Recently, this was evidenced in Japan in 2011 when a tsunami resulted from an earthquake causing damage to the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant complex and releasing radioactive gas into the atmosphere. Following this string of events, a Japanese National Police Agency report confirmed 15,883 deaths, 6,144 injuries and 2,676 missing persons. The report estimated losses ranging from US $14.5 to $34.6 billion. This series of events exemplifies the importance of considering the escalating impact of multiple crises in succession.

According to Coombs (1999) and Ritchie (2009), crises can be classified both as large-scale disasters and small-scale crises such that happen within organisations. Coombs (1999) asserts that crises can range from organisational issues (including staff illness, staff challenges and breakdowns, malevolence, and organisational misdeeds) to external factors and natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods and fires which often impact the broader environment. Some scholars (Coombs, 1999; Alderighi & Cento, 2004; Evans & Elphick, 2005) focus on the study of crises at the

organisational level, whereas most (e.g. Faulkner, 2001; Ritchie, 2009) argue that such challenges are simply a normal part of strategic management. Unlike these organizational crises, larger human-induced crises and natural disasters can affect the viability of an organisation or destination, thus requiring careful handling by management.

Crises have been classified in various ways. For example, the Siomkos study (1992), which assessed responses to industrial crises, classified crisis events into discreet and continuous. The former gives very little warning and creates a massive impact (such as an earthquake, volcanic eruption, flash flood, tsunami, cyclone and terrorist events). In contrast, continuous crises evolve over a relatively long time period with the ultimate impact appearing in later stages. Recent scholars have subsequently applied this viewpoint to natural crises or disasters in which the events were continuous and the impacts evolve over an extended period of time.

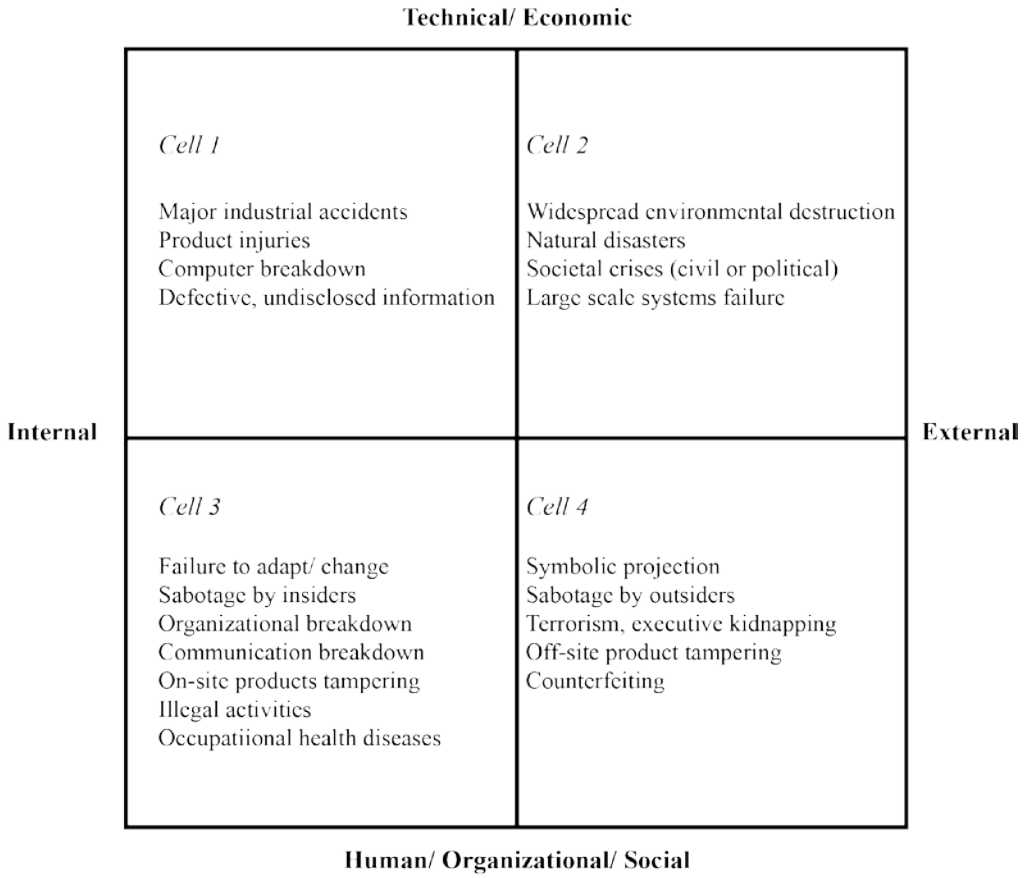
Booth (1993) classifies crises according to their intensities: gradual, periodic threat and sudden threat. Coombs' (1995) classification focuses on stakeholders' perceptions of the crisis based on whether the cause of the crisis is internal or external and results from intentional or unintentional acts. Parsons (1996) identifies three types of crises: immediate crises with little or no warning; emerging crises which develop slowly and may be stopped or limited by organisational action; and sustained crises which may last over several weeks or months. Seymour and Moors (2000) suggest that crises are of two types: the 'cobra' and the 'python', according to the way in which they develop.

It is clear that scholars have attempted to classify crises in accordance with their usefulness in their research and specifically to their areas. While crises have been classified as internal and external by Coombs (1995) and Ocal, Oral, and Erdis (2006), this classification concerns how organisations can control the causes of those crises. External causes are those that organisations have little or no control over; these are typically related to economic, political or legal factors, or natural disasters. The bombing in Bali in 2002 is an example of an external crisis. Conversely, the internal category includes those events that organisations have direct control over;

they are generally related to the management of the organisation's own resources. Staff challenge crises are an example of this.

The crisis classification suggested by Shrivastava and Mitroff (1987) has been recently cited by scholars to divide crises into those caused by internal forces and those caused by external influences. The nature of the crisis can be divided into either technical/ economic failures, or failures in human/ organisational/ social processes. Figure 2.1 from Shrivastava and Mitroff (1987) illustrates how various triggering events may be classified.

Figure 2.1 Crisis classification matrix



Source: Shrivastava and Mitroff (1987, p. 7)

Cell 1 includes technical or economic failure in the internal environment. This cell includes the Bhopal crisis and Chernobyl. Cell 2 includes technical or economic failure in the external environment. This cell includes natural disasters, political crises, or hostile takeovers. Cell 3 involves the consequences of human error within the organisation. These problems often result from poor communication or organisational misdeeds. Finally, Cell 4 includes adverse reaction to the organisation from external forces. This includes external sabotage, product hampering and terrorism.

Shaluf et al. (2003) examine the various crisis classifications. The authors support Quarantelli (1988), agreeing that crises can be classified into community and non-community events. Community crises include crises that result from natural disasters, industrial crisis resulting from socio-technical disaster, and non-industrial crisis resulting from conflict, political and non-conflict type crises. Non-community crises include transportation accidents which do not impact the functioning of the community.

More recently, Hall (2010), in his content analysis of the CABI Leisure Tourism abstract database on crises between 1977 – 2010, demonstrates that the majority of research in tourism on crises concentrates on economic and financial crises from the total of 712 crisis research publications. Hall demonstrates crises in different forms including tourism, financial, economic, environmental, ecological, biodiversity, energy, oil, political and water. Interestingly, he comments further on when a crisis can be recognised. An event that affects tourism gradually, without attracting media or political attention but significant nonetheless from a scientific perspective, does not constitute a significant crisis for tourism. An example of such an issue is the climate crisis.

A number of scholars have attempted to develop typologies of crises in order to help in developing management responses as summarised and illustrated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Typology of crises, their characteristics and some examples

Type of crises	Characteristics	Examples
Financial crisis	When financial assets suddenly lose a large part of their nominal value. Associated with banking crises, recessions, currency crises.	-Asian financial crisis between 1997-8 - Stock market crash 1987
Economic crisis	Ranging from global and national recessions, to regional recessions.	- Economy slowdown after September 11, 2001
Environmental crisis	When an organisation or destination is damaged as a result of weather, 'acts of god', human influence or a combination of the above. Examples include earthquakes, tornadoes, floods, hurricanes, avalanches, fires or bad storms.	-UK foot and mouth outbreak in 2001 -SARS epidemic -Katherine flood (Australia) -Austrian Alps avalanche -Tsunami in 2004
Ecological crisis	When an environment, species a population changes in a way that destabilises its continued survival such as an increase of temperature, less rainfall, or population crisis.	-Climate change
Biodiversity crisis	Endangered species or extinction.	-Ivory smuggling
Energy crisis	Supply crisis causing price increases such as an oil crisis. When the price of oil increases due to shortage of oil supply.	-Argentine energy crisis in 2004 -Central Asia energy crisis in 2008 -1973 oil crisis -1990 oil price shock
Political crisis	The tourism industry and tourists are often indirect victims of such crises but can be specifically targeted in some cases. Examples can range from international wars, civil war, coups, terrorism, riots and political and social unrest.	-Gulf war 1991 and Iraq War 2003 -Sri Lanka Civil war -Fiji coups -Luxor massacre -September attacks in 2001
Water crisis	Problems generated by water scarcity and misuse.	-Potable water shortage in Bangladesh
Organisational crisis	Specific, unexpected, and non-routine events or series of events that [create] high levels of uncertainty and threat or perceived threat to an organisation's high priority goals.	-Bribery or price fixing -Enron, WorldCom -Sexual harassment by staff -Rape or violence against hotel guests -Rumours of second terrorist attack after American Airlines plane crashes after September 11, 2001

Source: Modified after Coombs (1999, p. 61 – 62), Hall (2010, p. 407 – 408), Seeger, Sellnow & Ulmer (1998), and Ritchie (2009, p. 28 – 29)

According to Hall (2010), the number of studies that examine crises in the tourism industry illustrate that a few areas including ecological, biodiversity, political and water crises are currently underdeveloped. In particular, Hall argues that an underexplored topic in tourism is that of political crises and instability. Even with a substantial amount of literature on the effects of terrorism on tourism, the issue is generally explored more in terms of economics and marketing rather than within a broader political science framework (Sonmez, Apostolopoulos & Tarlow, 1999).

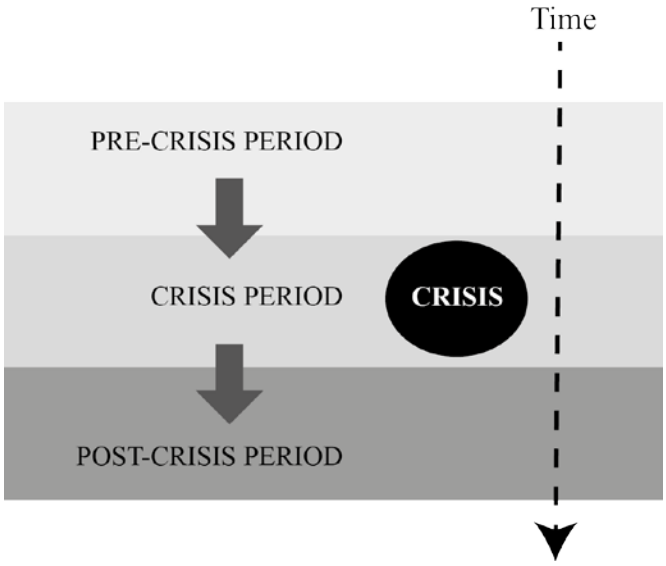
The management of each type of crisis varies and this has implications for the development of a crisis management strategy. Regardless of the type of crisis, it is believed that most usually affect an organisation or tourist destination negatively. The crises focused on by this study are human-induced or political crises.

Having discussed the different types of crises, it appears that within tourism literature there is a scarcity of political crisis studies, and that this area is in need of more attention. Therefore this study looks comprehensively into political crises within the context of tourism study.

2.2.3 The stages of a crisis

This section demonstrates the stages of a crisis as it occurs. The stages of a crisis are important in this study because clear definitions of these help scholars develop crisis management strategies in order to best handle situations in future. It is generally accepted that there are three distinct phases within the process of crisis management; namely a pre-crisis period, a period of crisis impact, and finally a period of recovery (Cohen & Ahearn, 1980; Raphael, 1986; Smith, 1990). This process is illustrated in chronological order as a vertical linear progression, shown in Figure 2.2. The figure starts with the initial pre-crisis period which is then followed by the crisis itself and culminates in the post-crisis period.

Figure 2.2 The stages of a crisis



Source: Adopt from de Sausmarez (2003, p.219)

Figure 2.2 divides the crisis into three stages (de Sausmarez, 2003, p. 219). Intervention at any stage may be termed crisis management, the aim of which is to prevent the crisis from happening or to alleviate its effects. This sub-section examines the broader concept of crisis stages; the next chapter will discuss in detail various crisis management models and areas of knowledge added to each stage of crisis management.

The pre-crisis stage varies the most in length; it can range from an extended period of time to such a truncated period as to be virtually non-existent. As an example, protesters gathered for a week before the 2011 Egyptian protests spiralled into a crisis. There is also a wide variance in outward appearance during the pre-crisis stage that ranges from a state of apparent normalcy to the beginnings of catastrophe. From a management perspective, the pre-crisis stage offers the most time for executives and managers to integrate a crisis mitigation plan to reduce risk or put early warning systems in place. The most effective time for intervention is during the pre-crisis stage when effective crisis management may delay or cease escalation of the event. It is, therefore, necessary to implement a system whereby early warning systems are able to detect an imminent crisis so that its threat may be acknowledged, a team prepared and strategy implemented to mitigate the damage.

If a crisis is swift to develop from continuous to discrete, as in the crisis definition suggested by Siomkos (1992), and there is little warning, the pre-crisis stage may not exist. Such is the case of earthquakes. Furthermore, even if warning signals are detected, there may not be enough time to deal effectively with the situation (as in the case of the tsunami warning in Japan in 2011). Nonetheless, Fink (1986) suggests that awareness is a positive factor and allows stakeholders the opportunity to prepare, curb escalation or prevent a crisis altogether.

The next stage, the crisis itself, may last a comparatively short or long time depending upon the situation; there may be different outcomes that can be accomplished through intervention during this period (de Sausmarez, 2003). In the case of the Luxor Massacre in 1997, there was neither a pre-crisis stage nor stage of intervention. In contrast, the Sri Lankan Civil War exemplified a long crisis stage, thus allowing the region to prepare and implement a strategy to cope with the situation and mitigate some of the negative effects. Nevertheless, the longer the crisis stage extends, the greater the damage to the tourism industry.

Regardless of the potential duration of a future crisis situation, it is considered imperative to implement a short-term plan that limits immediate damage. In a corporate context, Booth (1993) suggests that a lack of strategic planning lies at the root of an organisation's inability to cope with a crisis event. He confirms the reluctance of organisations to invest in crisis management planning until conclusive evidence is available that there is a problem. Inevitably, such situations will have an impact but the key to effective crisis management is to control as much of this stage as possible by reducing the speed and intensity of it. The former depends on the type of crisis, the latter on the severity or impact of the possible outcome.

Finally, the post-crisis stage like its predecessors may span a considerable period of time, from the moment the event unfolds until the situation is resolved (Meyers & Holusha, 1986). The immediate and negative impact of the crisis is followed by uncertainty, which in turn gives rise to radical change in external factors such as media image. This has direct ramifications on a tourist destination and the risk perceived by potential tourists. Radical change plays an important role; if the

situation were to remain unchanged, the crisis would continue. Thus, effective management of tourism crises depends upon factors such as the availability of reliable contingency plans and funds, the level and type of public and private sector cooperation, and the concerted efforts to change the situation by all tourism stakeholders (Mansfeld, 1999). During the post-crisis phase, image rebuilding and recovery begins and the process of crisis communication becomes critical.

Given that tourist destinations can be easily and readily substituted by prospective travellers, crisis-hit regions are usually left with the long, arduous and expensive task of rebuilding their image while regaining the trust of travellers. The ability to cope with the crisis situation and attract tourists back to a destination is largely dependent on the post-crisis period. The post-crisis stage may last for a long period of time; it also depends upon the level of strategic cooperation between all tourism stakeholders and is followed by a crisis recovery stage.

This section addresses the stages of a crisis in the broader context. However, various crisis management models and crisis management strategies according to each stage will be discussed comprehensively in the next chapter.

2.3 Political crisis

Political crises such as the Mumbai attacks (2008), the prolonged Thai protests (2008-2010), the Libyan Revolution (2011), the Tunisian demonstrations (2011), and the Egyptian protests (2010 – 2013) have profoundly impacted the tourism industry. As posited by Hall (1994), harm caused to tourism by crises may be physical, such as damage caused from a hurricane to infrastructure or loss of life from an earthquake. However, such natural crises do not have the lasting and devastating impact associated with political instability, war, civil unrest, or terrorist attacks. Such crisis situations lead to more negative consequences than natural disasters, which can be traced back to inevitable causes (Smyth, 1986; Santana, 2001).

Despite this, the literature review confirms that the study of the effects of political crises upon the tourism industry is still underexplored (Hall, 2010). The key area

examined by this study is political crises. Importantly, this study aims to explore political crises and their effects on the tourism industry and to subsequently develop a political crisis management framework for the tourism industry. Therefore, this sub-section explores the definitions of political crises along with the types of political crises. However, each distinct type of political crisis and its associated impacts upon the tourism industry will be examined comprehensively in the next section. The final sub-section examines political concepts as they relate to the tourism industry.

2.3.1 Political crisis definitions

The preceding section discussed comprehensively the ways in which scholars have defined the term 'crisis'. It is significant that little analysis has been done in the literature on the term 'political crisis', and that the terms 'political instability' and 'political violence' have been given more attention by scholars. Thus, the term 'political crisis' requires further clarification for the purpose of this study. This study recognises the importance of political crises and their effects upon the tourism industry. Therefore, this sub-section reviews past tourism literature as it relates to this area.

Politics is concerned with the exercise of power and influence in a society, and with making specific decisions regarding public policy. Lasswell (1936, as cited in Hall 1994, p. 2) states that "politics is about power, who gets what, where, how and why". In some political systems, politics also encompasses the electoral process, the policies of political parties, issue agendas, political ideologies, beliefs, values and philosophies. However, the definition of politics in relation to this study is not concerned with political parties and elections and their influence on tourism policy although this is, of course, an aspect of the politics of tourism. Rather, the attention of this investigation focuses on the political context and the area of political crises within the tourism industry.

Before the term 'political crisis' is examined, it is necessary to understand the definitions of political violence and instability and their relationship to political

crises. Neumayer (2004) asserts that violence refers to the exercise of physical force with the intention to harm the welfare or physical integrity of the victim. Political violence, thereby, is the exercise of such force that is politically motivated and can be exercised by government or anti-government groups. Neumayer (2004) adds that political violence is regarded as an essential ingredient of the somewhat broader notion of political instability.

However there is no common agreement upon a definition of instability itself, and much of what exists focuses on relating it to democracy (Chilcote, 1981). A regime can be defined as stable when it is "durable, violence and turmoil are limited and the leaders stay in office for several years" (Wilson, 1996, p. 25). By contrast, Cook (1990) defines instability as a situation where a government "has been toppled, or is controlled by factions following a coup, or where basic functional pre-requisites for social-order control and maintenance are unstable and periodically disrupted" (p. 14). Poirier (1997) adds further that instability implies constant and unpredictable change and disruption to the established political order, including by external parties which use illegitimate tactics. Zimmermann (1983) comments that many authors equate political violence with political instability, without acknowledging the fact that the two phenomena are separated both theoretically and empirically. However, Neumayer (2004) contends that political instability normally goes hand in hand with political violence.

On the association between political instability and political violence, Hall and O'Sullivan (1996) argue that both political instability and political violence can impact tourism where the effects of political violence can be either direct or incidental and may have repercussions far beyond the immediate location in which the violence occurs. Political instability can greatly affect local tourism economies. Hall and O'Sullivan (1996) suggest the definition of political instability as:

> "A situation in which conditions and mechanisms of governance and rule are challenged as to their political legitimacy by elements operating from outside of the normal operations of the political system. When challenge occurs from within a political system and the system is able to adapt and

> change to meet demands on it, it can be said to be stable. When forces for change are unable to be satisfied from within a political system and then use such non-legitimate activities as protest, violence, or even civil war to seek change, then a political system can be described as being unstable" (p. 106).

As is evident, a lack of clarity exists in academic literature when it seeks to define the term 'political crisis'. Zimmerman (1983) suggests that political crises are either those of political parties or constitutional crises, which may occur simply for political reasons. Zimmermann (1983) is among the few who suggest that "political crises are a wider sense than government crises; they call for and possibly lead to substantial changes in policies or the political order, not merely a replacement of personnel" (p. 189). He adds that some forms of political crisis were the consequences of economic or societal crises, as seen in the 1970 riots in Poland where an economic crisis immediately led to a political one. Hall (1994) asserts that a destination's political instability can lead to such political crises. Yet, little effort has been made to define the term 'political crisis' with reference to the tourism industry.

This study focuses on the external issue of political stability. Whilst accepting that politics is concerned with the exercise of power and influence in a society, and specifically with decisions over public policy (Hall, 1994), the value of understanding the interplay between tourism and politics, and consequently the related impact of political instability, is emphasised in this study. For clarity, the definition of political crises used in this study is that offered by Zimmerman (1983), Hall (1994), and Hall & O'Sullivan (1996) as:

> "Any sudden or unpredictable incidents originated from the country's instability of political institution or of the party system, where its impacts are disruptive to the economy, such as damage to the infrastructure or facilities and loss of life. As a consequence of this incident, it might include negative media coverage; damage to the image of an area; loss of visitor or investor confidence; a decrease in tourist

> numbers and the resultant loss of revenue and market share; and economic downturn. In response to the political crisis, a crisis management needs to be implemented to restore the confidence of stakeholders".

From the preceding discussion, the complexity of the term 'political crisis' is such that it can be used to refer to an internal political issue that may have only a small degree of resonance for the tourism industry, such as the formation of a coalition government in the United Kingdom. Equally, the tourism industry can suffer more directly from an internal conflict between opposing parties, such as the events in Thailand in 2010. Given the important roles and perspectives of national and international stakeholders, it is essential to determine whether, and how, political crises affect the tourism industry. This study looks in detail at political crises, their impact, and how important it is for the tourism industry to understand political crisis phenomena.

2.3.2 Typology of political crises

The previous section examined various ways in which crises have been classified. This sub-section examines specifically political crises and their classifications relevant to the tourism industry. With regards to previous political crisis study, a number of scholars have attempted to classify different types of political crises. However, each scholar has applied different techniques to such classification in order to fit with their research purposes. Beirman (2003) uses the degree of severity, measured by the DESTCON scale, to classify each crisis according to the degree of severity. It should be noted that classifying crises or political crises is necessary to assess the level of impact so that effective crisis management strategies can then be implemented.

Hall and O'Sullivan (1996) classify different types of political instability by classifying the nature of each incident such as wars, civil wars, coups, acts of terrorism, riots, political unrest, and strikes. More recently, the comprehensive work of Mansfeld and Pizam (2006) titled *Tourism, Security and Safety: from Theory to*

Practice, identifies four types of security situations including crime-related incidents, terrorism, war, and civil or political unrest.

According to Hall and O'Sullivan (1996), political instability occurs in a number of forms which they classify according to specific events. The five basic types of political crisis were first introduced by Lea and Small (1988) and include wars, coups, terrorism, riots and strikes. Subsequently, an additional type, political unrest, was added by Hall and O'Sullivan (1996). Henderson (2007) suggests further that corruption could be added to the list. The most commonly used classification of political instability is that of Hall and O'Sullivan (1996), which is highly regarded and applied to various political instability and terrorism studies (Sonmez, 1998; Ritchie, 2003). Examples of these different types of political instability are illustrated in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Dimensions of political instability

Dimension	Examples
International war	Iraqi invasion of Kuwait had massive impact on international travel.
Civil wars	Sri Lanka Civil War had massive impact on tourism.
Coups	The 2006 coup in Thailand had a severe impact on visitor numbers.
Terrorism	The Bali bombings in 2002 and the September attacks in 2011 had severely affected tourism for a longer period.
Riots/ political protests/ social unrest	Political protests of the Arab Spring in 2011 caused disruption to the tourism industry.
Strikes	The Lufthansa strike in 2012 had substantial impacts on transport networks.

Source: Modified after Hall and O'Sullivan (1996, p. 109)

According to the Beirman 2003 study, crises have been classified according to a military context through global armed forces in relation to levels of readiness. The United States Armed Forces classify by defence conditions, known as DEFCON. The scale ascends from DEFCON 5, the lowest state of readiness, to DEFCON 1 as

the situation becomes increasingly severe. DEFCON 1, therefore, represents the expectation of an imminent nuclear attack, and has never actually been declared.

Beirman's (2003) study on the impacts of crises applied the DEFCON model to his DESTCON scale in order to assess impact to allow for the development of crisis recovery strategies. DESTCON 1, maximum force readiness, is a crisis that has widespread global or regional repercussions on tourism. The September 11 attacks are an example of DESTCON 2, increased force readiness, which includes widespread terrorism, natural disasters, disease or widespread disorder in which the safety of tourists is under measurable threat. DESTCON 3, increased force readiness, includes major problems within identifiable regions in the destination, which are well publicised and present a credible threat to tourists the area. Such events include the Port Arthur Massacre and the Fiji military coup. DESTCON 4 refers to situations that arise during peacetime which warrant increased intelligence and strengthened security measures, including isolated problems within a destination, such as crime or low-level political disturbances. Lastly, DESTCON 5 situations also occur during peacetime and present a minimal perceived threat to a destination.

Table 2.3 DESTCON scale

DESTCON 5	Normal marketing conditions
DESTCON 4	Normal, increased intelligence and strengthened marketing measures
DESTCON 3	Increase in marketing readiness, above normal readiness
DESTCON 2	Further increase in marketing readiness, less than maximum readiness
DESTCON 1	Maximum crisis marketing conditions

Source: Beirman (2003, p. 19-20)

The crisis classification suggested by Beirman (2003) is not applicable to this study due to the unpredictable nature of political crises, as it is often only possible to define the degree of severity after a political crisis has occurred. This narrows the scope of crisis management to crisis recovery strategies which can only be

implemented according to degree of severity after the crisis has occurred. Moreover, the types of political crisis situations such as coups, strikes, riots, and terrorism, need be defined clearly because this can affect management approaches in responding to the effects of political crises.

Although there exist a number of ways in which to classify political crises, some scholars suggest classification in terms of activity such as wars, civil wars, coups, terrorism, riots, political unrest, strikes and corruption (Lea & Small, 1988; Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996; Henderson, 2007). A few researchers identify political crises according to the degree of their impact, such as the DESTCON scale used in Beirman's study (2003). In a broader context, Mansfeld and Pizam (2006) introduced a typology of tourism security concepts from those that have substantial influence on the potential impact of a crisis on tourism. The four types of security incident are crime-related, terrorism, war, and civil or political unrest.

As a result of the literature review, this section reviews existing types and classifications of political crises. This study examines the importance of studying political crises with regards to Hall and O'Sullivan's (1996) classification. Various political crisis situations including international wars, civil wars, coups, terrorism, riots, political protests, social unrest, and strikes will be discussed in detail. Their impact on the tourism industry will also be assessed.

2.3.3 Politics and tourism

As this study concerns political crises, the role of politics in relation to tourism should be addressed. In the late 1970s, Matthews (1975) conceded that "the literature of tourism is grossly lacking of political research" (p. 195). Richter (1983) agreed, further arguing that political science has failed to address one of the most novel and contemporary political phenomena by not taking tourism seriously. For the past decade there have only been a handful of scholars (Richter, 1983; Matthews & Richter, 1991; Hall, 2002) who have comprehensively studied the political dimensions of tourism. Hall (1994) concluded that there was little research on these areas of tourism, political science and policy studies. More recently, he maintained

that one of the topics relatively underdeveloped in tourism studies is that of political crises and instability (Hall, 2010).

It is inevitable that politics exert a large influence on tourism development for tourism destinations (Richter, 1983). Major influences of politics on tourism include international relations, public administration and public policies. As tourism plays a major role in influencing international relations, in the international arena (where most relations between nations have a political component) it is inevitable that tourism development will have strong political implications (Richter, 1983). Richter notes that most nations base their policies toward foreign tourists on both the anticipated length of stay and the degree of international cooperation existing between the two countries. For example, the United Kingdom requires no visa from citizens of Malaysia but it does require visas from citizens of other countries in the neighbouring region including Thailand, Indonesia, and Vietnam. Thailand similarly shows its motivations to promote tourism by waiving visa application fees for citizens of South Korea, Peru and Brazil. Reciprocating, South Korea, Peru and Brazil likewise do not require visas from visiting citizens of Thailand.

The visa factor is one of the fundamental mechanics used to boost tourism to a particular country. Korea, for instance, is still the major outbound destination market for Thai tourists due to the short distance between the two countries, the availability of low-cost airlines and the absence of visa requirements. Government leaders accordingly perceive tourism as a political bridge between nations. Another important consideration suggested by Richter (1983) is that tourism politics have been largely overlooked by political science even though relations between individual countries by means of multinational corporations such as hotel chains, airlines, tour companies, and credit facilities are of tremendous political importance; many have more financial assets than any other industry in their respective countries. The ramifications of this extend to financing, managing, and controlling the tourism industry in such countries.

From the public administration perspective, the efficiency of public services has a significant effect on tourism. This can be crucial to those destinations regularly

affected by political crises. Public administration likewise plays a major role in the recovery period of a crisis. In normal circumstances, aspects such as crime levels, friendliness of residents, safe roads, and aesthetics are examples that illustrate how well-monitored public administrated tourism development can influence tourist satisfaction (Richter, 1983).

By manipulating visas, currency regulations, internal access, and export and import procedures, public policy directly affects tourism and controls the numbers of tourists as well as their spending. The OECD (2006, cited in Laws, Richins, Agrusa, & Scott, 2011, p. 2) advocates a whole government approach to tourism policy, moving beyond tourism-specific policies towards recognising tourism as a sector that includes a wide range of activities across economic sectors. This involves horizontal and vertical linkage at the national and regional levels, therefore involving many government departments. Within three months of his election as Britain's coalition Prime Minister in 2010, David Cameron spoke of the importance of tourism on the country's overall economic health:

> "For too long tourism has been looked down on as a second class service sector. That's just wrong. Tourism is a fiercely competitive market, requiring skills, talent, enterprise and a government that backs Britain. It's fundamental to the rebuilding and rebalancing of our economy. It's one of the best and fastest ways of generating the jobs we need so badly in this country. And it's absolutely crucial to us making the most of the Olympics…I want us to have the strongest possible tourism strategy. I think there are four parts. First – what government does nationally. Second – the role of local government and the support of the local area. Third – how we stimulate the private sector in tourism. And fourth – how we make policy in other areas that will impact the tourism industry. I want to have the strongest possible engagement with the tourism industry in each of these areas" (2010, cited in Laws et al., 2011).

This statement by the British Prime Minister was intended to demonstrate political engagement with tourism. However, other political decisions regarding immigration

taken at about the same time by the same government introduced tougher visa rules which adversely affected tourism and, in effect, negated that engagement. For example, the recent fast-growing Chinese outbound market also had an impact on the public policies of the United Kingdom such as easing visa regulation for Chinese visitors in order to strengthen the tourism industry:

> "Last year, the UK Border Agency processed almost 300,000 visa applications for Chinese nationals, with 97% of visas processed within 15 days. China is a priority market for the UK, and we want to support both tourists and business people coming to our country... First, let me congratulate my Hon. Friend on his personal contribution to increasing UK trade with China. He will want to know that there was an increase in visit visas issued to Chinese nationals of 6% last year. In December, my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary set out a range of improvements to the visa process, particularly to support business customers, and they will be implemented this year" (Harper, 2013).

Therefore, it is crucial to appreciate the close relationship between politics and tourism with regards to the study of political crises. Circumstantial evidence of this relationship can be cited in a number of recent events. The political upheaval in Egypt in 2011 effectively destroyed one of the Mediterranean's most successful and lucrative travel industries. Similarly, the failure of the Thai government to control protesters in 2008 led to Bangkok airport shutting its doors for several weeks, thus leading to a severe decline in tourism in the country the following year.

Political instability can also lead to political crises within particular regions. Hall (2002) argues that the terrorist attacks on September 11 impacted tourism policy; this event requires an understanding of how the issues involved came to be on the policy agenda as part of the issue-attention cycle. Therefore, it is necessary to understand tourism, politics and the mutual impacts between the two that culminated in an understanding of the terrorist attacks' inherently political nature.

2.4 The impact of political crises upon tourism

Recent political crises such as the prolonged 2008-2010 Thai protests, the 2011 Arab Spring, the 2012 China Japan Island dispute, the 2013 protests in Turkey, and the 2013 Brazil crisis illustrate the need for the tourism industry to study the impact of such political crises and to develop appropriate crisis management policies. Since the September 2001 terrorist attacks and the 2004 tsunami, awareness and research into terrorism, crises and disasters within the tourism industry have increased (Bhandari, 2004; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Assaker 2008; Scott, Laws & Prideaux, 2008; Ritchie, 2009; Hall, 2010). However, less attention has been paid specifically to the impact of political crises on the tourism industry and how trade organisations have responded to those effects. Given the rise in international political conflicts, there is a need to understand the effects of political crises on the tourism industry in order to allow tourism organisations to cope with the effects of political crises.

This section begins with the literature of past political crises that have impacted the tourism industry. It examines the effects of the various political crisis situations. To do so, this section categorises political crisis situations and their impacts into five categories: (1) Wars, (2) *Coups d'état* (3) Terrorism, (4) Political protests, demonstrations, uprisings, riots, or social unrests, and finally (5) Strikes. Tourism literature with regards to past political crises will also be examined and the impact of such crises will be discussed.

2.4.1 Wars

Since World War II, fast growing numbers of tourists have flocked to global destinations. Despite this growth of the industry as a whole, a number of international and civil wars have devastated the tourism industries of many regions. The 1991-1995 Croatian War of Independence, the Gaza War, the 2006 Lebanon War, the Sri Lankan Civil War, and the two Gulf Wars all exemplify how war zones negatively impact tourism.

Smith (1998) argues that "warfare is a penetrating societal involvement that reaches the heart of a culture and touches the soul of every inhabitant on both sides" (p. 205). Turney-High (1981) defines warfare accordingly:

> "War is a state of mind and a legal condition…the essence of which is to introduce turbulence and crisis into another social system while attempting to prevent a lack of equilibrium within the we-group" (p. 19).

Wars can include cross-border war, trans-border war, wars of attrition, and civil wars (Pizam & Mansfeld, 1996). A considerable number of scholars have examined the effects of wars on the tourism industry (Teye, 1986; Hollier, 1991; Vukonic, 1997; Mansfeld, 1999; Cavlek, 2002). Mansfeld and Pizam (2006) confirm that wars, either full scale or limited to a given region, have a major impact on tourist demand both for the countries involved and global tourist flow Equally as important to consider, the outbreak of war tends to have a negative impact on tourism in larger areas and for a longer period of time than the war itself. Similarly, civil wars are considered significant as they destroy the image of a destination; such was the case of the Sri Lankan Civil War. Small and Singer (1982) define such wars as "any armed conflict that involves (a) military action internal to the metropolis, (b) the active participation of the national government, and (c) effective resistance by both sides" (p. 210).

Warfare clearly brings disastrous consequences to affected destinations. In addition to the dangers presented to the individual, military activity can damage infrastructure (Hall, 1994). For example, in the Middle East, years of civil war and conflicts have severely harmed the tourism industry and affected tourism development; the tourism infrastructure and the attractiveness of the region as a destination have been destroyed by the war. Such circumstances are also evident in Lebanon. The Lebanese Civil War lasted from 1975 to 1990. Although Lebanon's tourism has gained increasing popularity since the end of its civil war two decades ago, the country's tourism has suffered a recent setback from the current Syrian conflict at its border, posing perhaps an even greater challenge for its tourism industry.

Warfare impacts a country's long-term economic stability as well as the image of it as a destination. The consequences that warfare has on tourism are measured by the degree to which political violence can affect the local destination and the broader region as fears over personal safety can affect the demand for particular tourism products (Teye, 1986; Hall, 1994).

It is important here to note that war disrupts both sides of the tourism equation: supply and demand. Teye's (1986) study demonstrates the effects of Zimbabwe's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on Zambia's tourism industry. Zimbabwe's Liberation War affected its tourism industry as well as tourism in neighbouring nations including Zambia. Tourist arrivals to Zambia declined drastically as a result of the withdrawal of ground tour operators; the kidnapping of and hostilities toward tourists; negative media publicity; the use of tourism infrastructure as soft targets for militants; the restriction of tourist activities as a result of curfews, blackouts, bans on photography; and finally by British and US travel advisories. Such actions cemented the virtually non-existent role that tourism would play until the end of the war.

Hollier (1991) examined the effects of the Gulf War on regional tourism, which suffered a sharp decline in tour bookings. Crisis recovery programmes such as aggressive advertising campaigns and targeting new market segments were suggested as a response to the effects of the Gulf War. According to the studies of Teye (1986) and Hollier (1991), war has a direct and indirect impact on the tourism industry. Such direct impacts include declines in bookings, fluctuation of tourist inflows and outflows or, in some cases, a completely destroyed tourist economy. Indirect impacts include repercussions such as ruined economies that may result in food shortage situations, increased levels of crime, and threats towards foreigners such as kidnapping and robbery.

Mansfeld (1999) notes that after the Gulf War's conclusion, tourists did not return immediately to the Middle East because they had already booked their holidays elsewhere. Hollier (1991) suggests a recovery programme to boost the tourism

industry in the region. However, whether the war-affected zone is ready to host tourists during or after the war had ended is a matter of much debate.

The negative effects of war on tourism abound. Demand and supply may be directly impacted in war-affected countries, while the problems associated with war refugees also deserve be considered. Vukonic (1997) draws attention to some of the problems that arise in the aftermath of war such as refugees, which can devastate tourism demand for a destination. The effects of war on Slovenia's tourism industry following the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s provide a good example of war's impact on local tourism industries. It is thus clear that wars have immediate and long-term impacts on the tourism industry.

Hotel and tour operator behaviour is another important area of consideration in times of crisis (Cavlek, 2002; Fleischer & Buccola, 2002). As a consequence of political crises, hotels are often unable to eliminate many short-term costs, thus revenue shortfalls represent much larger proportional changes in profits (Fleischer & Buccola, 2002). As a response, hotels allow some capacity to go unused during war or terrorist intervals where they apply a price discrimination strategy to charge different rates to foreign guests than to domestic guests.

Cavlek (2002) examines tour operator behaviour during the Croatian War of Independence (1991-1995) and concluded that tour operators attempted to mitigate safety and security to their clients: as a result, tour operators did not encourage their clients to visit war-torn area. This Croatian case study demonstrates that a leading tour operator, controlling a majority of the market share of the tourism industry, can significantly impact the demands of tourists to a particular region. Cavlek concludes that tourism scholars must study the crisis behaviour of tour operators towards affected destinations, as they influence the way a destination is perceived by tourists and potential tourists.

As many scholars have noted (Smith, 1996; Sonmez, 1998; Mansfeld, 1999), there exists a complex relationship between war and tourism. Sonmez (1998, p. 436) supports the argument of Diller and Scofidio:

> "Tourism and war appear to be polar extremes of cultural activity – the paradigm of international accord at one end and discord at the other. The two practices, however, often intersect: tourism of war, war on tourism, tourism as war, war targeting tourism, tourism under war, war as tourism are but a few of their interesting coupling".

Sonmez further divides the relationship between war and tourism into three dimensions. First, 'tourism under war' is a negative influence on tourism demand. War and civil war massively disrupt the supply and demand of the tourism industry. As has been previously noted, impacts of war are not limited to the time of the war itself and its immediate aftermath. Rather, repercussions can last for an extended period, particularly in light of the negative image that destinations can acquire as a result. This first dimension was supported by a number of scholars (Richter, 1980; Teye, 1986, 1988; Bar-On, 1996; Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996; Mansfeld, 1996; Mihalic, 1996). The second dimension that Sonmez discusses is the 'tourism of war'. He articulates that war creates a new segment of tourists whom he refers to as 'war tourists'. They are attracted to a region by the very conflict itself, intent on witnessing the results or consequences of war (Sri Lanka provides a good example of this phenomenon). The third dimension, 'war as tourism', is the transformation of the memory of war into a sentimental tourism attraction. As Smith argues (1996), war gives special meaning and memory to places and events that consequently link warfare to tourism. Examples include battlefields, cemeteries, memorials or monuments, and military museums. When a war concludes, Mihalic (1996) states that "it becomes part of the historical memory of a certain destination and this memory becomes a tourist attraction" (p. 234 – 235).

The work of Smith (1996) and Sonmez (1998) demonstrates the different dimensions of impact that wars have upon the tourism industry. Both confirm that war creates a unique form of tourism, warfare tourism. Subsequently, Weaver (2000), whose study built upon the work of Smith (1996, 1998), carried out further investigation into this relationship. Weaver confirms that wars can have both positive and negative impacts on tourist destinations. Positive consequences include

war-related infrastructure. For example, the American military built infrastructure such as roads and airports in some areas of Thailand to support its efforts during the Vietnam War. As a consequence, Thailand benefited from the infrastructure that remained after the war had ended.

Recently, scholars have paid more attention to this aspect of warfare tourism, identifying battlefield tourism as well as so-called 'dark tourism' and 'thanatourism'. Warfare tourism is a significant niche market and its popularity has been reflected in academic literature during the past decade (Walter, 1993; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Smith, 1996, 1998; Lloyd, 1998; Seaton, 1999, 2000; Henderson, 2000; Iles, 2001, 2006; Ryan, 2007; Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009).Warfare tourism activities may include visiting war memorials and museums, 'war experiences', battle re-enactments and other areas related to war (Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011). Tarlow (2005) identifies dark tourism as "visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continues to impact our lives" (p. 48).

War-tourism attractions can thus be considered an important and lucrative subset of tourist sites associated with death and suffering (Stone, 2012). Seaton proposes that "thanatourism serves as the travel dimension of thanatopsis" (1996, p. 240) which is defined as 'travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death'. Tourists have differing objectives when visiting sites, dependent upon their interest to those whose lives were lost- either specific people or entire populations. Visits to private cremations in India or public executions in the Middle East serve as examples of thanatourism.

This sub-section reviews the impacts of war on tourism in three dimensions. First, war affects the tourism industry negatively by reorienting tourist inflows and outflows and leaving the affected destination in a state of suffering long after the war concludes. Moreover, war directly affects the economies of the war zones, thus resulting in an underdeveloped tourism industry with economic and social problems. The second dimension deals with the unique tourist groups created by war.

Subsequently, the final dimension is that war creates war tourism including new segments such as dark tourism and thanatourism. Crisis management for political crisis such as war requires careful consideration to boost tourism demand shortfalls and restore destination image for recovery after the crisis.

2.4.2 Coups d'état

Not all types of political crises cause tourism destinations to suffer equally from the decline in tourist demand. There have been comparatively few studies on *coups d'état* and its relationship to tourism. McGowan and Johnson (1984) provide a definition of *coups d'état* in their African tourism study as follows:

> "…events in which existing regimes (civilian or military) are suddenly and illegally displaced by the action of relatively small groups, in which members of the military, police, or security forces of the state play a key role, either on their own or in conjunction with politicians. The scope of change in any regime resulting from a successful intervention can vary from the wholesale displacement of leaders and officials by the instigators of the coup and their followers, to dissolution of previously existing constitutional relationships among the key decision-makers and organizations of the state" (p. 634-635).

Teye (1988) examines political instability in post-colonial Africa by focusing on the effects of *coups d'état* on African tourism development in general, and Ghana's in particular. Key areas of the tourism industry identified as suffering most from military interventions in government included the effectiveness of the national tourism body when challenged by incoming rulers who void government and its mandates; the flow of international tourists curtailed by border closures, thus preventing tourists from entering or leaving a country; damage to a country's image resulting from negative media coverage or travel advisories; and the hindrance to the delivery of tourism services as development plans may be suspended or altogether cancelled during military intervention.

According to Teye (1988), travel advisories can cause tremendous damage to the tourism industry of a particular region as evidenced in The Gambia (Sharpley, Sharpley & Adams, 1996). In November 1994, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) issued a travel advisory after a bloodless military coup in The Gambia in July 1994:

> "Banjul is calm but the political situation in The Gambia remains uncertain and could deteriorate quickly. Those without compelling reasons to travel should consider postponing their visits. Those with essential business in The Gambia should register their presence with the British High Commission" (1994, cited in Sharpley et al., 1996, p. 2).

As a result, in a matter of days, British tour operators pulled out of the area. Scandinavian tour operators followed suit shortly thereafter, virtually crippling the country's tourism industry. Arrivals fell from 5,000 to 300; over 2,000 jobs directly and indirectly linked to tourism were lost; 8 hotels closed; and the country's economic and social conditions quickly deteriorated. This incident confirmed that even bloodless military coups can profoundly impact the tourism of a country *vis-à-vis* travel advisories.

Coups d'état affect the tourism industry in terms of tourism demand, negative image, and decline of tourist confidence towards the safe image of the affected destination. *Coups d'état* also affect the image of the political stability and safety of a destination, resulting in reduced investor confidence from multinational enterprises (MNE) in tourism investment. Poirier (1997) studies the impact of *coups d'état* and terrorism within the context of the changing nature of relationships between multinationals and less developed countries. He confirms that *coups d'état* lead to the perception of unpredictable events within the political environment, heightening perceived vulnerability by MNEs even when coups d'état do not cause direct damage to MNE industry interests. Thus, *coups d'état* pose potential risks to foreign tourism investment and, effectively leave the tourism industry vulnerable.

Fiji is a significant case study with regards to the impact of *coups d'état*. Regarded as an island paradise, tourism to the South Pacific haven has increased dramatically since the 1960s. However, a number of *coups d'état* have left it volatile. In December 2006, Commodore Frank Bainimarama, head of the Republic of Fiji Military Force, staged the nation's fourth coup since 1987. A number of scholars including Lal (2007), Narayan (2005), and Berno and King (2001) have studied the impact of Fiji's multiple *coups d'état* and how the government has since recovered its image. Narayan (2005) confirms that one of the most affected industries has been Fiji's tourism industry since the first *coups d'état* in 1987, followed by coups in 1987, 2000, and 2006. Narayan (2003) also notes that in the year of a coup in Fiji, expenditure by Australians fell by 65 per cent, New Zealanders by 55 per cent and Americans by 60 per cent. Consequently, Fiji's tourism industry has yet to recover to its previous levels. Narayan (2005) argues additionally that the negative impact on the tourism industry had a deleterious impact on Fiji's overall economy.

Berno and King (2001) have also comprehensively studied the impact of *coups d'état* in Fiji and how the government responded. Their study confirmed that two periods of political crisis within thirteen years have had a profound impact upon Fiji's tourism industry and its destination image. While the recovery programme that used to respond to the first coup in 1987 was effective, the destination needed much longer periods of recovery following the third coup in 2000. The events of September 11, 2001, added an extra layer of complexity with the island nation among the most vulnerable targets for terrorist attacks. Berno and King's study demonstrates that the affected destination needs to change its unsafe image in order to regain its old reputation, and this is especially true when that destination has a historical record of political crises.

Another destination which has experienced a considerable number of *coups d'état* is Thailand. Since the fall of the absolute monarchy in 1932, the country s experienced 10 successful *coups d'état* and several unsuccessful ones. A bloodless *coups d'état* in May 1992 resulted in the overthrow of yet another government. As tourists from Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, all highly conscious of the country's political instability, chose other destinations, the study by Chon, Singh and Mikula (1993)

demonstrates how the Thai tourism industry suffered tremendously from the 1992 bloodless *coups d'état*. Thai Airways cancelled more than 200 scheduled flights during the political crisis. They confirmed that the industry incurred losses from revenue in the millions of US dollars. Much of those losses were the result of cancelled bookings by Japanese tourists in particular, who constituted the majority of Thailand's market share at the time. As a consequence, Thailand had to restore its image and traveller's confidence to resolve doubts and revive the ailing tourism industry through vigorous marketing and promotion aimed at high-spending Japanese tourists.

Cohen and Neal (2010) also studied the impacts and repercussions of political crises on the Thai tourism industry, where the former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra was deposed by a *coups d'état* in September 2006. That event caused a prolonged political crisis that made the country's tourism industry vulnerable right up to the present day from subsequent and on-going protests and demonstrations.

It should be noted that both bloodless and bloody *coups d'état* damage the tourism industry and the destination's reputation for safety. While there has not been a significant amount of research on the impacts of *coups d'état* on the tourism industry, this sub-section has reviewed some of the past *coups d'état* that have affected the tourism industry in both the short and long term and their repercussions for the industry as a whole.

2.4.3 Terrorism

Terrorist incidents such as the Lockerbie Bombing (1988), the Luxor Massacre (1998), the attacks of September 11 in 2001, the Bali Bombing (2002) and the Mumbai attacks (2008) have inspired the work of many scholars (Richter & Waugh, 1986; Aziz, 1995; Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996; Wahab, 1996; Sonmez, 1998; Sonmez et al., 1999; Beirman, 2003; Hitchcock & Putra, 2005; Tarlow, 2006). Among them, Nacos (2002) describes terrorism as:

> "Violence for political ends against non-combatants/ innocents with the intent to win publicity … for the sake of communicating message to a larger audience" (p. 19).

Smith (1996) distinguishes between crime and terrorism accordingly:

> "Crime is usually one-on-one or an interpersonal interaction; terrorism is a politically motivated small-group activity directed towards individuals to 'strike terror' into their midst and thereby control the opposition. In both instances the activity is local and of short duration. Crime or terrorism leaves little or no heritage to become permanent tourist markers" (p. 251).

Richter (1983) was amongst the pioneer scholars who studied the relationship between terrorism and tourism. Her work is considered seminal within the field. She suggests that tourists are useful targets for terrorists who seek to disrupt social, political, and economic activity as a means of demonstrating the incapacity of a government to maintain civil order and public safety. This is done with the expectation that the government will negotiate with the foreign policy. In a later work, Richter and Waugh (1986) added that not only does terrorism greatly impact tourism, but it produces many political and economic ramifications in the long run.

D'Amore and Anuza (1986) assess the impact of terrorism on international travel, tourists' responses to terrorism, marketing implications, and security issues for individuals and the tourism industry. Results indicate that more experienced tourists take terrorism in their stride compared to the more apprehensive first-time tourists. The work of D'Amore and Anuza (1986) argues that experienced tourists indeed pay less attention to safety and security issues.

The empirical study of Conant, Clark, Burnett and Zank (1988) focused on the mailed survey responses of 359 largest US travel agencies' responses to a 1986 terrorism crisis. Respondents were asked to explain their marketing strategies in the light of the terrorist threat and evaluate importance of 16 competitive marketing

strategy elements in minimising the effects of terrorism. Results indicated that promotion, public relations and personal selling play important roles in managing terrorism. Improvements to traveller security systems and boycotting destinations sympathetic to terrorists were suggested as additional management strategies.

Following terrorist occurrences in Rome in the 1980s, Hurley (1988) studies the number of visitors to Rome in 1985 and 1986 and the occupancy rates of major hotels. Findings indicated that American visitors to the eternal city decreased by 59 per cent and occupancy rates decreased by over 37 per cent for four and five star category hotels. The result suggests that hotels, previously dependent upon American tourist dollars, should shift marketing emphasis to European and Asian travellers. Interestingly, Tremblay's (1989) examination of tourist receipts from 18 European countries found differing elasticity with respect to tourism according to the tourist's country of origin (Tremblay, 1989). Terrorist activity, transport costs, exchange rates, relative prices, and income were all considered to be independent variables in a regression analysis. Unlike receipts from North American tourists, terrorism was not found to have a significant impact on receipts from European travellers. The work of both Hurley (1988) and Tremblay (1989) demonstrate that tourists of different countries have different priorities regarding safety and security; some nationalities, such as American tourists, may be more vulnerable to security events such as terrorism than their European counterparts.

Enders, Praise and Sandler (1992) conduct time-series analyses of the effects of terrorism on tourism in 12 continental European countries from 1968-1988. The economic cost of terrorism was represented by the value of tourist revenues reported by the IMF. The study found no possible way to attribute monetary value to tourists' perceived cost of terrorism. European countries dependent on tourism for foreign exchange lost USD $12.6 billion in Special Drawing Rights (SDR) for Continental Europe due to terrorism. The study identifies a 'generalisation effect', which functions to deter tourism in one country when its neighbour experiences an act of terrorism.

In August 1998, terrorists targeted the US embassies in Kenya and neighbouring Tanzania in nearly simultaneous car bomb attacks that killed 219 and 12 people, respectively. Following the attacks, several Western countries urged their citizens not to travel to these destinations because of the risk of terrorist attacks. In October of 2002, bombings in Bali resulted in over 200 deaths. Consequently, international arrivals as measured by immigration at Bali's Ngurah Rai Airport declined sharply in 2003, operating at roughly 80 per cent than the previous year. Both the Kenyan and Balinese terrorist incidents indicate that governments of the majority of victims tend to react strongly towards the affected destination. An example of this can be seen in the response of the Australian government toward Bali, which discouraged their citizens to travel to the country after 88 Australians were killed.

Another important consideration is the growing number of studies into religious terrorism. An example of this is the work of both Hipple (2002) and Krueger and Maleckova (2002) who suggest that terrorist acts are often rooted in deep social, political and sometimes religious motivations. The causes of terrorism have been attributed to religious fanaticism, political instability, chronic economic problems, famine and disease, environmental problems, demography, lack of opportunities, lack of education, civil unrest, wars and guerrillas, and poverty among others. Enders and Sandler (1991) confirm that the growth of religious terrorism worldwide appears to account for an increased severity of terrorist attacks. According to Santana (2003), the globalisation process provides the right conditions and environment for terrorism to flourish and become more deadly.

A recent study by Pizam (2010), analyses the terrorist incidents that occurred in hotels in Taba, Egypt (2004), Amman, Jordan (2005), Mumbai, India (2008), and Jakarta, Indonesia (2009). Discussed are several reasons why hotels, in particular, are targets for terrorist attacks. Pizam states that “the cause of terrorism is that the main motive is a strong message that a particular group of people wants to send to the world that a social, political, or economic injustice was done to their people” (p.1).

This sub-section demonstrates the impact of terrorism on the tourism industry. The literature confirms that terrorism is a subject that needs to be further examined comprehensively as it can impact tourism in terms of a decrease in tourist confidence, inflows and outflows, destination image. Terrorism also has broad ramifications on economies, society and politics in the short and long-term. Recognizing the broad repercussions of recent terrorist incidents, scholarly and organisational awareness has heightened; preventive and management methods for such incidents have developed as a result. Nonetheless, terrorism remains one of the major types of political crisis that the tourism industry must contend with appropriately.

2.4.4 Political protests, demonstrations, uprisings, riots, or social unrests

Recent political crises of this type include the prolonged Thai protests between 2008 and 2010, the Egyptian protests between 2011 and 2013, the Tunisian Revolution, the Greek street riots in 2010, and the Maldives protests. Such protests and social unrest have hit popular tourist destinations, with tremendous consequences on tourism. These incidents warrant more attention from academic research.

It is important to not underestimate the impact of past political crises, such as those that occurred in Tibet in 1989 during martial law; at that time, tourists who witnessed violent demonstrations and police brutalities were urged by local citizens to carry their message abroad (Schwartz, 1991). Similarly, the Chinese tourism industry suffered greatly from worldwide coverage of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. The events dramatically impacted the country's tourism industry, but especially its image. By late 1989, occupancy levels in Beijing's hotels fell below 30 per cent as 300 tour groups and 11,500 people cancelled travel plans; tourism earnings declined by USD $430 million (Gartner & Shen, 1992).

Mexico's 1994 Chiapas uprising resulted in deaths estimated between 145 and 500 in the first 12 days alone when military troops established road blocks and searched vehicles in the region. Following the assassination of presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, the situation grew more intense. As a result, Mexico experienced

sharp declines in international and domestic tourism with visitation rates dropping by 70 per cent in both January and February from the previous year (Pitts, 1996). Chiapas did attract tourists who visited the affected destination following the political crisis though their numbers did not offset the image loss that foreign tourists had of Mexico up to that point.

Even peaceful demonstration can severely impact the tourism industry as evidenced in Thailand with the Bangkok Airport closure in 2008. The Thai political protest originated from tension between the main political parties which erupted into street violence and the occupation of a major international airport which lasted for one week in 2008. The closure of the airport profoundly impacted Thai tourism including the hotel, airline, travel agency and related industries. At the time, Kaur (2008, as cited in Campiranon, Laws & Scott, 2011) estimated that the tourism sector could lose upwards of USD $5 billion, a sum equivalent to 1.5 per cent of Thailand's GDP. The most challenging issues faced by the industry were those of international media coverage of the protests and travel advisories issued by the governments of significant tourist generating countries such as the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom (Campiranon et al., 2011).

Recent global political uprisings confirm that the tourism industry needs to better understand the many political crisis events in order to develop effective crisis management and assuage some or all of the impact.

2.4.5 Strikes

This type of political crisis may not have as significant impact as others; however it can seriously damage the country's economy in both the short and long terms. Examples of such incidents are Australian domestic air pilots' strike in 1989 in which an estimated 457,000 people cancelled their holiday plans; a further 556,000 altered their plans. A subsequent time series analysis conducted by Lim and McAleer (2001) confirmed the significant decline of tourist arrivals in Australia between 1989 and 1990.

A more recent incident was the Qantas industrial disputes in 2011. On the 29th of October 2011, the airline's CEO Alan Joyce announced the immediate and unprecedented grounding of all Australian domestic and international Qantas flights. Industrial action by unions caused disruptions and delays to Qantas' flight schedule, which cost the airline AUD $68 million. Flights in the air at the time of the announcement continued to their next destination but were then grounded. The lock-out was expected to affect 68,000 to 80,000 passengers on the first day attributed to the cancellation of some 600 flights with a cost in excess of AUD $20 million per day.

It can be noted that this type of political crises produces less damage for tourism industry as the destination image remains unscathed. But these incidents do have significant economic costs for the tourism industry in the long term.

2.5 The importance of considering political crises in the tourism industry

The impacts of political crises on the tourism industry have been discussed in the preceding section, specifically how those impacts affect the tourism industry. This section seeks to demonstrate the importance of considering political crises in the tourism industry, where three important aspects have been taken into consideration.

Firstly, political crises inflict faster and greater damage to the affected destination than in the past because of faster media and communication. The media aside, since the turn of the twenty-first century, internet communications such as social networks and online media have become ubiquitous communication channels for business and consumers alike. Local and even remote events are exposed faster, and to a greater number of people, than ever before. Tourists become aware of occurrences in their immediate environment from direct contact with the political events, while those outside of the locality learn about events from the media (Doyle, 2006). Media has long played an important role in shaping the public's perception of a destination, a conflict, or an issue (Santana, 2003). New channels of communication have greatly diversified the sources of information tourists rely upon. Goolsby (2010) confirms that social media provides the means for creating new communities and for re-

energising existing ones. As existing social media communities, news organisations, and users have converged in social media spaces, they can and do respond to sudden events. Thus, the role of the media has evolved, with the growth of available channels. Consequently, news of political crisis situations and their effects have become both faster and easier to obtain. For example, a tourist who witnessed Thai protester attacks in Bangkok in 2010 could take a video and immediately upload it to social media or send to their acquaintances. In the world of faster communications, political crises are much more significant; the manner in which the crisis is managed by a destination directly affects both its image and organisational confidence towards it. Therefore, political crises will have much greater consequences than in the past. Thus, tourism scholars need to pay careful attention to the topic of political crises, especially in the digital age.

Secondly, the increasing economic disparity between developed and developing countries contribute significantly to the instability of some regions (Fletcher & Morakabati, 2008). Due to poverty and increasing government debt to population explosions and inadequate living standards, certain factors lead to local wars and crises, ethnic and religious conflicts and even regional arms races. Tourism literature confirms that economic or societal crises can lead such states to political crises (Zimmerman, 1983). Additionally, Hall (1994) states that political instability is a fundamental element of political crises, especially when challenges occur from within a political system and the system is unable to adapt and change to meet their demands. If the forces for change fail to be satisfied from within a political system, the use of non-legitimate activities such as protest, violence, or even civil war to seek change may render the political situation unstable (Hall, 1994). Therefore, the development of the world economy raises awareness that political crisis study is increasingly important.

Thirdly, the causes of political crises and their unpredictable pattern are still a subject of debate amongst scholars. Political crises clearly impact the tourism industry and tourism trade organisations, both in destinations and generating regions. The effects of this have a direct impact upon hoteliers, tour operators, travel agents, tourists, and destination management companies. Fink (1986) argues that

organisations can prepare to deal with the effects of crises, but proper crisis management plans need to be put in place first. Therefore, it is important that tourism organisations create effective political crisis management policies in order to deal with the effects of political crises. According to Entman (2003), crisis management concentrates on dealing with instability so as to reach strategic objectives. Poor strategy creates a power vacuum that opposing elites and journalists may fill with their own interpretations. Inventive strategy can endow frameworks with the extra energy needed to penetrate every group of people involved.

Combating the ill effects of political crises requires close collaboration among management teams. This section demonstrates how important it is for the tourism industry to study political crises and crisis management in depth, in order to help trade organisations deal with the effects of political crises when they occur.

2.6 Summary

The tourism industry has suffered from various crises through the years. This chapter has demonstrated how political crises have affected the industry in different ways including immediate, short-term and long-term ramifications.

Firstly, it emerges from the literature that the proportion of research focused on political crises is comparatively small and of that, very little is concerned with managing the effects of political cries in the tourism industry. Previous tourism literature centred on the relationship between political crises and tourism yields studies on the topics of war, crime and other natural disasters. The question remains as to whether all of these works shed sufficient light on the current understanding of how the tourism industry can protect itself from political crises.

Secondly, there is a lack of research on the responses by trade organisations to political crises. This would include research into what actually happens during the course of the crisis, the reaction, and how effective measures were implemented. Apart from consideration of the crisis itself and the crisis management tactics employed by trade organisations, a number of topics stand out as requiring more

detailed treatment such as the role of the media, the restoration of confidence, and the extent of international cooperation during the political crisis. Previous crisis tourism literature demonstrates that, despite the expansion of crisis study during the last two decades, the interaction between political crises and tourism in tourist generating countries still appears underdeveloped compared to other studies of crises undertaken at tourism destinations; in the pursuit of advancing our understanding, this area should be further investigated. Therefore, the ultimate objective of this research is to fill this gap by developing a framework of political crisis responses for the tourism industry.

CHAPTER 3: CRISIS MANAGEMENT

3.1 Introduction

The tourism industry is susceptible to a wide range of negative effects from crisis events. Awareness of this has increased due to the recent rise of crises across the globe such as natural disasters, industrial crises and political crises. Scholars have conducted research on the subject of crisis management aiming to develop better methods and procedures to prevent or mitigate the effects of such crises. The growth of crisis management is evident from the increasing research on crisis management models and crisis and disaster frameworks for the tourism industry.

This chapter comprehensively reviews crisis strategies and important factors in existing crisis management literature relative to the tourism industry. To do so, the chapter explores four main areas: crisis management models, proactive crisis management, crisis management, and post-crisis management. The first section reviews various crisis management models and frameworks developed by different scholars, while the following three sections look into the details of crisis management at its different phases. The pre-crisis phase includes strategies such as forecasting techniques, risk assessment, and proactive crisis communication, offering insight into how organisations prepare to deal with the impacts of crisis beforehand. Crisis management includes strategies and other relevant factors including the importance of stakeholder coordination, crisis communication response, risk perception in times of crisis, and cultural differences during a crisis. The post-crisis management phase encompasses recovery marketing and organisational learning; scholars have developed various marketing and post-crisis communication strategies. Analysis of the resolution and feedback stages is important as it allows the tourism industry to evaluate crisis strategies and the implementation thereof while reviewing feedback and learning from past events to prepare for future ones.

3.2 Crisis management models

Crisis management includes the management of preventing, preparing, responding, recovering, and learning from a crisis and its effects. The first use of the term 'crisis management' is attributed to a political context: US President J.F. Kennedy used this expression during the Cuban Crisis of 1962 to describe the handling of a serious, extraordinary situation (Glaesser, 2003). Rosenthal and Pijnenburg (1990) summarise the term as the following:

> "Crisis management involves efforts to prevent crises from occurring; to prepare for a better protection against the impact of a crisis agent; to make for an effective response to an actual crisis; to provide plans and resources for recovery and rehabilitation in the aftermath of a crisis" (p. 279).

Crisis management thus allows organisations to develop strategies to cope with crises. In general, crisis management can be viewed as involving three distinct phases; pre-crisis, crisis, and post-crisis, as discussed in Chapter 2. The pre-crisis stage includes signal detection, prevention, and preparation. The crisis stage occurs during the recognition of the trigger event and response. Consideration of response actions once operations have returned to normal constitutes the post-crisis stage; this stage may also include follow-up information to stakeholders, cooperation with investigations, and learning from the crisis event to more effectively manage future events. The study of crisis management covers a wide range of topics and discipline areas. Several models and concepts have been developed to help the industry reduce the impacts associated with crises (Caplan, 1970; Fink, 1986; Smith, 1990; Booth, 1993; Smith & Sipika, 1993; Mitroff, 1994; Mitroff, Pearson & Harrington, 1996; Clarke & Varma, 2004). Subjects of discussion include diverse topics, such as crisis management as it applies to political context, environmental issues, natural disasters and organisational problems.

Amongst an early group of pioneer scholars, Fink (1986) identifies the various crisis stages and proposed a model illustrating how crises develop. This model (1986) has

four stages: (1) prodromal stage, when warning signs of a crisis appear; (2) acute stage, when a crisis occurs; (3) chronic stage, when the recovery period begins though lingering concerns may still exist; and (4) crisis resolution stage, when the organisation is back to normal operations. As crisis management is a dynamic and continuous process, Fink's model lacks identification for planning and confronting a crisis.

In 1990, Smith developed a three phase model which includes crisis management, operational crisis and crisis of legitimisation. In 1993, Smith and Sipika further developed their post crisis management model by applying Smith's model (1990) to their proposed '7Cs' of crisis management model in which seven elements interact to produce the overall setting within which crises occur and develop. Those 7Cs are as follows: (1) cost, (2) contingency planning, (3) culture, (4) control, (5) coupling and complexity, (6) configurations, and lastly (7) communications. Smith and Sipika believe that these constitute important elements that affect the degree of crisis 'proneness' inherent within an organisation; this is described as the recipe or the cultural web of an organisation, thus the 7Cs are often regarded as influential in determining an organisation's susceptibility to crises. Smith and Sipika's 7Cs ultimately helped scholars to understand factors that influence different phases of crises which eventually led to the development of crisis management.

The turn-around process, also explored by Smith and Sipika (1993), includes factors such as organisational learning, re-configuring the structure of an organisation to respond effectively, creating a responsive and flexible culture, and developing managerial competences as part of the management development process. Smith and Sipika's model has been applied to various studies, including one study on the impacts of the September 11 attacks, which conclude that the 7Cs are the most important factors for identifying a crisis and the appropriate strategies (Evan & Elphick, 2005). The turnaround process has been integrated into tourism crisis and disaster frameworks (Faulkner, 2001), and is among the most important factors in crisis management as it allows organisations to learn from and improve crisis strategies.

Booth (1993) developed a simple crisis management process model with aims to identify features that appear to be common to many crises. Pearson and Mitroff (1993) suggest that every crisis management strategy consider four major issues: first, the type of crisis; second, the phases through which the crisis moves, third, systems and factors that cause or prevent a crisis and fourth, stakeholder involvement.

Roberts' (1994) study of the 1990 flood disaster in Towyn, Wales, introduced a crisis management model which is somewhat similar to Fink's 1986 framework. Like Fink, Roberts asserts that a crisis occurs in a series of progressive linear stages. However, Roberts suggests four stages of disaster management in his model. First is the pre-event phase, when action can be taken to prevent or mitigate the effects of a disaster. Evacuations of the population prior to flooding, controlling the number and type of dwellings in the vulnerable area, and the formation of liaison groups to discuss flood problems and possible solutions are all examples of actions during the pre-event phase. Second, Roberts defines the emergency phase, in which mass rescue may be undertaken, and the immediate safety and care of the people affected is the prime consideration of the local authorities. The third phase he proposes is the intermediate phase which deals with the short-term needs of people such as those in local rescue centres. After this, management enters the long-term phase in which on-going tasks that were secondary during the previous stages come to the forefront and the situation then returns to normality.

Both Fink and Roberts' crisis management models were combined by Faulkner (2001) into a six-stage model seeking to develop the first tourism-specific disaster management framework. This was subsequently applied to the Katherine Floods in Australia and the 2001 Foot and Mouth outbreak in the UK (Faulkner & Vikulov, 2001; Miller & Ritchie, 2003).

Faulkner's (2001) six-step crisis management framework includes the following: (1) the pre-event stage where action can be taken to prevent disasters or crises; (2) the prodromal phase when it becomes apparent that the crisis is inevitable; (3) the actual crisis or emergency phase which requires the implementation of strategies to deal

with its impacts; (4) the intermediate phase, when the short-term needs of the people affected must be dealt with such as the restoration of utilities and essential services; (5) the long-term recovery with the continued implementation of strategies to control or reduce the severity of the crisis; and (6) the assessment phase allowing for evaluation and feedback for future prevention and planning strategies. Subsequently, Ritchie (2004) integrated strategic management into the crisis and disaster lifecycle model, designing crisis management procedures for the six stages of a crisis's lifecycle. Ritchie, like other recent scholars, has documented crisis management study in terms of different perspectives within the context of the tourism industry.

Table 3.1 demonstrates previous crisis and disaster life cycles in tourism academic literature. In the tourism literature, scholars generally assume that crises and disasters are temporary, having lifecycles which may span from hours and days to months and even years (Faulkner, 2001; Roberts, 2004; Ritchie, 2004). Roberts (1994) confirms that disaster management is the period of activity that takes place between the initial chaos and the return to normality. The success of disaster management, therefore, can be determined by how well the transition takes place. There exists an acute need for a broader and deeper understanding of this area so that management systems evolve appropriately.

Crisis and disaster management frameworks developed by different scholars are proven to be effective in the management of natural disasters; however, the question remains as to whether those frameworks apply to human-induced crises such as political crises. Beirman (2003), who writes extensively about the negative impact of crises upon the tourism industry in several destinations such as Israel, Egypt, the US, Philippines and Sri Lanka, argues that Faulkner's (2001) disaster framework cannot be applied during long-term crises such as the Sri Lankan Civil War. Rather, he recommends that a marketing approach be activated during and after a crisis, which can benefit the affected destination.

Table 3.1 Previous crisis and disaster lifecycles

Stages	Fink's (1986, 2000) stages	Roberts's (1994) stages	Faulkner's (2001) stages	Ritchie's (2004) stages
Pre-event	Proaction	Pre-event: where action can be taken to prevent disasters	When action can be taken to prevent or mitigate the effects of potential disasters	Action taken to prevent disasters
Prodromal	When it becomes apparent that the crisis is inevitable		When it is apparent that a disaster is imminent	Apparent a crisis/ disaster is about to hit
Emergency	Acute stage: the point of no return when the crisis has hit and damage limitation is the main objective	Emergency phase: when the effects of the disaster has been felt and action has to be taken to rescue people and property	The effect of the disaster is felt and action is necessary to protect people and property	Incident hits: damage limitation and action needed
Intermediate	Reaction	Immediate phase: when the short-term needs of the people affected must be dealt with - restoring utilities and essential services. The objective at this point being to restore the community to normality as quickly as possible	A point where the short-term needs of people have been addressed and the main focus of activity is to restore services and the community to normal	Short-term needs dealt with: restoring services
Long term (recovery)	Chronic stage: clean-up, post-mortem, self-analysis and healing	Longer term phase: continuation of the previous phase, but items that could not be addressed quickly are attended to at this point	Continuation of previous phase, but items that could not be attended to quickly are attended to at this stage	Longer term, clean up, repair, reinvestment, post mortem
Resolution	Resolution: routine restored or new improved state		Routine restored or new improved state establishment	Normal or improved state created

Source: Modified from Fink (1986), Roberts (1994, p. 52), Faulkner (2001, p. 140), and Ritchie (2004, p. 669-683).

Crisis and disaster lifecycle models are included in this section for the purpose of providing an understanding of the whole picture of how crisis management is implemented; they serve to demonstrate previous crisis and disaster management frameworks in the tourism industry. However, as applied to political crises, there remains a lack of crisis management frameworks.

The following three sections discuss the implementation of crisis strategies during the three phases of a crisis: pre-crisis, crisis, and post-crisis.

3.3 Proactive crisis management

The impacts of earthquakes, floods, wars, terrorist attacks, SARS, and political uprisings have created what many in the media and the tourism industry dub ‘a worsening crisis’. Debate is on-going over what can and should be done to protect tourism stakeholders such as individual carriers, domestic tourists, international tourists, travel-related businesses and their employees from such crisis, and how to mitigate the impacts of such crises on national economies. The purpose of proactive crisis management is to assist the tourism industry in better preparing for crises before they develop.

When an organisation prevents or prepares to deal with crises and their effects, they are engaging in proactive crisis management. As discussed in Chapter 2, different scholars classify crises in various ways. One classification is according to type, such as an oil crisis, an ecological crisis, or a political crisis (Hall, 2012). Another approach is to classify incidents into internal or external parameters (Coombs, 1999). Some crises can be prevented, whereas others cannot. Preventable crises typically fall into an internal category, such as those that happen within an organisation itself (e.g. staff illness or staff challenges).

However, it must be noted that the effects of natural crises and certain uncontrollable crises such as those stemming from industrial and political events cannot be prevented by an organisation, though their effects can be mitigated or alleviated. Therefore, understanding the causes of crises that directly affect the tourism industry is mandatory for all stakeholders.

It has been over two decades since organisations were provided with guidance for preparing for potential crises (Fink, 1986). Particularly in tourism, there exists a tendency to assume that the unthinkable will simply not happen and thus ignore preparation (Hall, 2005). Thus, it is necessary to implement effective preparation and management procedures to determine the difference between industry resilience and vulnerability before a crisis occurs. Destinations lacking an adequate capacity to respond to negative events remain particularly vulnerable and susceptible to crises (Gurtner, 2007).

More importantly, preparation planning needs to occur in advance, as the intensity during a crisis is clearly not the time to commence such planning (Litvin & Alderson, 2003). Heath (1998) suggests crisis management strategies such as readiness, response and recovery be added to strategic management, commenting specifically that readiness is somewhat different to response and recovery as it requires awareness, training and tests or exercises; readiness is a state of mind and "crisis readiness can … be broadly defined as the readiness to cope with the uncertainty caused by a crisis" (Rousaki & Alcott, 2007, p. 28). It is clear that the implementation of crisis management and preparedness strategies such as staff training and leadership are crucial elements of this phase. Training reduces human response errors and improves the amount of time taken to deal with crisis incidents. Past experience demonstrates that those destinations that employed well-coordinated efforts to regain tourists' trust and increase tourist demand recovered in a relatively short period of time (Pizam & Mansfeld, 2006).

The work of Pike (2008) on Rotorua's tourism industry demonstrates that the crisis

was largely self-inflicted and that a lack of crisis preparation can lead to organisational failure. The case of Rotorua's tourism industry demonstrates a crisis that evolved as the result of what can retrospectively be described as ineffective responses by stakeholders to a changing macro environment and a decline in destination quality; two of the main causes were the lack of a preparation plan by stakeholders and a lack of forward planning and infrastructure maintenance which led to a dilapidated cityscape and a magnet of negative media attention.

This study confirms that tourism organisations must plan for changing environments and unpredictable events such as crises. To do so, organisations must apply what Mitroff (2004) refers to as critical thinking. Critical thinking or 'thinking the unthinkable' is the essence of crisis leadership. When crisis leadership is introduced in an organisation, crisis management and communication become a part of the organisation's proactive efforts at eliminating or mitigating crises. Ritchie (2009) also adds that strategic management ought to be integrated into crisis management practice. For crisis prevention, organisations should monitor both the external and internal operating environments in order to predict possible issues and deal with them promptly before they escalate.

Proactive crisis management can be achieved through programming, preparation, and training as well as through the correct application of decisions during the crisis. This would permit an organisation to take drastic yet efficient measures before and during a crisis. It is essential for all organisations, regardless of size, to have a comprehensive and well-rehearsed crisis management plan while maintaining a continuum of services to meet the industry's response needs in emergency situations. Effective contingency plans and procedures combined with well-trained and motivated personnel serve as the best defence against operational challenges during crises.

The following sub-section reviews the main proactive crisis strategies suggested by existing tourism crisis literature. These include forecasting techniques, risk assessment and proactive crisis communication.

3.3.1 Forecasting techniques

Forecasting or assessing the likely impacts of incidents that will occur in a changing environment can help organisations prepare for such impacts. Forecasting techniques are used to avoid or mitigate the impact of economic, political or social crises in the tourism industry. Various scholars have given attention to them, using both qualitative and quantitative methods. According to Cole (1994), forecasting at a strategic level can be undertaken under two main headings:

> "(i) Quantitative (i.e. where projections are based on numerical data, such as statistics and accounting data, often analysed by computer-based models). This approach uses 'hard' data and techniques such as budget forecasts, simple projections, and computer modelling including econometrics and is a rational / deterministic approach.
> (ii) Qualitative (i.e. basing projections on explicit assumptions and individual judgements about them). This approach uses 'soft' data and techniques such as PEST, SWOT, scenario development, Delphi technique and brainstorming and is an intuitive / judgement approach to forecasting" (p. 68).

This section provides a broader picture of the forecasting techniques that have been applied in various disciplines. Some of those techniques have been proven effective for predicting the likelihood of the occurrence of certain potential events although the uncertainty inherent to crises and disasters somewhat limits their usefulness.

In 1987, Calantone, Benedetto, and Bojanic described several different types of forecasting, as reflected in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Different types of forecasting

Exploratory forecasting	To extrapolate past trends using regression or time-series analysis based on assumptions about relationships between variables.
Normative forecasting	To incorporate discussion of the methods needed to attain a desire future outcome.
Integrative forecasting	To rely on a variety of methods to determine the underlying relationships amongst a variety of forecasts, integrating these to maximise the forecasts.
Speculative forecasting	To use qualitative techniques such as scenario writing or the judgement of experts such as in the Delphi or expert approach.

Source: Adapted from Calantone, Benedetto, and Bojanic (1987, cited in Ritchie, 2009, p. 89)

The latter approach has been used within the tourism industry since the 1970s. Proactive crisis strategies based on the building scenario is considered to be an expensive option as it is time-consuming. The intervention analysis of tourism time series is less expensive appears to be a very useful tool for short-term forecasting if carried out with bias and with quality provisional data. Its disadvantage is that one has to wait at least two months after a crisis to extrapolate any changes in trends (Scaglione, 2007).

The Delphi approach is often used for technological and specific events. Delphi techniques provide one method of assessing these types of risk and assigning them a weighting. Lloyd, Lopa, and Braunlich (2000) applied the Delphi approach to predict changes in the Hong Kong hotel industry as a result of the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to China in 1997. Using standard econometric forecasting tools, factors can be assessed and revised as trends generated as scenarios resulting in discontinuities to the base line (Prideaux et al., 2003). The Tourism Forecasting Council adopted a scenario approach in 1997 when forecasts of inbound tourism to Australia were revised in the light of the Asian financial crisis (Prideaux et al., 2003). Regarding the TFC approach, scenarios were based on possible combinations of interest rate rises and currency fluctuations which were largely based on quantitative rather than qualitative trends.

In developing forecasting techniques, the tourism sector would do well to draw upon strategic management practices adopted elsewhere and, in particular, on methods developed by the learning organisation school (Senge, 1990) and the strategic conversion approach (van der Heijden, 1997). Chaos theory provides an insightful paradigm for the investigation of change in complex situations where multiple influences impact on non-equilibrium systems, as chaos theory demonstrates that there are elements of system behaviour that are intrinsically unstable and not amenable to formal forecasting (Faulkner, 2001). The study of Prideaux et al. (2003) on the case of Indonesia identifies deficiencies in current forecasting techniques and suggests a potential way towards greater understanding of the impact of unexpected tourism shocks. The study suggests that the existing statistical and econometric forecasting techniques are insufficient and unable to deal with the uncertainty of incidents such as the Asian financial crisis, coups in Fiji, and the Gulf War. Moreover, they lack the ability to articulate this into the interface between forecasting and strategy. Thus, forecasting techniques should incorporate recognition of the potential impacts of the underlying political, economic, social and cultural trends that affect each nation as well as the region in which that nation is situated.

Analysis of market trends before disasters and crises can be undertaken as part of proactive crisis management to provide a reality check on the prospects for discrete markets. For various reasons, markets recover at vastly different rates following disasters and crises, and market-specific strategies and actions need to be formulated based on comprehensive analysis of the precursors and prospects for incremental growth in discrete markets, and possibly even market segments. Richter (1999) argues that risk assessment and political audits function as useful tools that assist nations in rapid post-crisis recovery. Prideaux et al. (2003) suggest that there is a need to develop new forecasting techniques that incorporate political risk, economic risk and a deeper understanding of the influences of history, thus confirming that a thorough understanding of national history along with identification of potential risk factors is essential if potential disruptions arising from these factors are to be incorporated into new tourism forecasting models. Ritchie (2009) states that any disaster planning or prevention measures should address both risk and vulnerability where there exists political and business environment risk analysis which often uses

strategic forecasting tools.

Meanwhile, political risk analysis study developed by Poirier (1997) suggests that companies considering an investment in foreign country tourism development should consider some form of political risk analysis to assist decision-making. Moreover, political instability and the global expansion of tourism make the industry vulnerable to potential global risks. As Poirier (1997) states; "although the boundaries between economic and political risk cannot be determined precisely, political risk analysis attempts to consider various political threats to multinational enterprises arising from predictable or spontaneous events taking place within a specific environment" (p. 676). Schmidt (1986) notes the difference between a risk event and a risk effect, with a risk event posing potential problems for organisations, whereas a risk effect impacts organisational goals or profitability. Thus, crisis management needs to integrate risk analysis study in order to prevent the impacts of potential crises, as risk reduction can occur before a crisis hits through undertaking risk management strategies (Heath, 1998). The next section discusses risk assessment strategies applied in proactive crisis management.

3.3.2 Risk assessment

Risk factors relate to both vulnerability and the likely frequency and magnitude of hazards in a particular destination. Risk can be both involuntary which covers most hazards, or voluntary such as human-induced hazards such as pollution, with involuntary risks better tolerated by the public (Smith, 1995). Risk assessment can be viewed as proactive crisis management given that risk reduction or risk avoidance strategies are used to describe the process by which customers seek to reduce the uncertainty or consequences of an unsatisfactory decision (Hsu & Lin, 2006). Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992) note that responses to uncertain situations vary with the types of risk perceived by the decision-maker to be chiefly influential.

Disaster reduction programmes serve as investments that reduce the likely impact of a disaster. They need to be developed by a range of public and private sectors including government departments (e.g. finance, environment, agriculture, health,

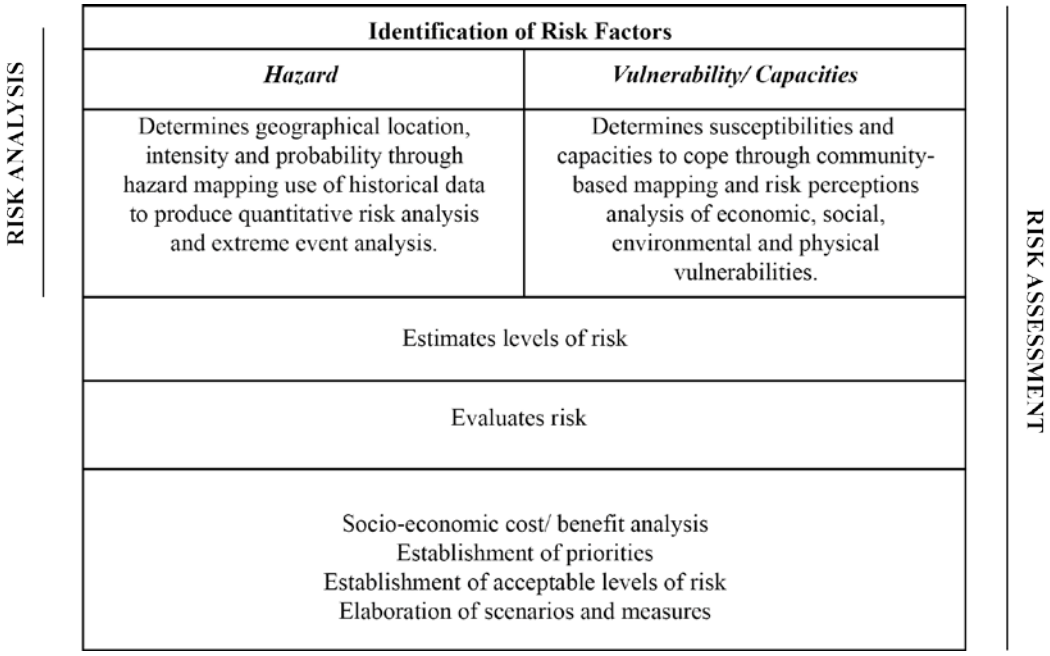
education, construction, industry, and social protection and community services) in addition to scientists, non-government organisations and the general public. Beckon and Wilson (2006) suggest that extensive planning can reduce the uncertainty and perceived risk of travelling. As part of their trip planning, tourists evaluate choices and make decisions regarding attractions, transportation, accommodation and related infrastructure in the affected destination. Accordingly, travellers often rely on information sources with high amounts of perceived credibility, such as government travel advisory information, word of mouth and, to a lesser extent, marketing information (Becken & Wilson, 2006).

However, if the perceived risk is viewed to be too high, risk reduction strategies may take the form of adjusted behaviour, trip cancellations or the avoidance of a destination altogether (Crotts, 2003; Kozak, Crotts & Law, 2007). Fuchs and Reichel (2004) find that risk reduction strategies relevant to tourist destination choices include activities such as collecting information from travel agents, searching for information on the internet, making shorter trips and making decisions cooperatively. Reisinger and Mavondo (2005) insist that psychological factors require analysis to better understand tourist reactions to risk.

Kates and Kasperson (1983) suggest that risk assessment, similar to an organisational risk management framework, consists of three distinct steps: (1) an identification of hazards likely to result in disasters, (2) an estimation of the risks of such events, and (3) an evaluation of the social consequences of the derived risk. However, as Smith (1995) notes, following risk assessment very few questions are posed to assess the actual impact of mitigation which in turn constrains our understanding of hazard reduction and its values.

Ritchie (2009) states that appreciating vulnerability and risk are important in understanding how crises may be mitigated or prevented; he further suggests that risk assessment and risk analysis depend upon an analysis of risk likelihood, potential loss, vulnerability and the capacity of the local population to deal or cope with this loss or impact as illustrated in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Stages of risk analysis and assessment



Source: Ritchie (2009, p. 103)

Therefore, it is believed that risk assessment should be built into the surrounding organisational environment, structures, systems and people and become part of the strategic process for organisations, which is especially important for the tourism industry to estimate the potential harm or negative impacts of crisis events.

3.3.3 Proactive crisis communication

Whenever crisis occurs, the tourism industry must be prepared to handle information given the audiences' desire to understand events. Thus, crisis communication is taken into consideration as a means of proactive crisis management so that the tourism industry employs well-planned and well-rehearsed strategies to reduce the impacts of those crises.

In the pre-crisis phase, organisations must develop reservoirs of goodwill with internal and external stakeholders while maintaining reputations (Fall & Massey, 2006). In Turkey, for example, neither the government nor the private sector had in place any plans to deal with the country's 2001 economic crisis (Okumus &

Karamustafa, 2005) which caused profound effects on the tourism industry that might have been reduced if a mitigation plan had been in place. Bland (1995) presents six components of crisis management training for organisations which provide a useful framework proactive training, as demonstrated in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Crisis communication training for tourism organisations

Theoretical training	Defining crisis and disaster and forming the skeleton of the crisis and disaster management plan.
Brainstorming	Thinking about the various types of crises and disasters that could occur and how staff could respond; asking questions about who the audience would be and how would they react? How do we communicate most effectively with the audience?
Planning	Written plans are incorporated into a crisis and disaster manual.
Media training	Training of spokespeople in handling the media and interview techniques.
Simulations	Conducting crisis and disaster simulations to assess the strengths and weakness of the team and keep them crisis-aware.
Audits	A crisis and disaster auditor can check individual awareness of procedures and ensure data and manuals are kept up to date.

Source: adapted from Bland (1995)

The study of destination recovery after a major bushfire in Australia's national capital (Armstrong & Ritchie, 2007) suggests that the preparation of crisis communication and marketing recovery plans ensure that a range of communication issues and decisions were discussed, debated and resolved before the disaster hit (e.g. a formed recovery alliance that could be rapidly consummated after a bushfire to serve as a public forum for ideas, advice, consultation and assistance).

Mansfeld (2006) developed a proactive platform for security information in which he suggests:

> "Security information has to be balanced, objective, comprehensive, integrative, evaluative, interpretive, and, furthermore supply relevant information that can better enable tourist and prospective tourists on the one hand, and the tourist industry in the generating countries, on the

other, to construct a balanced risk perception" (p. 284).

The security information platform (Mansfeld, 2006) provides more useful information by showing which tourism stakeholders are involved in times of crisis, how crisis information is conveyed at those times, and which security information platforms can help crisis managers to proactively plan for the impacts of a crisis effectively. Other proactive crisis management strategies employed for crisis situations is security communication, which conveys security information to tourists and tour operators in the generating markets (Mansfeld, 1999; Ritchie, 2004). As a crisis cannot be prevented, comprehensive planning must be undertaken. Destinations affected by security situations suffer from a major crisis-management flaw.

Therefore, this section demonstrates the effectiveness of prevention, reduction and mitigation plan is a function of the cooperation between tourism stakeholders in the affected destinations and those in generating markets considering the proactive crisis strategies of forecasting techniques, risk assessment, and proactive crisis communication strategies.

3.4 Crisis management

Any intervention during the crisis phase can be considered as crisis management. When a crisis occurs, the tourism industry must deal urgently with the immediate issues arising from the crisis such as tourist evacuation, stakeholder coordination and media communication. However, tourism literature confirms that the impacts of crises and disasters can be mitigated or alleviated if the intervention in the crisis phase is implemented promptly and properly.

A number of strategies have been suggested for the crisis phase (Campiranon & Arcodia, 2007; Canel & Sanders, 2010). This section discusses stakeholder coordination, communication response and the importance of understanding factors such as risk perception and cultural differences which contribute to the development of effective crisis management during the crisis phase.

3.4.1 Stakeholder coordination

A number of scholars confirm the importance of stakeholder coordination during a crisis phase.

Tourism literature further divides crisis response into two main categories: internal response and external response. Crisis internal response refers to stages where management assesses conditions internally; this involves reassuring guests and staff, determining additional dangers, mobilising emergency preparedness, protecting the safety of people and property, and establishing information outposts. After the internal conditions have been established, management then coordinates externally with the local community. These actions should be implemented through pre-established, efficient channels (Stafford et al., 2002). It is clear that crisis response requires coordination between tourism stakeholders both internally and externally.

Moreover, stakeholder response to crisis events also affects the overall impact of a crisis. The study of tourism responses to the foot-and-mouth outbreak in the UK confirm that the impact of the crisis was affected by stakeholders' responses and how they were portrayed in the media (Leslie & Black, 2005). Key stakeholders included the government, trade organisations. The lack of effective coordination and communication lead to both the failure of the government to recognise the real problem and their initial apathy in grasping the potency of the media despite conflicting reports. Thus, crises can worsen if there is a lack of stakeholder coordination.

3.4.2 Crisis communication response

Past research on tourism crises highlights the need for crisis management frameworks which include effective crisis communication strategies directed towards potential tourists and the mass media. Crises create uncertainty for stakeholders. Consequently, minimising this uncertainty through the provision of information is paramount (Birch, 1994). According to the media systems dependency theory, during particular situations such as crises, people tend to depend

on the media more than usual (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1975).

Billings, Milburn and Schaalman (1980) surmise three basic responses to a crisis: inaction; routine solutions; and original solutions. By not responding, the media is allowed to define the situation. Thus, organisations need to prepare in advance for possible crisis situations. When the crisis occurs, crisis communication response strategies should be implemented. This is the crucial stage in management's operational planning system at an affected destination so that they can ensure that the destination's image experiences as little negative publicity as possible (Tiernan, Igoe, Carroll & O'Keefe, 2007). The following should be noted: the importance of employing crisis communications response strategy including the awareness of stakeholder informational needs: the timely and accurate dispersion of that information; the deployment of adequate resources to counter the impact of a crisis by organisations; the methods of putting those communications to use appropriately; and finally, the use of a single messenger to handle media enquiries.

Crisis communication, according to Heath (1994), is "the enactment of control (or at least its appearance) in the face of high uncertainty in an effort to win external audiences' confidence, in ways that are ethical" (p. 259). Policy-makers are challenged on the content of messages that should be communicated. Research on crisis communications focuses on two distinct areas: form, such as how the crisis response is presented, and content, such as the actual messaging used in the response (Coombs, 1999).

Coombs (1999) defines crisis communications strategies as all "actual verbal and non-verbal responses an organisation uses to address a crisis" (p. 128). Stakeholders in turn assess all aspects of an organisation's crisis communications response. Coombs (2000) contends that three basic informational needs must be met: background information on the crisis event; how stakeholders will be affected; and what specific precautionary measures stakeholders need to take. Blame and responsibility are considered crucial issues for those affected during a crisis or disaster (Harrison, 1999). Crisis communication plans are implemented by crisis communication managers, in coordination with members of the organisations such

as operations, safety management, legal, advertising. All key stakeholders are targeted in this stage of the model (Fall & Massey, 2006).

Events are influenced by a number of different factors and this is where crisis communication response strategies particularly play out, as there may be opportunities for decision-makers to handle a crisis. Canel and Sanders' (2010) study on the 2004 Madrid bombings and the 2005 London bombings serves as a good example. The British government displayed highly effective communication by responding early to concerns of a possible link to Islamic extremists by defining the bombings as actions in direct opposition to the British way of life and the London spirit, which necessarily included all people, including Muslims. Conversely, the Spanish government failed to effectively define their problem, which resulted in difficulties in conveying judgments regarding those involved in the events and endorsing remedies for the situation. Therefore, effective crisis communication strategies are crucial in ensuring that positive relationships with stakeholders are maintained (Fishman, 1999).

The preceding sub-section reviews various crisis strategies from past tourism literature implemented during the crisis phase. The following sub-section reviews different factors that influence crisis management such as risk perception and cultural differences.

3.4.3 Risk perception in times of crisis

During a crisis, the perception of the affected destination as inherently unsafe is usually conveyed through the media to a mass audience, thus impacting tourism stakeholders.

Crises and risk perception are related, as risk perception is the process through which tourists form impressions about threats to the crisis they perceive. These perceptions can be influenced by experience, personality traits, and social norms. It is important to emphasise that the term 'crisis perception' has a variety of applications in the context of risk and hazard, including assessment, attitude, and

awareness. The following section reviews academic literature related to risk perception in times of crises. Brug et al. (2004) report an effect of gender on risk perception, with women reporting higher perceptions of risk associated with SARS than men. Mitchell and Vassos (1997) confirm that male individuals usually perceive a lower risk than females.

Sonmez and Graefe (1998) study the risk perceptions of tourists within the context of terrorism and found that international tourism is seriously affected by the reactions of potential travellers to perceived risks such as political instability and terrorism. Despite the isolated circumstances of actual incidents, intense global media attention may amplify risk perceptions and lower confidence among visitors to even unrelated locations. Kobrin (1979) argues persuasively that instability is a feature of the general environment, whereas risk is something narrower in focus that directly affects the specific project. However, risks associated with crises, potential terrorist attacks and political instability have been identified as particularly influential in changing travel intentions, even among experienced travellers (Sonmez & Graefe, 1998).

For this reason it is essential to identify a crisis early on and not only deal with the technical situation but also focus on issues of perception. Often, it is changes in public perception that cause problems for tourism. Santana (2003) observes that, in tourism, “perception is reality” (p. 318), and repairing infrastructure will not in itself restore confidence in a destination; that process requires a parallel campaign to change public perceptions.

If visitors perceive that there is a risk, they are more than likely to select an alternative destination, as highlighted by Hunter-Jones, Jeffs & Smith (2008). There are also conditions which lead tourists to avoid particular destinations or simply not travel (Floyd, Gibson, Penington-Grey, & Thapa, 2003). Floyd et al. (2003) note that five groups of risk factors are pertinent to travel decisions: (1) war and political instability; (2) health concerns; (3) crime; (4) terrorism; and (5) natural disasters. When such events unfold, it is more likely that risk perception will affect the tourism industry in the affected areas and potentially beyond. Therefore, it is necessary to

understand risk perception in times of crises for the purpose of effective implementation of crisis management strategies.

3.4.4 Cultural differences

Previous literature demonstrates how tourist responses can differ according to their nationality (Seddighi et al., 2001; Campiranon & Scott, 2007). The study of Eugenio-Martin, Sinclair and Yeoman (2005) on the responses of tourists to Scotland from the USA, France and Germany during two different crisis situations (the foot-and-mouth outbreak and the September 11 attacks) confirms that tourists from different countries respond differently to tourism crises. From the study's findings, French tourists were particularly affected by the foot-and-mouth outbreak crisis while German tourists were more affected by the September 11 events. The study demonstrates the differences in tourists' responses to crises based on their nationalities, thereby assisting policy-makers to tailor their marketing and related communication strategies towards specific markets. There exists a myriad of examples in academic literature that deal with how one's national culture influences and shapes responses to circumstance, from attitudes about law (Berrell & Wrathall, 2003) to behaviour in the workplace (Berrell, Gloet, & Wrathall, 2001). Information about responses of different nationalities to crisis events is particularly useful for responding to the crisis phase of an incident.

Hofstede (1994) describes a framework that accounts for the influence of national culture on how people may react and respond to crises in global tourism. The subtitle of this popular text 'software of the mind' indicates the deep-seated nature of culture's influence and its unconscious capacity to programme behaviour. The ideas expressed, notably that some cultures accept quite large differentials in the distribution of power, some groups possess a low tolerance for uncertainty and others are status-bound help to explain the responses of people to stressful situations in global tourism.

Key indicators of altered behaviour after a crisis require further investigation. For example, understanding the extent to which people are visiting friends and relatives

(VFRs) domestically tourists' propensity for shorter trips, and automobile travel following an aircraft-related disaster. Understanding how these characteristics of tourist behaviour may change in the event of a disaster provides insight for tourism marketers, who are then able to monitor these switches in behaviour and create response strategies that identify tourism products to satisfy these altered needs.

Having reviewed the different strategies and important factors within the crisis phase, the academic literature confirms that stakeholder coordination is very important during a crisis; crisis communication helps organisations communicate with their audiences and can alleviate the impacts of crisis. Applying an understanding of risk perception and cultural differences can further facilitate appropriate response strategies for particular destinations.

3.5 Post-crisis management

The post-crisis stage is the period of recovery and assessment after a crisis; this is a point when unique opportunities may be created or additional negative effects may occur (Ray, 1999). After a crisis has passed, organisations implement various recovery strategies. During this phase, the main recovery strategies such as marketing strategies, promotional campaigns, public relations and branding are designed to regain the confidence of stakeholders toward the affected destination. A number of scholars have attempted to develop different strategies for recovering from various crises; however, this section reviews the main strategies specific to theory that relates to tourism. Such crises include earthquakes, floods, cyclones, epidemics, outbreaks and political crises. The preceding chapter demonstrated how crises can devastate an affected destination and leave it with an unsafe image, damaged infrastructure, loss of confidence and ultimately diminished tourism demand. Thus, it is clear that understanding the impacts of crises on organisations and destinations is the key to effective post-event recovery.

This section comprehensively reviews how affected destinations can recover. During the post-crisis phase, tourists appear reluctant to return to an affected destination, especially when they find tourism facilities or infrastructure destroyed or damaged;

this often leads them to alternative destinations (Durocher, 1994). Some tourists resume travelling following a single crisis event, however, investors take longer to return to what they perceive as an unreliable business climate (Baral, Baral & Morgan, 2004). Four important considerations should be applied to this phase. First, the long-term impact on distinct stakeholder groups will be different. For example, professional investors have a more rational decision-making system than the casual tourist as they must make a return on their investments. Second, human nature categorises a single crisis event as a 'fluke' where no blame is attached to an individual organisation, yet consecutive crisis events are interpreted as a sign of something more widespread (Niininen & Gatsou, 2008). Third, the perception of risk affects the travel decision-making process; thus tourists may alter their travel plans, substitute destinations and, in extreme cases, postpone travel (Durocher, 1994; Sonmez & Graefe, 1998; Sonmez et al., 1999). Fourth, it is important to remember that information is conveyed instantly in our digital age; consequently a destination's handling of a crisis occurs in full view of a large and global audience, thus directly affecting public confidence in the recovery of the affected destination.

Restoring the image of a destination to a position of confidence not only for tourists but also for tourism investors is absolutely necessary. It is suggested that mature destinations may recover at a slower rate than destinations in emerging tourism markets (Mansfeld, 1999). Regardless, it is important to consider that an affected destination with a chronic history of crises will suffer greater impact as the result of a crisis situation.

The post-crisis period allows organisations to review the impacts of such crises in relation to other recent events. Once the crisis is deemed to be over, it is of paramount importance that continuous efforts are made to recover stakeholder confidence and that the affected destination's government plays a critical role during this phase, as governments can greatly influence tourism recovery through funding major promotional campaigns (Blake & Sinclair, 2003; Niininen & Gatsou, 2008). National governments can also hasten recovery with tax concessions, grants or loans while local governments can champion tourism business coalitions that pool together available expertise and resources (Stafford et al., 2002; Litvin & Anderson, 2003;

Pratt, 2003). In terms of coordinating and directing the multitude of stakeholders participating in recovery, leadership comes to the forefront as the ability of stakeholders to network effectively enables them to regroup collectively following a crisis (Scott, Laws & Prideaux, 2010).

This section presents recovery strategies developed by different scholars and the importance of understanding destination image. These include post-crisis communication, marketing recovery strategies, destination image, and resolution and feedback strategies.

3.5.1 Post-crisis communication

A well-integrated communication plan can lead to rapid dissipation of negative images and a quicker recovery process. The importance of information and communication management in the recovery process is recognised by several scholars (Sonmez, 1998; Drabek, 2000; Horsley & Barker, 2002; Hale, Dulek & Hale, 2005). The cost of preparing a crisis communication plan in tandem with a marketing recovery plan is likely to be much less than the impact of decreased visitor activity and flagging consumer confidence due to a slow response to a crisis or disaster (Sonmez et al., 1999).

Additionally, the speed of recovery for countries affected by a crisis not only depends on the time taken to repair initial damage but also on "an effective marketing message announcing that the destination is open again" (de Sausmarez, 2005, p. 56).

During the post-crisis phase, the perception of risk in a specific area is often a key element in tourism recovery strategies. Organisations focus their efforts on reputation management and returning the organisation to a sense of normalcy. Crisis communication planning can help tourism organisations reduce the damage to a destination's image. Even so, it is difficult for trade organisations to effectively compete with the mass media that has world-wide, 24-hour coverage. By publicising the positives and reporting the progress of the recovery, destinations can seize some

control to restore confidence (Beirman, 2003). It is important for the tourism industry to learn as much as possible about what can potentially deter the market segments it caters to; methods of information delivery should be investigated to ease the concerns of travellers (Dolnicar & Grun, 2007). For example, a military conflict may be relegated to a particular region of a country while other areas are left unaffected. Such information would have to be communicated effectively and quickly to customers in a crisis situation. Thus, post-crisis communication serves a helpful role during the recovery period.

The challenges that an affected destination may face, especially in the case of a post-civil war scenario, may include the fact that tourists would not be likely to travel to that area. Positioning and repositioning strategies are suggested by different scholars for the post-crisis phase. A repositioning strategy is an approach to positioning which seeks to manipulate what already exists in the mind (Ries & Trout, 1993). For example, in the case of Fiji, its peaceful island retreat image was damaged; a repositioning strategy improved the situation. Likewise, Montenegro repositioned itself in its post-civil war climate as a destination for sustainable tourism. By reinforcing its role as an environmental leader in the Mediterranean, the small Balkan country can further distinguish itself from similar destinations (Weber & Telisman-Kosuta, 1991; Popesku & Maric, 2005).

Regarding the case of New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina, Chacko and Marcell (2007) suggest that the effectiveness of recovery marketing strategies can be improved by including the repositioning strategies undertaken by the city's tourism marketing organisations, and also suggest the inclusion of the lessons learned for post-disaster market repositioning.

Market position is a communications strategy defined as "the way a product is defined by consumers on important attributes – the place the product occupies in consumers' minds relative to competing products" (Kotler, Bowen & Makens, 2005, p. 280). According to Pike and Ryan (2004), "a major objective of any destination positioning strategy will be to reinforce positive images already held by the target audience, correct negative images, or create a new image" (p. 334). Chacko (1997)

discusses the application of six different positioning approaches to tourism destinations. These include positioning by product attributes, price, competition, product class, user, and application. While positioning strategies may be carefully planned and orchestrated, the major problem during a catastrophic event is that the mass media coverage of the disaster can overwhelmingly impact a destination's market position regardless.

Events that occur in remote locations or with less media visibility have much less effect than those occurring in well-known destinations or those significantly affecting tourists (Sonmez & Graefe, 1998). In the context of tourism, it has been noted that the impacts of disasters on the market are often out of proposition with their actual disruptive effects because of exaggeration by the media (Murphy & Bayley, 1989; Cassedy, 1991).

Therefore, post-crisis communication must be examined in relation to how the perception of the affected destination has been communicated. Thus, how well organisations can manage perceptions becomes a key issue. Crisis recovery strategies aim to achieve two fundamental lines of action: first is action over reality, and second is action over the mental image or the perception of the reality. These two lines of action can also be approached as strategies to decrease real risk and risk perception (Moreira, 2007a).

Crisis communication allows an organisation to strategically manage stakeholder perceptions in order to absorb the damage that mass media can inflict (Fall & Massey, 2006).

3.5.2 Marketing recovery strategies

Various scholars have developed marketing recovery strategies. These may employ price discounts, innovative packaging and lobbying support from major media players (Stafford et al., 2002; Litvin & Anderson, 2003). An integral part of effective marketing management of crises is for tourist authorities to establish and maintain alliances with trade organisation and government stakeholders that share

common vested interests (e.g. airlines, hoteliers, resorts, museums, attractions and wholesale tour operators).

Recovery marketing should aim to convince potential visitors that they will continue to experience selling features, perhaps rest and relaxation or a healthy natural environment, despite the concluded crisis. Other strategies include the rapid recovery of tourism facilities and infrastructure as well as the accurate but rapid delivery of information through key visitor information sources. Identifying and leveraging opinion leaders with the dissemination of positive attributes of a destination can further offset negative publicity emanating from the mass media; effective advertising campaigns capitalise on visitors' nostalgia and mental connections to the place, as was demonstrated in the case of New Orleans (Braun-LaTour, Grinley, & Loftus, 2006).

Price discounts, commonly applied to attract potential visitors during the post-crisis phase, have been widely used. However, Carlsen and Hughes (2007) argue that it is pointless to offer discounts to those who have already expressed a propensity to purchase packages in the high season at full price. The main aspect of recovery marketing strategies is not to discount but to prevent cancellation in the short-term so that existing bookings are honoured and sales are maintained.

Recovery marketing strategies should be implemented in the short, medium and long term, where the short-term function is to stop cancellation and use the media to correct the misperception that the destination is in danger, as demonstrated in the Maldives Tsunami study (Carlsen, 2005, 2006).

Diversification of the affected destination's products and market can effectively be leveraged in post-disaster marketing. This is especially true of iconic cities and region which can retain their position among the world's leading destinations as the case of London (Ladkin, Fyall, Fletcher & Shipway, 2007). Emergency actions can impact the marketing of a destination during the post-emergency stage, thus emphasising the need for long-term, sustainable stakeholder partnerships for the destination to prosper. Another characteristic of recovery strategies in tourist

generating regions is to focus marketing efforts towards new markets sprung from new travel trade partners and airline alliances (Carlsen & Hughes, 2008).

A study on a shift of Canadian seasonality and domestic travel patterns as a result of the September 11 events suggests that developing crisis recovery marketing policies such as preparing emergency marketing plans that focus on altering traditional markets for safer travel markets is imperative (Smith & Carmichael, 2005). An effective marketing plan is needed to communicate the outcomes of policy changes to the consumer. On-going research into how travel markets react to differing disasters such as tracking tourist behaviour and travel patterns while indicating dislocations and trends is necessary. Both government agencies and tourism industry managers must employ quick response mechanisms for recovery after a crisis. Table 3.4 presents marketing recovery strategies that have been implemented in past crises.

Table 3.4 Recovery marketing strategies

Beirman (2003)	**UNWTO (2005)**	**PATA (n. d.)**
-Project primary messages -Build solidarity messages -Set out the facts -Restore confidence -Protect branding -Offer incentives -Publicise positives -Report and monitor progress	-Be proactive in communications -Look for positive news -Increase familiarisation trips for journalists -Remember anniversaries -Anticipate legal actions -Create your own news outlet on the destination website -Join the global communications campaign for tourism -Create new niche market products -Target experienced and special interest travellers -Create special price offers -Quickly shift promotion to most promising markets -Step up promotion to domestic market -Increase familiarisation trips for tour operators and special events -Take travel advisories seriously -Intensify co-operation -Survey generating markets on perceptions of your destination	-Bring all disparate elements together and follow a common agenda -Create an environment for careful planning -Establish an integrated crisis management plan -Recognise importance of aviation sector -Rebuild the Bali brand -Broaden the brand to include culture and heritage -Introduce contemporary marketing platforms -Increase brand awareness through partnership marketing

Source: Carlsen and Hughes (2007, p. 141)

In his book on crisis recovery marketing strategies, Beirman (2003) discusses a number of crisis events such as the Fiji political coups (1987, 2000), the Port Arthur massacre (1996), the Izmit earthquake in Turkey (1999), the Palestinian uprising (2000-2002), and the Sri Lankan Civil War, and recommends marketing and communication strategies for destinations recovering from crises. UNWTO (2005) suggests steps for recovering tourist confidence and addressing the many misperceptions that can follow disasters. Along with the recommended marketing strategies proposed by The PATA Bali Recovery Taskforce following the 2002 bombings, all of these strategies are illustrated in Table 3.4.

A number of scholars have studied the marketing recovery strategies used in different types of crisis. A study on the impact of Cyclone Larry on the North Queensland tourism industry looked at the issue by examining the impact on visitor flows in the short term and recording the views of visitors who travelled to the region several months after the event. Results suggested that once essential services were restored and the affected area was safe, marketing played a major role in informing visitors that the area was again 'open for business'. However, a study on the Hong Kong outbound tourism market in the immediate post-SARS period suggests that markets rebound quickly once the immediate crisis abates, possibly suggesting that the magnitude of the rebound is in direct proportion to the extent of privation felt by affected individuals. Destination marketing organisations (DMOs) must employ promotional campaigns that are ready to launch at short notice. Low-price promotional fares may be an appropriate strategy to stimulate demand in the immediate aftermath. However, the communication message and the product offered trump the price (McKercher & Pine, 2005).

Additionally, an organisation cannot successfully provide quality service to the public without the implementation of a well-orchestrated public relations programme (Heath, Leth & Nathan, 1994; Fall, 2000, 2004; Kinser & Fall, 2006). The tourism industry has shifted towards increased use of public relations tactics to communicate messages to key stakeholders; accordingly, tourism managers utilise a growing number of public relations information channels when communicating with their target audience. Frequent use of print media relations tactics reinforces how

managers continue to disseminate messages via 'uncontrolled' methods. These outlets, though often viewed with more credibility because of their filtering via gatekeepers such as editors and producers, limit the organisation's control over the finalized content, style, placement and timing of the message. Despite these shortcomings, receivers of this information may perceive it as more genuine and absolute (Ries & Ries, 2002; Fall & Massey, 2006).

Having discussed various marketing strategies for the post-crisis phase, it is clear that marketing recovery strategies play a crucial role and often dictate how soon affected destinations recover from a crisis.

3.5.3 Destination image

The successful development of tourist destinations depends on the perceived image that tourists and residents have of the present and future situation of a destination (Moreira, 2007b). As a result of media coverage, perceived risk associated with a particular destination may outweigh actual conditions in the travel decision-making process, causing whole regions to be falsely perceived as risky (Sonmez, 1998). Image crises occur frequently to tourist destinations around the world for reasons including crime waves, terrorist activities, interracial conflicts, epidemics, and natural disasters which are all widely covered in the national and international media (Avraham, 2000; Chadee, Austen, & Ditton, 2007). Organic images - those formed by non-tourism-based media sources - cohabitate with induced images - those shaped by tourist-orientated promotional agencies.

Gunn (1988) was one of the first researchers to examine the perception of travel destinations and, at the time, noted that there were several studies on the subject. By 2002, Pike was able to identify 142 destination image studies, each exploring a variety of areas including the role and influence of destination images in terms of consumer behaviour, image formation, and destination image scale development.

The image of a destination affects tourists' choice processes, as well as the evaluation of that destination and future perception, behaviour and satisfaction of

tourists (Hosany, Ekinci & Uysal, 2006; Dipetrio, Wang, Rompf, & Severt, 2007; Chi & Qu, 2008).

Hosany, Ekinci and Uysal (2006) suggest that destination image consists primarily of two components: cognitive and affective. This emphasises the importance of destination personality which deserves consideration alongside a destination's image itself. In this study, brand personality was described as the traits associated with humans that consumers perceive brands to possess. Distinctive brand personality can create unique and favourable associations in consumer memory, thus enhancing brand equity even if the destination endures a crisis. Similar to brand personality research, the academic literature increasingly acknowledges the importance of destination personality; in particular, the importance of leveraging the perceived image of a place and influencing tourist choice by improving a destination's image in the recovery phase (Ekinci & Hosany, 2006).

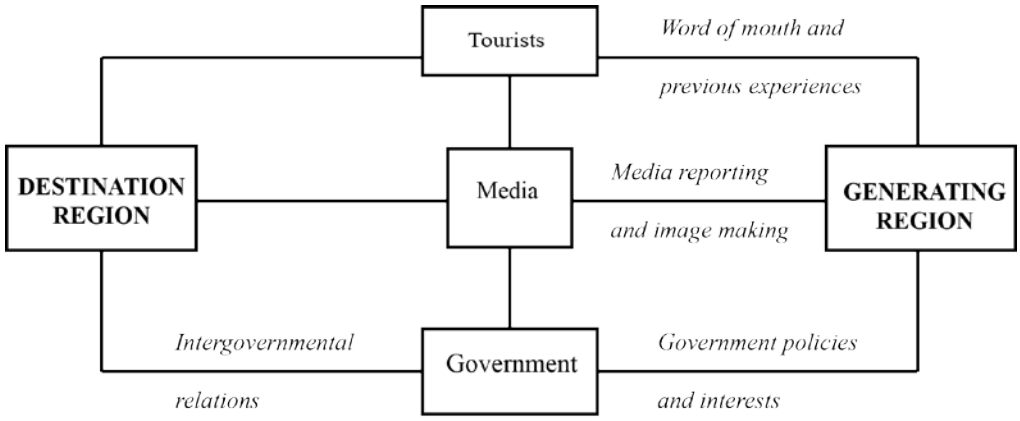
When people hesitate to invest, move to or visit cities and destinations that are covered in the media mainly in relation to political violence, crime, poverty or social disorder, a destination image can be affected (Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996; Avraham, 2000). Avraham (2000), in particular, suggests that such images affect three groups of people: the general public, decision-makers and the inhabitants of the affected destination. Pertaining to the general public, city images can affect a multitude of decisions including those surrounding tourism, migration, investment and businesses (Donaldson & Ferreira, 2007). For the second group, image affects decisions by policy makers regarding revenue grants, capital and resource allocation, legislation and rule-making (Avraham, 2000; Donaldson & Ferreira, 2007). Finally, the perceived image of a destination itself affects the self-image of its own inhabitants (Chi & Qu, 2008).

People construct place images and cognitive maps according to the kind of information they receive from various sources (Doyle, 2006). Tourists usually become aware of occurrences in their immediate environment from direct contact with the political events; they may be privy to events outside of their immediate locality due to media reports, underscoring the media's crucial role shaping the

public's perception of a destination, conflict, or issue and consequently impacting travel patterns (Santana, 2003; Doyle, 2006). According to Avraham (2000), information about a geographically distant location is not on the radar of most people and so they make no attempt to verify the situation. For this reason, media reports from distant lands are viewed, generally, as bona fide and objective. Therefore, regardless of high quality visitor attractions and other draws, a crisis's negative repercussions can nonetheless damage the destination's image (Lepp & Gibson, 2003; Kozak, Crotts & Law, 2007). As a result, there is a need to consider the improvement of accurate information flow between local agencies and the media (Cavlek, 2002).

Figure 3.2 provides a model of the factors leading to the creation of images of the political instability of a destination.

Figure 3.2 Political instability, violence and the image-making process



Source: Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996

In Figure 3.2, Hall and O'Sullivan (1996) suggest three main elements for study: (1) returning tourists through word-of-mouth reporting of their experiences; (2) the media; and (3) the government of the tourist generating region. The role that the public sector, national and local governments, plays in tourism development highlights the importance of governments and their response to incidents that may affect perceptions.

The media, however, can dominate by creating images of safety and political stability in a destination image, or lack of thereof. As Hall and O' Sullivan (1996) suggest:

> "The media is not a passive portrayer of events. The media select particular representations and interpretations of places and events amid a plethora of potential representations in terms of time, content, and images. Therefore, it is the portrayal of political instability rather than political instability itself which becomes uppermost as a factor in tourist destination choice behaviour. Nevertheless, political instability clearly does exist" (p. 108).

However, the mass media has an influential role in shaping the image and perception of destinations in times of crisis. Thailand serves as a good example of this effect. As a result of the political conflict in Bangkok in 2010 and the ensuing travel advice from tourist generating countries, the number of tourists fell by 20 per cent. These crises of perception can bring about more deleterious mayhem than the damage created by the political crisis itself.

Having discussed the importance of destination image, there remains more academic literature related to this area. However this study does not cover all past research in relation to destination image but only focuses upon the areas which are relevant to this political crisis management study.

3.5.4 Resolution and feedback

The post-crisis phase provides a chance for organisational assessment and increased understanding of the system's overall functioning. It is a time to correct problems, develop and implement preventive actions, and introduce necessary change (Ray, 1999). It can be argued that without the creation of new knowledge, no change will ever be possible; thus organisations must implement organisational learning and feedback so as to create new knowledge from it (Cook & Brown, 1999; Blackman, 2006; Blackman & Ritchie, 2007). Interestingly, Meyers and Holusha (1986)

suggests seven potential advantages of a crisis managed well: heroes are born; change is accelerated; latent problems are faced; people can be changed; new strategies evolve; early-warning systems develop; and new competitive edges appear. Clearly, the advantages of resolution and feedback during this phase are numerous, especially as it pertains to improving crisis management to prepare for future crises. Faulkner (2001) agrees in his tourism crisis and disaster framework, resolving that the resolution stage is critical. Moreover, Faulkner and Vikulov (2001) suggest the following:

> "… it [loop learning] emphasises the importance of a fundamental reassessment of the destination's management and planning approaches at the post-disaster stage if the positive enduring effects are to be accentuated and the negatives ameliorated" (p. 343).

'Single loop learning', as described by Argyris and Schon (1996), occurs when the values and norms underpinning a strategy or action are left unchallenged and unchanged, thus preventing organisations from learning from their errors; this potentially leads to failure. As a result, they advocate 'double loop learning' which promotes inquiry, challenges current assumptions and actions, and leads to new theories to provide foresight.

Previous tourism literature also confirms that there is a need for destination marketing organisations (DMOs) to focus on resolution and feedback. The work of Blackman and Ritchie (2007) underscores the importance of organisational learning and managed reflection at the resolution phase of tourism crises for DMOs, because their roles are crucial to destinations undertaking communication and recovery marketing activities on behalf of the tourism industry. Their study further suggests that DMOs should question their existing knowledge, assumptions and beliefs through reflection and dialogue with stakeholders while collecting and analysing information in relation to strategy success and possible alternatives.

Learning must occur at all stages of the strategic crisis management process for effective evaluation and feedback. Blackman and Ritchie (2007) comment that long-

term learning from current experience needs to be captured and understood in order to ensure that (a) the same mistakes/ problems do not re-occur and (b) new strategies are increasingly better informed. Effective learning processes allow new knowledge to be recognised, captured and reused when needed. It is important to note that this is an on-going process, ensuring that knowledge is constantly refreshed and incorrect or incomplete knowledge is abandoned (Chapman & Ferfolja, 2001; Gibb, 2002).

Despite the foot-and-mouth outbreak, Ritchie et al. (2003) note that regional and local agencies in the United Kingdom were apathetic to creating future crisis plans because of the unpredictability involved. However, other DMOs such as those in Malaysia and South Carolina have embraced and developed crisis management plans as a result of previous crisis experiences (Sonmez & Backman, 1992; Henderson, 1999, 2002).

Factors need to be taken into account, of course, to facilitate crisis resolution and feedback. Differences in organisational learning, for instance, may be attributed to cultural exceptions, organisational culture or the way management teaches and reflects upon the process.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has presented various crisis management models and strategies during each phase of a crisis: pre-crisis, crisis, and post-crisis. The development of crisis strategies for the tourism industry in particular has been demonstrated. Tourism literature demonstrates how crisis and disaster frameworks are relatively young, first introduced into the industry by Faulkner in 2001. However, crisis and disaster management outside the tourism industry was introduced by Fink (1986), who set the foundation for scholars such as Faulkner and others in the following years. Recent scholars have paid more attention to the development of crisis and disaster frameworks for the tourism industry (Roberts, 1994; Ritchie, 2004, 2009), though most centre on natural crises such as cyclones, earthquakes and floods. Although various crisis strategies have been reviewed according to three different phases of crises, literature focused on crisis management for political crises remains lacking. A

few scholars (Poirier, 1997; Sonmez, 1998) commented on the understanding of political risk and crisis management for terrorism; however there exists a lack of in-depth research on the subject matter of political crises and scholars have not sought to integrate methods into crisis management specific to the tourism industry.

From the tourism literature review in Chapters 2 and 3, a large gap emerges in the academic literature that confirms a deficiency of research on crisis management for political crises with regards to the tourism industry. The ultimate aim of this body of research is to develop a framework of political crisis responses which will contribute to the tourism industry in a meaningful way. The next chapter presents the methodology.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the study's methodology and clarifies the research philosophy that guides the research approach. The methodology used to gather the primary data is presented and the manner in which data was collected, recorded, and analysed is described in detail. Finally, the reliability and validity of the study, reflection of the fieldwork and ethical considerations of this research are all addressed.

4.2 Research philosophy

A philosophical enquiry must guide how business and management researchers choose research strategies; such a commitment impacts not only what they do but how they comprehend what it is they seek to investigate. Although social science research into tourism emerged several decades ago, its progression as a legitimate area of scholarly exploration has not always been accompanied by a concomitant progression of sophistication in research methodologies.

It has been argued that there are two broad philosophies that dominate social science research; those are positivism and interpretivism (Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2006). Each of these consists of three major ways of thinking about research philosophy: ontology, epistemology, and methodology. The approach adopted by a researcher depends to a great extent on his or her ontological position and fundamental perception of reality. This raises questions about the assumptions researchers make regarding the way the world operates *vis-à-vis* their commitment to particular viewpoints. The two aspects of ontology are objectivism and subjectivism; whereas objectivism portrays the position that social entities exist in reality external to social actors concerned with their existence, subjectivism holds that social phenomena are created from the perceptions and consequent actions of those social actors concerned with their existence (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009).

Ontology influences epistemology, which is the theory of knowledge as applied to its nature, origins and limits (Slife & Williams, 1995). It is concerned with 'what is'; with the nature of existence; with the structure of reality as such. It can be viewed as either allowing the objective measurement of something that is already there, or as requiring interaction between the researcher and the observed so as to generate some issue which may then be subject to interpretation by the research. Epistemology, however, is concerned with what constitutes acceptable knowledge in a field of study. It involves insight and embodies a certain understanding of what is entailed in the act of knowing (Crotty, 1998). Epistemology therefore influences the selection of an appropriate methodology, the means by which knowledge of the world may be obtained (Taylor & Edgar, 1999). Whereas a philosophy is a grander view of how the world works, a methodology is a model that entails theoretical principles as well as a framework that provides guidelines about how research is done in the context of a particular paradigm (Sarantakos, 1998).

In the past, the dominant philosophy of social science research was positivism, grounded in the physical sciences (Jennings, 2001). Positivism asserts that the natural and social worlds are governed by laws that make the world a closed system in which stability provides patterns of behaviour and events may be predicted. Positivism further assumes that there exists an objective reality that can be described and understood by investigation and measurable properties independent of researchers and their instruments. The positivist philosophy holds that:

> "The social world exists externally, and that its properties should be measured through objective methods, rather than being inferred subjectively through sensation, reflection or intuition" (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Lowe, 1991, p. 22).

Scientific enquiry is objective, utilising quantitative methodology. Positivist research design is a process of identifying cause and effect, explaining phenomena, and testing theories. Knowledge should therefore be based on what can be tested by observation of tangible evidence and researchers should use scientific methods, which emphasise control, standardisation, and objectivity (Henn et al., 2006). The

primary research method that is used to achieve positivism is the hypothetico-deductive method. Using this approach, theory ought to precede research; therefore, an *a priori* theoretical framework guides the research questions and strategy, and data is collected to test the initial theory (Henn et al., 2006).

Positivism has been applied to this kind of social science research, as social phenomena can be explained by observing causes and effects (Jennings, 2001). This has been borrowed directly from the natural sciences; Sir Isaac Newton applied this approach in his famous discovery of gravity (the cause), which leads an unsupported apple falling to the ground (the effect).

In contrast, interpretivism grounds itself in the fact that the social world contains all sorts of communal actors operating in their everyday lives. It assumes that the world and reality are not objective and exterior, but rather socially constructed and given meaning by people. Scientific enquiry in this philosophy is subjective and value laden (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Jennings, 2001). Interpretivism is often linked to the thought of Max Weber (1864-1920), who suggested that in the human sciences we are concerned with *verstehen* (understanding) (Crotty, 1998), which is further associated with unstructured qualitative methodology, including participant observation studies and in-depth interviews. Weber's (1970) v*erstehen* sociology definitely located the study of society in the context of human beings acting and interacting:

> "Interpretative sociology considers the individual and his action as the basic unit, as its 'atom'… In this approach the individual is also the upper limit; and the sole carrier of meaningful conduct… In general, for sociology, such concepts as 'state', 'association', 'feudalism', and the like, designate certain categories of human interaction. Hence it is the task of sociology to reduce these concepts to 'understandable" (p. 55).

The *a priori* approach of positivism suits quantitative methods since their use of predetermined measures reflects the hypotheses of the researcher. The desire to understand human action from the perspective of participating interviewees in an

interpretive approach, however, makes such predetermined measures unsuitable (Henn et al., 2006). In order to achieve *verstehen*, the researcher is obliged to enter the social setting and become one of the social actors in that context. Thus, the researcher's role extends to understanding and explaining human actions, as these result from how people make sense of their situations. Therefore, the research design should remain flexible and unstructured in order to generate intensive data based on insider accounts and descriptions (Easterby-Smith et al, 1991; Crotty, 1998; Jennings, 2001; Henn et al., 2006). Key features of interpretive as opposed to positivist approaches are illustrated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Key features of interpretive and positivist approaches

Positivism	Interpretivism
Knowledge is based on phenomena that are directly observable (phenomenalism).	Knowledge is based on understanding interpretations and meanings that are not directly observable.
The social world should be researched using the principles of natural science (such as experiments). Such a shared approach is often referred to as the unity of scientific method.	The social world should be studied in its natural state (using participant observation and in-depth interviews) to understand naturally occurring behaviour.
There is a stress on reliability and generalisability.	There is a stress on validity.
An explanation is achieved through the formulation of causal laws or law-like generalisations (nomothetic approach).	Explanation is achieved through description of social meanings / reason and other dispositions to action (idiographic approach).
There is use of the hypothetico-deductive method in which there is an emphasis on testing a given theory.	There is use of the analytic-inductive method in which theory is generated from the data.
Methods imply researcher / respondent detachment in the objective collection of data.	Methods imply an insider approach-participation in life and culture of respondent / closeness of respondent and researcher in the joint construction of subjective data.
Analysis is based on the statistical testing of given theories.	Analysis is based on verbal, action, and situation description from which theory evolves.

Source: Henn et al. (2006, p. 16).

Positivism and interpretivism are associated with quantitative or qualitative research strategies. A quantitative approach may be particularly appropriate in cases where the researcher emphasises quantification in the collection and analysis of data. This refers to a specific context rather than any other dimension or aspect of the interaction of two or more variables. The advantage of quantitative research lies in the wide range of scenarios in which it may be applied; statistical analysis of large samples, for example, can provide an appropriate basis for policy decision-making. However, the approach also has notable weaknesses. Easterby-Smith et al. (1991), for example, argued that quantitative approaches tend to be rather inflexible and artificial; they are not very effective in understanding the processes or the significance that people attach to actions; they are not very helpful in generating theories; and because they focus on what is, or what has been recently, they make it hard for the policy-maker to infer what changes and actions should take place in the future.

In contrast, qualitative research involves the study of things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, or to capture what people say and do as a product of how they interpret the complexity of their world, and to understand events from the viewpoints of interviewees by collection of a variety of empirical materials including case studies, personal experiences, introspection, life histories, interviews, and observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Burn, 2000). Indeed, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) assert that qualitative research provides a crucial, and missing, perspective that helps scholars to draw a more complete picture of phenomena from a perspective that is not positivist. Among the problems associated with the positivist approach is that it prevents the researcher from using insight, intuition, and other non-rigorous which knowledge that may prove quite meaningful (Walle, 1997). Therefore, qualitative research is particularly well suited to research areas where little or no previous investigation has permeated and there exists limited expectations of what data may emerge. Qualitative research has gained increasing acceptance in many fields such as education, sociology, anthropology and consumer behaviour (Riley & Love, 2000; Bryman, 2004). As Cohen suggests, much of the seminal work in tourism was

initiated through this research approach (MacCannell, 1973, 1976; Graburn, 1976, 1983; Cohen, 1979). As it allows a number of open-ended research questions to develop and probe people's reasoning, it can be adjusted to new issues and ideas in order to facilitate the evolution of new theories faster.

In the field of tourism research, both quantitative and qualitative approaches have added value, although the quantitative approach has dominated recent tourism scholarship, as it is utilised largely by academic institutions rather than tourism organisations (Sheldon, 1991). Interpretivism, however, seems to be an appropriate approach to underpin this study, as it will allow the work to focus on *verstehen* by understanding the social world of social actors in their everyday lives, which is the objective of this research. The qualitative approach is considered appropriate for this study, as it offers in-depth analysis for crisis management. In the context of crisis management, studies have invariably employed quantitative research methods such as forecasting, scenario, and risk analysis (Faulkner et al., 2001; Miller & Ritchie, 2003; Prideaux et al., 2003). Existing research has not used the opinions of experts working in the industry regarding how crises in general influence destination image and management responses.

However, in seeking to capture the views and opinions of trade organisations and industry experts, this study applies a qualitative approach that enables interpretations and meanings to be attained that are not directly measurable. By adopting this approach, the investigation is far more open to new insights in order to interpret the political, economic, financial, contextual and cultural factors which are influential in the development of crisis management within the tourism industry.

4.3 Research approach

A research approach can rely on either deduction or induction. The philosophy at the foundation of a research study determines its ultimate approach. The standard positivist approach, as suggested by Carl Hempel (1905-1997), suggests that scientists generally begin with a set of general laws and theories before directly engaging in empirical research. Positivist researchers start with a theory or observed

phenomena, from which a hypothesis is advanced. This hypothesis is then tested either by experimentation or through some other means of data collection; the data is often quantified and for this reason the approach is termed 'quantitative'. This process is known as deduction, referring to the mental process through which valid conclusions can be logically deduced from valid premises – i.e. a generalisation or universal law. Deduction is used to establish a series of logical steps in the process of forming a theoretical statement about the world. Thus the quantitative approach is applied by deductive researchers to test the relationship between theory and research (Babbie, 1995; Smith 1998; Saunders et al., 2009).

By contrast, interpretivism uses the method of induction, which involves collecting observational data and building theories outward in order to explain these observations. Induction is the process of acquiring knowledge through observation, by collecting original ideas, identifying patterns or trends, and suggesting explanations based on the observations and opinions collected (Babbie, 1995; Straus & Corbin, 1998; Smith, 1998). Inductive research involves a thorough examination of data and its quality rather than its numerical measurements; hence the term 'qualitative'. Inductive analysis is employed to grasp these multiple realities as they are discovered; therefore, research design emerges that accommodates realities that otherwise would not be predicted *a priori* (Riley & Love, 2000).

It is debatable whether all positivist researches are deductive and all interpretivist researches are inductive. Although deduction is more frequently associated with positivism and induction with interpretivism, it depends on the practical use and value of these methods by different researchers. At times, however, work combines the two approaches without consideration over whether the research takes the form of positivism or interpretivism (Saunders et al., 2009). Often, both theory and methodology have their source in an external culture. In attempting to provide empirical evidence for social science phenomena associated with tourism, potential inappropriate or irrelevant methodologies are not always considered. The motivation for using induction in this study comes from the observation that tourism is a service industry, dependent upon the perceptions of consumers.

This human element plays a paramount role; research must utilise diverse forms of evidence and information where the feelings of people are studied and researched (Kaplan, Truex, Wastell, Wood-Harper & Degross, 2004). Although this study's interview questions were informed by academic literature in order to guide primary research, this step does not preclude induction from the data analysis. Therefore this study adopts an inductive approach, but is guided by interview questions deduced from the literature.

4.4 The literature review

The literature review serves to generate and clarify initial research ideas, providing existing theory and developing general knowledge (Saunders et al., 2009). Academic literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 reveals a lack of systematic, dedicated research on crisis management for political crises in the tourism industry. Evidently the literature is insufficient to contribute new knowledge to the field. Accordingly, as detailed in Chapter 1, the following aims have been targeted:

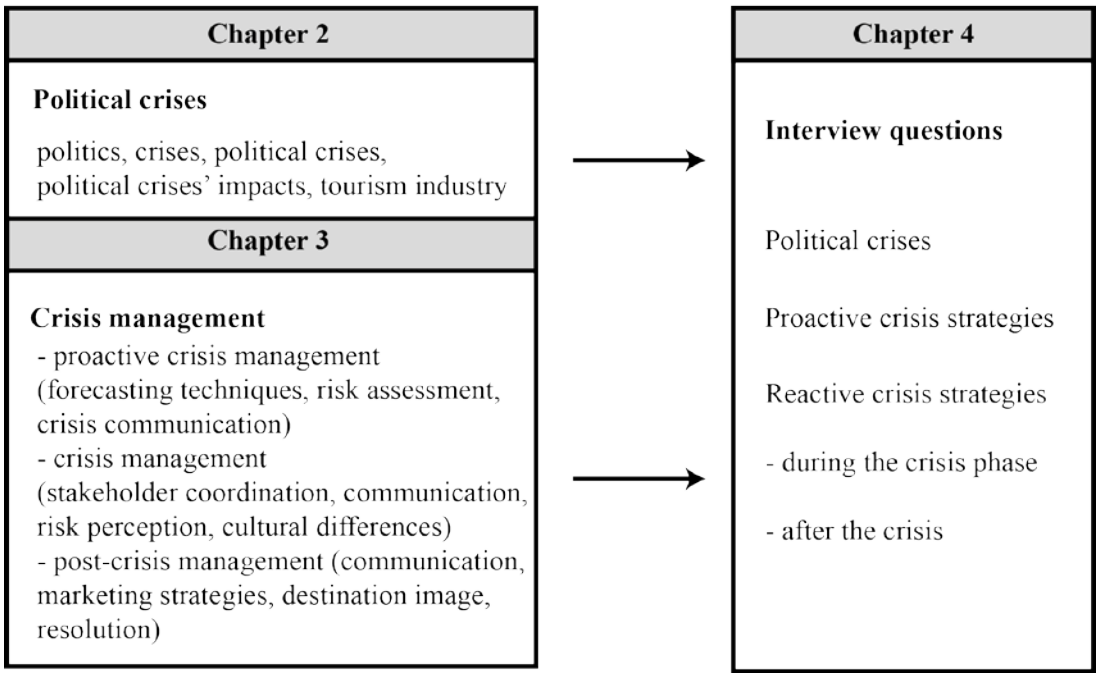
1. To analyse the concept of politics and crises with regards to tourism.
2. To evaluate the strategies for managing the effects of political crises.
3. To analyse trade organisations' perceptions of political crises and their effects on tourism.
4. To examine trade organisations' management responses to political crises.
5. To develop a framework of political crisis responses for the tourism industry.

The purpose of this research study is to investigate both crisis management for political crises within the tourism industry and industry responses to such crises. The literature review serves to provide the general content of past research, which assists the research in preliminary understanding of the concepts and theory of existing related areas. As discussed in the literature review, although crisis management in the context of tourism has been widely researched and documented, comparatively little work has been done on political crises in particular which is reflected in the scarcity of literature on political crisis responses in the trade organisations sector. Significantly, most crisis management research examines the engineering and

pharmaceutical industries, whereas relatively little work has been done in the field of tourism. Therefore, an examination of trade organisations' perceptions of crisis management in the context of political crises is timely as it would add immediate value; accordingly, the decision was made to investigate the trade responses of UK tourism organisations to past political crises and the precautions they took to protect the tourism sector.

The literature review was conducted with the support of Scopus, the electronic database, and Google Scholar. The first aim was explored through the literature review, which provided the foundation of this study. An understanding of the concepts of politics and crisis in the context of the tourism industry was discussed and the importance of understanding the effects of political crises was reviewed comprehensively in Chapter 2. Although strategies for dealing with the effects of crises have been discussed in Chapter 3, this does not shed sufficient light on the second aim of evaluating all available strategies for managing the effects of political crises. Thus, primary research was pursued. Figure 4.1 illustrates the most salient academic literature guiding this thesis's primary research.

Figure 4.1 Literature reviewed to guide primary research



As discussed in the preceding section, this thesis adopts inductive analysis, although the interview questions were informed by the literature. Figure 4.1 demonstrates the links between the literature review and primary research whereby the analysis was conducted entirely inductively from the interview data.

Crisis management in the tourism sector has received more attention in the generic fields of management and crisis management. There are few studies that explore the manner in which tourist trade organisations can manage and deal with the impacts of political crises and what strategic actions can be taken before, during and after such crises (Faulkner, 2001; Miller & Ritchie, 2003; Prideaux et al., 2003; Ritchie, 2004). Although, the most salient and relevant aspects of the literature review are provided in Chapters 2 and 3, the literature confirms that there is necessary to gather more information from primary data which can then be used to develop an understanding of the impacts of political crises and crisis management for the tourism industry.

The following sub-sections explain the nature of the research strategy adopted for the present research. The procedures for analysing the primary data are outlined including the data collection technique, design of the data collection instrument, sampling and data analysis.

4.5 Primary research

The researcher conducts primary research with the guidance of a research philosophy and approach. However, a research strategy is necessary, in order to frame the strategies used when undertaking this research (such as data collecting methods and data analysis).

4.5.1 The research strategy

Historically, various methods have been suggested to classify and characterise different research strategies. In qualitative research, a numbers of strategies became more prominent during the 1990s and completed procedures are now available for

specific qualitative approaches (Creswell, 1998). Table 4.2 illustrates the qualitative research strategies recommended by different scholars.

Table 4.2 Examples of qualitative research strategies

Scholars	Qualitative research strategies
Creswell (1998)	Narrative research; phenomenology; ethnographies; grounded theory; case study
Jennings (2001)	Phenomenology; ethnography; grounded theory; ethno science; qualitative ethology
Holliday (2002)	Case study; ethnography; ethnomethodology; phenomenology; grounded theory; narrative analysis; cultural studies; gender studies
Myers (2008)	Action research; case study; ethnography; grounded theory; semiotics; discourse analysis; hermeneutics; narrative and metaphor
Saunders et al. (2009)	Experiment; survey; case study; grounded theory; ethnography; action research

It ought to be noted that research strategies should not be thought of as being mutually exclusive as it is possible, for example, to use the survey strategy as part of a case study (Saunders et al., 2009). The above table may not offer the whole picture of qualitative strategies, but rather the different considerations of different scholars.

The following discussion offers a brief overview of various research strategies. Clandinin and Connelly (2004) constructed a picture of what narrative researchers do; they study the lives of individuals and ask one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives. This information is then retold by the researcher into a narrative chronology. Strauss and Corbin (1998,) identify the procedures of grounded theory and its capability for generating theory, as with this approach theories are not applied to the subject being studied, but emerge or are discovered from the empirical data itself. Wolcott (1999) summarises ethnographic procedures in which the researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primary, observational and interview data. Moustakas (1994) discusses the philosophical tenets and procedures of the

phenomenological method. Different strategies thus serve to fulfil the objectives of different research from different disciplines.

Phenomenology is a method gaining in popularity in tourism studies because it affords a systematic way to interpret the nature of consciousness and an individual's involvement in the world (Szarycz, 2009). Pioneer phenomenologists are Cohen (1972, 1979) and Plog (1974); awareness of phenomenological studies has greatly increased, especially in the context of tourism (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Dann & Cohen, 1991; Li, 2000; Uriely, 2005; Curtin, 2006). Moustakas (1994) describes the approach thus:

> "Phenomenology is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher identifies the essence of human experiences about a phenomenon as described by participants. Understanding the lived experiences marks phenomenology as a philosophy as well as a method, and the procedure involves studying a small number of subjects through extensive and prolonged engagement to develop patterns and relationships of meaning".

Phenomenology aims at "getting a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our experiences" (Curtin, 2006, p. 303). Phenomenologists constantly emphasise the ideas of meaning, uniqueness, and lived experience; they attempt to provide an understanding of the internal meanings or essence of a person's experience in the lived world by careful description of that experience, striving to understand experience rather than provide causal explanation (Giorgi, 1975; Polkinghorne, 1989). Szarycz (2009) argues that "it is a question of 'perceptions' and 'meanings', not measurements and causes" (p. 49). Szarycz adds further that phenomenological studies are based primarily on self-report. Interviewees offer narratives, or provide general accounts, of events and situations from a particular perspective. This evidence offered in support of researchers' claims is almost always derived from interviews, and is presented in the form of quotations extracted from transcripts (Becker, 1986).

This study supports Li's (2000) view that phenomenologists seek "to produce clear, precise, and systematic descriptions of the meaning that constitutes the activity of consciousness in human experience, focusing on the meaning of an experience from the worldview of those who have that experience, and as a result attach a meaning to it" (p. 866). Therefore phenomenology seems to be an appropriate strategy to use in this thesis. The next section details how primary data has been gathered and the process of data analysis.

4.5.2 Primary data collection

This thesis adopts a qualitative approach. Primary data was obtained by conducting interviews with tourism experts from different sectors of trade organisations based in the United Kingdom. This method aims to offer a rich and full picture of the effects of political crises upon tourism organisations and the industry. The following section details how the primary research was undertaken, focusing primarily on material collection methods. It presents the criteria for, and discussion of, the sampling process and explains how and why the sampling size and selection were chosen.

4.5.3 Sampling

Primary data was obtained by means of interviews. The objective of the interviews was to gain insight from tourism experts who are high-level executives in trade organisations in the United Kingdom. Trade organisations include destination organisations, tourism consultants, travel agents and tour operators and managers from a range of such organisations were selected to be interviewees.

The selection of interviewees can be done by using either probability or non-probability sampling techniques (Saunders et al., 2009). Probability sampling techniques are based on random selection techniques and are used in situations where it is possible to specify the probability that an individual will be included in the sample of the population in question. In contrast, non-probability sampling is when it is not possible to estimate the probability of selection or non-selection of units in the population as in the study (Silverman, 2001).

There are various non-probability approaches (e.g. quota, purposive, snowball, self-selection, convenience). Purposive sampling was considered most appropriate for use in this study. Hemmington (1999) describes it as follows:

> "Elements are selected for their particular expertise knowledge, experience or perspective… it is often used in research where there are a limited number of people who have the available knowledge" (p. 255).

Additionally, purposive sampling enables the researcher to collect data to describe any patterns which may emerge that are likely to be of particular interest and value in representing the key themes (Patton, 1990). Interviewees were selected based on their relevance to the theoretical focus of the research (Mason, 2002). The choice of interviewees was further based upon their roles within their respective organisations; they were selected to ensure participation of a range of managers and policy-makers considered likely to offer deeper insight into the effects of political crises and responses. Interviews were conducted with 20 managers and policy-makers, and qualitative evidence was collected regarding their opinions, responses and perceptions of the effects of political crises upon tourism as well as the methods they or their organisations employed to handle those effects. Specifically, interviewees were selected from the following organisations and institutions within the UK tourism industry: tour operators, travel agents, the Association of British Travel Agents (ABTA), Air Travel Organisers' Licensing (ATOL), Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA), and The Retail Trade Consortia. All of the institutions or organisations play a significant role within the UK tourism industry.

Freeman (1984) observes that in the broadest sense tourism stakeholders include local businesses, employees, governments, competitors, national business chains, tourists, activist groups and residents. As this study aims to unveil trade organisations' responses to impacts of political crises, trade organisations are among the most critical of stakeholders to examine as they respond directly to impacts of crises on tourists. The sample consists of four key sectors: destination organisations, travel consultants, travel agents and tour operators. In this study, the 20 interviewees

include 2 destination organisations, 3 tourism consultants, 2 travel agents and 13 tour operators. The majority of interviewees were tour operators because these groups directly respond to political crises' impacts and accordingly are more likely to give additional insight pertaining to crisis management responses.

To ensure a representative sampling was achieved, purposive sampling was used. Interviewees were chosen based on the following criteria: knowledge; level of organisation, role within the tourism industry, and experience in the field. The data collected should be rigorous, replicable, and relevant; however, it should be noted that qualitative research does not always lend itself to generalisations. Reliability and competency were two important additional factors taken into account by the researcher when assessing potential interviewees. The complete list of interviewees' profile used is shown in Chapter 5

The researcher's choice of the United Kingdom as the source of primary data collection is attributable to two significant reasons. The first of these is pragmatic in nature; the researcher herself was based in the United Kingdom, thus facilitating a more seamless and successful interview process during data collection. The second rationale used is the existence of a network of experts within the United Kingdom; the researcher was able to leverage strong relationships with trade organisations in the United Kingdom as well as in-depth knowledge about the regional tourism industry. Both of these factors enhanced the researcher's ability to apply the chosen sampling technique and choose appropriate interviewees for the study.

The researcher was able to access these figures only because of some high-level links between the researcher and the commercial world, and by assurances of the anonymity of the reporting process. After sending formal invitation letters (Appendix 1) to these target individuals and organisations, the researcher received relatively welcoming responses from most senior level managers, who either agreed to attend the interview themselves or, in a limited number of cases, recommended a more relevant area manager to attend the interview. For example, one interviewee, who is a product manager, agreed to give an interview; however, she instead arranged the interview with the operation manager of the same organisation, because

she realised that the operation manager would give the researcher more insight into how their organisation responded to the effects of crises. Most of the respondents held senior positions (e.g. directors, product managers, or operation managers). This qualitative research sampling aims to locate strategic data which may refute emerging hypotheses. This study initially set the number of interviewees at twenty. The proper interview sample size for intensive detailed research on focused themes is a rigorously discussed issue when using either select interviews and key informants or focus groups (Krueger & Casey, 2002). Although many scholars suggest various sample sizes for intensive stakeholder interviews, a common feature is that they all are relatively small, ranging from a handful to fewer than twenty (Becher, 1989; Eisenhardt, 1989; Pearce & Fenton, 1994; Gardner, 1995; Getz, Carlsen & Morrison, 2004).

Sampling stops when a 'theoretical saturation' is reached, that is, when no new analytical insights are forthcoming from a given situation (Henn et al., 2006). In this respect, interviewing in this research continued for a period of six months, and individual interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1 hour, with constant reflection between sampling and theoretical reflection until the researcher was confident that nothing more could be gained by interviewing more interviewees. However, no more interviewees were necessary because data saturation appeared to have occurred at that point, meaning that no new categories of data were emerging.

4.5.4 Interviews

Qualitative interviews are extensively employed in the social sciences and are defined as interviews with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life or world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena. The purpose of this study is to investigate the crisis management policies implemented by tourism interviewees and also to gain insight into the ways that industry professionals view the impacts of political crises. The in-depth interview is, consequently, considered the most appropriate to explore new insights and to facilitate better interpretation of the contextual and crisis management factors which are influential in the tourism industry. In-depth interviews are one of the most

popularly recognised methods of qualitative research (Mason, 1996). However, tension exists between knowledge and ethics within research interviewing that is expressed by Sennett (2004) thus:

> "In-depth interviewing is a distinctive, often frustrating craft. Unlike a pollster asking questions, the in-depth interviewer wants to probe the responses people give. To probe, the interviewer cannot be stonily impersonal; he or she has to give something of him or herself in order to merit an open response. Yet the conversation lists in one direction; the point is not to talk the way friends do. The interviewer all too frequently finds that he or she has offended subjects, transgressing a line over which only friends or intimates can cross. The craft consists in calibrating social distances without making the subject feel like an insect under the microscope" (p. 37).

Moreover, Taylor and Bogdan (1998) contend that in-depth interviews seem especially well suited in situations where: (1) the researchers have a relatively clear sense of their research interests and the kinds of questions they wish to address; (2) the settings or people are difficult to access using purely quantitative sampling methods; (3) researchers use time efficiently compared to techniques such as participant observation; and (4) the researcher is interested only in the views of key people in a setting. Following these principles, and considering that the tourism experts are not easily accessible and further that the procedures for eliciting information need to be flexible as well as engaging and respectful of interviewees' time, the researcher opted for the use of in-depth interviews. This study chose to leverage face-to-face settings in order to formulate how interviewees interpreted and understood the interview questions (e.g. political crises and their impacts upon organisations), and most importantly how industry professionals respond. This offers a more revealing method for interviewing, giving interviewees the freedom to interpret data and discuss the core issues of the research. Conversely, a structured interview might pose disadvantages related to pre-determined questions, which may overlook insight that arises during the course of a face-to-face meeting. This study used semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions to gather data. To do so,

the researcher prepared interview questions in advance to cover the topics to be investigated. The researcher could ask questions in different sequences, meaning that the answers given by the interviewees in part guided the conversation. In addition, throughout the interview, the researcher could ask additional questions based on the replies given.

Loi and Pearce (2012) highlight some characteristics associated with the interviewing process; these may affect the application of the approach in specific contexts. First, interviews are often more costly (both in terms of time, money and personnel) than standardised questionnaires and therefore the sample should be relatively small. Second, the researchers can use stratification or target particular individuals to ensure higher diversity of the opinions collected (Glass, 1979). Third, the interviews should allow equal opportunity for each interviewee to express his/her views. Fourth, unlike focus groups, researchers should conduct one-to-one interviews in private to avoid any situation where the views of others can affect the interview. Fifth, interviews are likely to raise the expectations of the interviewees that their views are not only recorded but also exert some influence (Pearce, Moscardo & Ross, 1996). These expectations can boost the respondents' enthusiasm for being involved. Sixth, one can manage the semi-structured interview with open-ended questions in a fluid or flexible manner, allowing room to pursue topics of particular interest while still maintaining a certain degree of structure.

The open-ended format generates a diversity of responses, which means that a sound approach is necessary to categorise and interpret the sometimes complex material. Nevertheless, despite the challenges of categorising and interpreting respondents' views, the semi-structured interview technique can provide insights concerning complex issues arising in a tourist destination. The semi-structured interview is flexible in that the process allows room to pursue topics of particular interest but still preserves a pattern of questions (Leidner, 1993). Benefiting this study, the semi-structured interviews offered interviewees the ability to give complete opinions while ensuring that the topics addressed remained within the scope of crisis management implemented by their organisations.

Considering the literature review, the researcher opted for face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews with trade organisations in the United Kingdom. Data collection for this research was undertaken in two stages. During the first stage, the research was informed by preliminary work done in February 2012, in which a pilot study was done in London by interviewing the product manager of a tour operator. The purpose of this phase was twofold: (1) for the researcher to gain valuable experience in preparing for the impending interviews; and (2) to ensure that each question could be asked within the time allocated for each interview. This phase proved very useful: the researcher did indeed develop effective introductions and presentations for the research topics. Further, given the seriousness of the topic under investigation, it was evident that an informal approach that enabled interviewees to relax would be best.

For the second stage, the researcher spent six months in the field between March and August 2012, interviewing 19 tourism experts including 2 destination organisations, 3 tourism consultants, 2 travel agents, and 12 tour operators. In total, the interviews were conducted during two stages of the fieldwork. They lasted between thirty minutes and one hour and were held in the interviewee's office, a meeting room or a coffee shop. Each interview was recorded in entirety with the permission of the interviewees. One challenge posed by this fieldwork lay in the difficulty of obtaining firm appointments with interviewees in order to confirm appointments, the researcher was required to follow the interviewees' schedules. An additional challenge was that of determining suitable locations to conduct the interviews.

Among the interesting notes on the fieldwork itself, the researcher found that morning interviews were often less productive than those conducted during the afternoon; in the mornings, interviewees tended to be in a hurry, as they presumably had a larger amount of work to contend with at their desks. By contrast, afternoon interviewees were by and large more relaxed, happy to provide deeper opinions and comments and to expand upon them.

It should be noted that, prior to the interviews, all interviewees were asked to sign a letter of consent. Overall, the period in which interviews were conducted proved

much longer than anticipated. Whereas only three months had originally been scheduled for all interviews to be completed, the work continued for six months. During the process, all interviewees were asked similar questions that included their perceptions and points of view on the effects of political crises as well as their management response towards those effects. In general, the questions focused on the interviewee's opinions about responses to and perceptions of political crises; organisation management and preparedness for future political crises was also discussed. These semi-structured in-depth interviews allowed the researcher to probe for more opinions and insight, making them the most effective way to derive primary data for this research.

4.5.5 Interview schedule design

From the literature review, a number of issues emerged to form the basis for this research. An area which required attention was the interview questions and schedule design. The interview questions were divided into three main sections (Appendix 3). Table 4.2 demonstrates how the academic literature informed the interview questions.

The first section related to crisis management enacted during the pre-crisis phase; the second focused on crisis management and response during the crisis phase; and the final section focused on crisis management after the crisis has passed.

Table 4.2 Research questions informed by academic literature

	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	LITERATURE REVIEW
Pre-crisis phase	Q1: Could you explain a time when your organisation has encountered a political crisis? Q2: Can you tell me how your organisation prepares to deal with crisis?	- Tourist destinations have been affected from various crises (e.g. political crises). *Chapter 2* - Political crises have profound impact on tourism organisations. *Chapter 2* - Crisis prevention allows organisation to prepare to deal with crises' impacts (Fink, 1986). *Chapter 3* - Proactive crisis strategies (e.g. (forecasting techniques, risk assessment, and crisis communication). *Chapter 3*
Crisis phase	Q3: What policy has your organisation used to cope with these effects of political crisis if it is occurring? Q4: Apart from your organisation's policies, which stakeholders are most important to help reduce the effects of crisis situation?	- Strategies (e.g. stakeholder coordination, communication, risk perception, cultural differences) to respond to the effects during the course of political crisis. *Chapter 3* - Stakeholder coordination is the most important and effective strategy (Mansfeld, 2006). *Chapter 3*
Post-crisis phase	Q5: Does your organisation get any effects after the crisis has over? Q6: What policy has your organisation used to cope with these effects after the crisis? Q7: After the crisis, does your organisation work alone or work as partnership with other stakeholders? Q8: After past political crisis, what has your organisation changed or learned?	- Affected destination suffered from politcial crises (e.g. fluctuations of tourist inflow and outflow, deterioration of stakeholder confidence). *Chapter 2* - Reactive crisis strategies (e.g. communication, marketing strategies, destination image, resolution). *Chapter 3* - Stakeholder coordination is the most important and effective strategy (Mansfeld, 2006). Government role is integral during this phase. *Chapter 3* - Resolution and feedback assists managers to improve strategies for future crises (Faulkner, 2001). *Chapter 3*

Interviewees were initially asked to describe a time when their organisations had encountered a political crisis (Q1). This question included sub-questions about the crises such as types, when and where they occurred, the effect on tourists, and the response of the organisation. This question was intended to lead the interviewee to the topic of crisis management, allowing them to shape the conversation from their past experiences. When it was acknowledged that they and their organisations had encountered a crisis in the past, the researcher acknowledged their experience and asked how, and if, their organisations were prepared to deal with the impacts of such crises (Q2). The first section of pre-crisis management comprises these two questions.

Then the interview questions moved on by asking whether the interviewees' organisations had/have policies in place to handle the effects of crisis (Q3). A further question asked which stakeholders were/are most important in reducing the effects of political crises (Q4). These two posed questions were designed to gain insight into crisis management during the course of a crisis.

The last section, which dealt with the post-crisis phase, was initiated by asking whether the interviewees' organisations encountered any effects after the crisis subsided (Q5). This question naturally led to the next question (Q6) which asked about the policies the interviewees had used to deal with the crises. The final two questions were concerned with management responses used to mitigate the effects of the crisis once it had passed, such as whether the interviewees' organisations worked alone or in unison with other stakeholders (Q7) and what they learnt from past political crises (Q8). The three phases of crisis management discussed in Chapter 3 assisted in designing interview questions for the primary research: open-ended questions were applied so as to obtain detailed opinions from the interviewees; prompts were used when the interviewees did not explain themselves clearly or added unexpected insight that allowed the induction process to occur during analysis. The research leveraged these unexpected answers to probe similar questions in subsequent interviewees.

4.5.6 Reliability and validity

Two important criteria for evaluating research are those of reliability and validity. Reliability refers to the stability of findings. The work must consistently measure what it set out to measure. External reliability is the extent to which the findings of a study can be replicated; this is frequently a challenge in qualitative research, which often deals with unique social settings or cases. In case studies, replication could potentially have already been done by an earlier researcher or could be conducted all over again and the later investigator should arrive at the same findings and conclusions. The objective is to minimise errors and biases in a study (Yin, 2009). This is desirable too where the approach is phenomenological, but much more difficult to achieve because the researcher is an integral part of the process of collecting and interpreting the data. Bryman (2001) describes validity as being concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research, or as Silverman (2000) puts it, how close the conclusions are to the truth or the true situation.

Denzin (1989) offers four kinds of triangulation for a reliable observation, that is, one that could have been made by any similarly situated observer: (1) data triangulation, (2) investigator triangulation, (3) multiple triangulation, (4) methodological triangulation. However, it should be noted that the significance of reliability is not universally accepted (Gray, 2009).

To achieve reliability, this study used digital voice recording and provided transcripts which have been made available (Appendix 4, 5, 6, 7), so that it can be seen that the coding and themes were reliable and constant rather than varying at the whim of the researcher (Silverman, 2000). Reliability also was increased through the training of the researcher and through the use of standardised interview schedules. There is, at least, some potential for such consistency when an interview is standardised, with the same questions being asked of each interviewee. However, even with standardised questions, the issue of researcher bias has to be taken into account; for example, the researcher may not have asked the question in the same way and with the same tone of voice with all interviewees. Therefore, to avoid this

systematic error, both the interview schedule and the behaviour of the researcher was standardised as much as possible. Another way of avoiding, or at least minimising, researcher bias is to require the researcher to follow the same protocol.

Validity refers to whether a researcher is observing, identifying or measuring what they claim they are (Mason, 2002). Internal validity refers to whether there is compelling evidence that the researcher has achieved a strong link between their evidence and the theoretical ideas they develop from it. The issue of internal validity revolves around the question of how far the constructions of the researcher are grounded in the constructions of those being researched (Flick, 2006). Data can be fabricated, discounted or misinterpreted. One way of avoiding such problems is where research can be validated through replication. However, qualitative research is notoriously difficult to replicate. Another important aspect of external validity is the extent to which findings can be generalised to other social or organisational settings. Generalisation can be defined as assertions of enduring value that are context-free (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). At best the results from individual cases allow us to build working hypotheses that can be tested in subsequent cases. As discussed in Section 4.5.3, this is difficult to achieve in this qualitative research due, in large part, to the tendency to use case studies and small samples.

To counter any challenges to the validity of this research, three actions were implemented. First, auditing of the interview analysis (Day, 1993) was done by splitting the interview data and letting the principal researcher's colleague analyse them in order to ascertain whether they were similar. The other researcher was able to confirm that the analysis was based upon appropriate evidence. Second, the researcher ensured that the research questions' content directly was focussed on the research objectives and drew upon the literature review and pilot work. Third, interview techniques were used to build rapport and trust, thus giving informants the scope to express themselves (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Fourth, prompting allowed informants to illustrate and expand on their initial responses. Lastly, the researcher ensured that the interview process was sufficiently long for subjects to be explored in depth.

4.5.7 Research ethics

For the duration of this research, especially the period of face-to-face interviewing, care and attention was paid to ensuring that the interviewees felt confident in answering questions and expressing their attitudes and opinions unreservedly. The interviewees were informed that there were opportunities to discuss any concerns they might have had with the interviewer. All interviewees were afforded the right to decline to participate in the study, answer any questions and stop the interview at any time. By doing so, interviewees were afforded control over whether or not they wished to participate in part or in full.

The interviewees were officially informed that all the data collected would be used for academic research purposes; the background and aims of the study were explained. The researcher gave the interviewees a clear and accurate verbal statement regarding the purpose and scope of the research. Prior to participating, all interviewees signed a letter of consent.

4.5.8 Pilot study

The pilot study is used to help refine the questionnaire so that interviewees will not encounter problems in answering questions and to insure that no problems arise recording the data (Saunders et al., 2009). The pilot study allows the researcher to review and test the questions to ensure that interviewees can easily understand or answer them. Judicious piloting reduces the incidence of non-response to the set of questions (Gray, 2009). This study undertook one pilot interview with the product manager of a London tour operator in February 2012.

After the pilot interview, each interview question was reviewed and evaluated (Appendix 2). Interestingly, the researcher found that there was no need to adjust any interview questions; however, three important points were taken into consideration.

Firstly, the interview conversation can last up to one hour. It is important to carry the conversation through the questions and keep the interviewee on topic, as interviewees tend to easily digress, causing timing issues and making it hard to complete the full set of questions.

Secondly, the first 30 minutes of the interview seemed to be the most effective as the interviewee was still fresh. After that time, the answers were not as clear and valuable as those collected in the first 30 minutes. Awareness of this allowed the researcher to concentrate the most important information in the first 30 minutes of the interviews in the main research phase.

Thirdly, as the pilot interview was undertaken at the interviewee's office for a full hour, it was important to ensure that the tone of conversation was informal yet intellectual, in order to avoid undue stress for both the interviewee and researcher. It was also considered appropriate for the researcher to respond to the opinions of the interviewees in the flow of the conversation to make it feel spontaneous and stress-free.

4.6 Data analysis

This section describes the process of data analysis, beginning with digital voice recording and transcription, proceeding to how the data was analysed and presented.

Upon the completion of the interview process, interview files were transcribed (Appendix 4, 5, 6, 7). The researcher chose to record all interviews for several reasons. Firstly, the interviews were in-depth, and the researcher was concerned that note-taking might distract them from the conversational element, thus negatively affecting the understanding of the response. Secondly, digital voice recording allows for a more efficient use of time. Thirdly, it ensures that the entire interview is captured, thus providing complete data for analysis. Finally, digital voice recording also allows independent auditing, analysis, and replication. All of that said, digital voice recording does involve a distinct disadvantage: it may cause an interviewee to harbour more trepidation and thus resist from offering their full opinions.

In qualitative analysis, the key issue in the identification of themes is the researcher's familiarity with data; this necessarily involves constant examination, questioning and thinking about the data to identify important issues. As argued by Silverman (2001), the analysis of qualitative data requires the researcher to manage a large amount of raw data. A qualitative thematic analysis of the data was performed for this study (Boyatzis, 1998).
The researcher considered a number of data analysis techniques including discourse analysis, Delphi technique and thematic analysis. The advantages and disadvantages of each technique were evaluated.

Discourse analysis is a broad term used for the methodological approach leveraged by researchers to analyse dialogues. It consists of systematic guidelines for gathering and analysing conversation and dialogue with the purpose of discerning a participant's intersubjective understanding of the topic discussed (Clulow, 2005). Although discourse analysis was applied to the study of powerful stakeholders conducted by Loi and Pearce (2011), its limitation of identifying keywords and drawing inferences discouraged the researcher from using it in this study; such inferences may serve to limit the researcher in gaining important insight of management responses to themes emerging from interview data.

Another analysis consideration was the Delphi technique, an approach used to gain consensus among a panel of experts (Hasson, Keeney, & McKenna, 2000). This approach was considered favourably by the researcher; however the limitation lies in a multiple-round interviewing approach. After each round, the researcher provides an anonymous summary of the experts' forecasts from the previous round as well as the reasons they provided for their judgements. Thus, experts are encouraged to revise their earlier answers in light of the replies of other members of their panel. This technique requires significant time to complete, rendering it impossible to apply to this study because most of the interviewees had time constraints due to their business commitments and priorities.

Thematic analysis was chosen for this research because it fully supports the researcher in the search for detailed insight. Thematic analysis provides a process for

encoding qualitative information. The encoding requires a precise code that may be a list of themes; a complex model of themes, and indicators that are casually related (Boyatzis, 1998).

The analysis was conducted manually in order to develop inductive codes for data derived from the interviews regarding the attitudes and opinions of managers towards the effects of political crises on their organisations and their responses.

This study chose to conduct data analysis manually, as the researcher's own interpretation of the contents of the documents can help create a full picture of the topic area. The purpose of this fieldwork was to explore the understanding, opinions, perceptions and responses of crisis management in the context of political crises and their future potential; in so doing, the research gathered a range of views and ideas. Once the data had been fully coded, it was then possible to subject the material to a more systematic interrogation by presenting it so that the potential connections and patterns could be assessed. Through this process, the researcher sorted the data, which were combined or differentiated according to emerging themes. By implementing steps based on Boyatzis's (1998) five-step approach, the researcher was able to analyse and present the findings about trade organisations' views of the effects of political crises and their crisis management responses, and draw out a number of implications from these. By using this technique, it is possible to obtain a series of conclusions in the form of regularities and patterns. Thus, differentiating themes emerged from the interview data (Appendix 8).

Boyatzis's (1998) five-step approach to developing themes and code is sequential. The steps are (1) reducing the raw information; (2) identifying themes within subsamples; (3) comparing themes across subsamples; (4) creating a code; (5) determining the reliability of the code. Once the interview transcription is completed, raw information is reviewed. The objective of this step is to allow the researcher to understand the raw information, internalise as much of it as possible and reduce it to a manageable size. According to this step, the researcher puts the interview data into a spreadsheet, categorising the information according the research questions. The second step is to sense and articulate potential themes

present in a subset of this study. The third step allows the researcher to examine the lists of themes and look for themes from each list that may be related. Next, the list of themes is identified and reviewed. Finally, steps are taken to determine the reliability of the code.

After the interviews were analysed, the data was presented in the following chapters. The research findings are broken down according to the central themes and topics of the research. The links between the research findings and the literature review are demonstrated in the discussion chapters. Subsequently, a political crisis framework and discussion of the links between the research findings and the literature review in the area for the tourism industry are presented in the culminating Chapter 8.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has presented the methodology of this thesis. Interpretivism shapes this study using an inductive research approach. Primary data was collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews, and the interview design of the research was developed from the related tourism crisis literature. The pilot study demonstrated the importance of developing personal interviews in order to obtain more thorough and useful insights, even though there was no adjustment of the research question after the pilot study. Interviewees were selected using purposive sampling techniques. Twenty interviews were conducted with differing categories of tourism experts including tour operators, travel agents, tourism consultants, and destination organisations. The transcriptions were then analysed through thematic data analysis. Chapters 5 and 6 present the findings of that analysis (Aims 2, 3, and 4) and Chapter 7 offers a discussion of these findings in order to develop a framework of political crisis responses (Aim 5). Subsequently, a political crisis framework is presented in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS – ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL CRISES ON TOURISM

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an initial analysis of interviews undertaken with 20 tourism experts in the United Kingdom. An analysis of interviewees, their association with tourism destinations, and how their organisations impact the tourism economy is followed by an analysis of their understanding of political crises and the characteristics of political crises in the tourism industry. The effects of political crises experienced by the 20 interviewees within various political crisis situations will be examined from two perspectives: the duration of the effects of the political crises; and an analysis of the political crises that confronted this study's participating interviewees. The effects of political crises are addressed thoroughly and evaluated into different schemes. The issue of how confidence is affected by political crises is also discussed with respect to the image of tourism destinations. How affected destinations restore confidence is also discussed towards the end of this chapter. The last section enumerates the sources of crisis information utilised by trade organisations at times of political crisis.

5.2 Profile of interviewees

This study has undertaken in-depth, face-to-face interviews with 20 tourism managers. A profile of the interviewees, along with their destinations and size of their respective organisations, is presented in Table 5.1. The interview fieldwork procedure for this study posed a number of challenges. Several key issues emerged from the interviews which revealed variable levels of understanding of political crises, their effects, and strategies to cope with them.

The data has been derived from 20 interviews with tourism experts, all high-level executives from different sectors of the UK tourism industry. The interviewees include two managers of destination organisations, three managers of tourism consultancies, two managers of travel agents, and 13 managers of tour operators.

Destination organisations include tourism boards that represent and promote their country or region's tourism destinations *vis-à-vis* international offices (e.g. the Tourism Authority of Thailand in London). Tourism consultants are experts who offer special knowledge to tour operators and travel agents and are based in the UK. Some aspects of the tourism consultants' services include advising tour operators and travel agents on regulatory aspects of ATOL, ABTA and IATA licences, discussing with individual companies whether to market certain destinations, and consulting over which strategies should be applied to certain destinations to be competitive in the market.

Travel agents act as intermediaries or brokers between consumers and tour operators. Their income is derived from the commission earned by selling travel products on behalf of operators. Travel agents may assemble products into individual or customised travel programmes, but they do not organise tours; they sell tourism products and services provided by others. This category tends to carry less responsibility. However when political crises occur, they directly contact clients at the affected destination; they will not typically give client contact information to operators.

Tour operators interact with tourists and suppliers (e.g. hoteliers, airlines), making them an excellent source of information for this study. They represent the majority of the interviewees in this study. Tour operators maintain contact with both clients and travel agents while keeping both parties informed at all times. Some have established subsidiaries at particular destinations for the purpose of enhancing travel services; these companies are mainly the larger tour corporations. Small and medium sized enterprises normally coordinate with destination management organisations or ground handlers, to provide services such as transportation. Tour operators are also responsible for solving problems for tourists whenever political crises occur. Different companies adopt different procedures.

Table 5.1 Profile of Interviewees

Code	Category	Position	Company size in employees	Main destinations served
DO1	Destination Organisation	Account Director	< 50	Papua New Guinea, Egypt, Thailand
DO2	Destination Organisation	Trade Marketing Manager	< 10	Thailand
TC1	Travel Consultant	Director	< 10	Thailand
TC2	Travel Consultant	Director	< 10	Thailand, Bali, Fiji, Australia
TC3	Travel Consultant	Director	< 10	Asia, Africa, Middle East and Europe
TA1	Travel Agent	Director	< 10	Bali, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Mauritius, Myanmar, Oman, Philippines, Seychelles, Singapore
TA2	Travel Agent	Director	< 10	Caribbean, Indian Ocean, Asia, Africa, Middle East and Europe
TO1	Tour Operator	Product Manager	< 50	India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Maldives, China & Central Asia, Myanmar, South-East Asia, Japan, and Middle East
TO2	Tour Operator	Marketing Executive	< 50	Sri Lanka, The Maldives, South-East Asia, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Indonesia
TO3	Tour Operator	Director	< 10	Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar
TO4	Tour Operator	Operation Manager	> 250	Caribbean, Indian Ocean, Asia, Africa, Middle East and Europe
TO5	Tour Operator	General Manager	< 10	Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Thailand
TO6	Tour Operator	Commercial Director	< 150	USA, Middle East, Europe, Far East, Canada, Caribbean and Mexico
TO7	Tour Operator	Director	< 10	Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Hong Kong, Singapore, Christmas Island, stopovers in Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Oman and Qatar
TO8	Tour Operator	Director	< 10	Thailand, Sri Lanka, Brazil
TO9	Tour Operator	General Manager	< 50	Dubai, South Africa, Mauritius, Far East, Thailand
TO10	Tour Operator	Director	< 10	Italy, Spain, France, Asia
TO11	Tour Operator	Commercial Director	< 50	Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Spain, Australia, New Zealand, Turkey, France, Jamaica, Antigua, India, Japan, Egypt, Spain
TO12	Tour Operator	Product Manager	< 50	Indian Subcontinent, Latin America, Middle East, Europe, Africa, Far East, Australia and New Zealand
TO13	Tour Operator	Director	< 10	Europe

5.3 Characteristics of political crises

This section explores the variable levels of understanding of political crises within the tourism industry. The different opinions on characteristics of political crises expressed in the 20 interviews are outlined in Table 5.2. Those characteristics include the root of conflicts, management control, disruption and cultural differences.

Table 5.2 Characteristics of political crisis

Identification	Understanding of political crisis	Example of interviewees' comments
Root of conflicts	Originated from politically unstable government.	"[A] political crisis is some unrest like a protest or some incident where… the government may not be stable" (TO2)
Management control	Uncontrollable incident or event.	"[A] political crisis is like what happened in Thailand when the airport got shut… things got out of control" (TC2)
Disruption	Disruptive, from individual to the economy.	"When it happens, it affects people's normal life, disrupts the economy" (TO6)
Cultural differences	A destination's cultural background affects the perception of political crisis.	"Tourists will never be affected by political crises in the UK. Politicians have very few interactions with people in this country, whereas in Thailand, a political crisis is more important because it affects everyone. Political crises in Thailand can have a much bigger impact" (TO7)

Ten of the twenty interviewees commented that the root of conflicts is considered to be a main characteristic. Thus, when a political crisis originates from a politically unstable government or an internal conflict between two opposing parties, the situation is regarded as a political crisis. If a government is unstable, it is less likely that the government can control the situation when political conflicts arise.

Examples of the results of such conflicts include strikes, riots, demonstrations and protests.

> "[A] political crisis is some unrest or protest or some incident where there is fighting and some event that shows that the government may not be stable at that time" (TO2).

The 20 interviewees were asked about their major concerns regarding political crisis situations. The responses included concerns about military-related situations and situations that created negative news broadcasts. Three of the interviewees commented that a major concern is when an incident involves military force as the impact of this becomes particularly serious for their organisation:

> "[A] political crisis is something which describes a country whereby the politics becomes unsettled or that might involve the military, with arms being involved, some political groups polling against each other, trying to gain position effectively, trying to wrestle control of the country so it means the army stepping in, or groups with force trying to change the situation, in terms of the reigning power in that country" (TO11).

Two of the interviewees remarked that whenever there is negative news regarding political matters, it increases their concern about a possible crisis:

> "It is similar to what's happening in Egypt, because Egypt also has similar problems to Thailand. Any bad news about political stuff that goes outside the country" (TO3).

Another way in which political crises can be viewed is how the situation is controlled. Most interviewees clearly suggested that a political crisis is, by definition, an uncontrolled event. When such an incident an incident occurs, no trade organisation or other stakeholders (for example, the government, tourists, investors,

hoteliers) can control it, leaving it to evolve rapidly into a crisis. An example of this was the Bangkok Airport closure in 2008 that was discussed earlier:

> "[A] political crisis is something like what happened in Thailand when the airport got shut. I think that just got out of control. For me, it's [sic] that things got out of control maybe, or worse, if things were not in the hands of the government any more" (TC2).

The interviewees were asked whether there were other factors leading to political crisis situations. The following interviewees suggested two additional characteristics that can lead to political crisis situations: the influence of organised crime such as the Mafia in Italy; and poor management of a destination's government:

> "It is most of Europe that is in danger: Spain, Greece, Italy, for example. The recent bomb [sic] this year… Sicily; that region is gripped by the Mafia, and in a way we have been going to Sicily for a year, despite the fact that the Mafia operates and controls the tourists. That is very much a political crisis" (TO10).

Moreover, when an environmental disaster occurs such as flooding in Thailand, poor governmental management can also lead to it being regarded as a political crisis:

> "I think the Thailand floods in 2011 were a political problem. The way it was handled… it went off for too long. So many people in Bangkok were helping; the university was being taken over. I would say that it went on for a long time. I don't know what they were trying to achieve, disagreeing amongst themselves [sic]. Flood prevention is a political issue, and things are certainly not perfect in terms of political protest. But we do have a flood prevention plan in place here, because of the fact that we have had that much water in the tube station, and there was the London floods going on" (TO8).

Political crises can cause disruption in many other ways, affecting normal life, the tourism industry, and the economy as a whole.

> "[A] political crisis can refer to a lot of things; it can refer to coups, riots, anything that unsettles the situation, unrest or anything like that. London, for example, experienced underground strikes which paralysed the city… so it was really difficult to get around; difficult for sightseeing, late for flights" (DO1).

Interestingly, three interviewees felt that cultural differences impact the identification of political crises. One region may view an incident as a crisis and another may not. Interviewee TA1 provided a comparison in this regards between the UK and Thailand:

> "If you say political crisis, it could mean anything. It could mean internal political crises. Well, we had a political crisis in this country after the election when we didn't know who was going to form the government, but that's a mini political crisis. It's different in Thailand because it could collapse into violence and that is when it affects tourism" (TA1).

The interviewees' understandings of cultural differences alter their perception of the effects of political crises as well.

> "Because in the UK, if we think of a military coup, we think thousands of people are getting shot and there is huge military presence on the street. With respect to coups in Thailand, it's very different to a coup in other countries. The military has been part of the Thai culture for many years, and in fact, I think Thailand has had 18 or 19 coups in the last 40 years. Probably the most famous from my perspective was the one in which the King was bringing both sides together. So we know that a military coup in Thailand is not the same" (DO2).

Cultural differences are a critical factor in the perception of political crises, as this interviewee suggests; such a political crisis would have more impact in Thailand than in the UK. As shown in the Table 5.2, the interviewee TO7 states the impact of past political crises in Thailand and the United Kingdom is such that we can assume that UK tourists are unlikely to be affected by political crises in their country whereas in Thailand, a political crisis can affect everyone. Thus, the impacts of political crises vary greatly depending on the cultural differences of the locality.

On the question of terrorism, most interviewees agreed that it does not constitute a political crisis. Two believe that terrorism is distinctly different from other forms of political crises. While political crises mainly originate from the population of the destination and thus concern local issues, terrorism is considered to be of external origin and may target tourism in order to bargain, negotiate or obtain power from conflicting parties.

> "Terrorism is a case apart from political crisis. Because political crisis tends to be inwardly focused on the population of the destination and terrorism can be indiscriminate" (TO6).

The perspectives of interviewees with regards to what is and is not considered a political crisis differs considerably. Whereas interviewee TO6 did not believe that acts of terrorism constitute a political crisis event, others consider the floods in Thailand and the Mafia situation in Italy to be political crises. Interviewee TO8, for example, commented that the environmental crises in Thailand can be regarded as a political crisis.

This last belief by interviewee TO8 demonstrates that many people believe the government of a particular destination is partly to blame, as mismanagement adds to the problems. As such effects of this mismanagement impact the tourism industry, the interviewees perceive it as a political crisis. Thus, regarding terrorism, the interviewees commented that terrorism is also an incident that originates from mismanagement of its government but concerns the international and policy affairs of that country originating more from international conflicts than internal ones.

This section reveals the four characteristics of political crises put forward by the 20 interviewees. The four characteristics include (1) Root of conflicts, (2) Management control, (3) Disruption, and (4) Cultural differences. From the preceding discussion, the 20 interview findings are summarised to describe a political crisis as any incident or event originating from the management shortcomings of a destination's government where any such incident or event negatively impacts organisations and peoples' daily lives, thereby potentially affecting the tourism industry. However, the effects of such situations can vary considerably as a result of cultural differences.

Understanding how trade organisations interpret the term 'political crisis' provides a vital foundation for further analysis. The following sections explore the different effects of various political crisis situations encountered by the 20 interviewees.

5.4 Encountering political crises

This section examines the various political crisis situations experienced within the tourism industry. Of the 20 interviewees, only two stated that there had been no effect on their organisation from political crises whilst 18 reported effects on their organisations.

From the data analysis, unaffected companies included a gastronomic tour operator, which provides food expertise to its clients mainly focused on Italy and Spain. Similarly, political crises did not impact another operator, whose organisation concentrates on the Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) markets, because such events did not impact client ability to return home.

When asked what contributing factors exist for VFR tour operators that are not affected by political crises, interviewee TO11 responded that VFR clients often purchase tour packages that include flight tickets, visa services and accommodation when visiting friends and family in their native countries. TO11 further explained that because such clients possess in-depth knowledge of the geography and culture of the land, they can usually manage to avoid affected areas of crisis that other

tourists may not. Additionally, their strong contact with local friends and relatives keep them updated on situations that arise with a more acute understanding of events than is typically portrayed in the media. Interviewee TO11 commented that their VFR market suffers no impact from political crises:

> "For example, in the case of Syria there might be people who will return to Syria… they will usually be people who we call VFR which is visiting friends and relatives. They are people who have a close connection with that country, for example their family [may be there]. So from our perspective as an organisation, it's an important part of our business because we deal with these groups of people, who when things might be not good from the perspective of a British holiday maker, of course, the national from that country or someone who has heritage from that country, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, these kind of countries, where perhaps you might argue that [sic] they are unsafe for tourists, but for people who have a connection with that country because their parents or their grandparents come from that country, they will still always go back because they feel they are safer; they have an element of insurance… they know which part of the country to stay away from" (TO11).

However, 18 of the 20 interviewees believe that their organisations have in fact been affected by political crises. These interviewees commented on the political crises they had encountered including the Lockerbie Bombing (1988); the Luxor Massacre (1997); the Nepalese Royal Massacre (2001); the September 11 attacks (2001); the Bali Bombings (2002); the military coup in Thailand in 2006; the assassination of Benazir Bhutto (2007); the Mumbai attacks (2008); the Bangkok airport closure (2008); the Sri Lankan Civil war (1983-2009); the Bangkok protests (2010); the Manila hostage crisis (2010); the Tunisian Revolution (2010-2011); the Egyptian Revolution (2011-2012); the Libyan Revolution (2011); the Maldives protests (2011-2012); the Jordanian protests (2011-2012); the Syrian Civil War (2011-2012); and the Kashmir conflict. Said this interviewee on the subject:

> "We have encountered political crises. Unfortunately, tourism seems to be one of the first things that is affected, whether it's the situation since then with Iraq and the previous regime causing obviously the war that then follows; and then Afghanistan. All of these things, when there is a political unrest or even following on with the Arab spring, with Tunisia, with Egypt, with all of the other countries that are followed, travel and tourism are one of the first things that are affected. People choose no longer to travel to those countries, and obviously Egypt [sic] still feeling the effect of people being cautious about travelling to those countries" (TC3).

These 18 interviewees described diverse political crises as having impacted their clients. Amongst the crises which affected organisations was the Arab Spring (on-going at the time of the interviews) and the past crises in the Asia-Pacific region affecting the tourism industries in India, Indonesia, South Korea, Myanmar, Nepal, the Philippines and Thailand, with particular attention paid to those in Indonesia and Thailand.

> "We have had political crises such as [sic] very recently in Thailand. The red shirts, the yellow shirts were a massive issue obviously with the main airport being closed in Bangkok. In fact, we had issues with clients being stuck there, unable to return and also that negatively affected our forward bookings to Thailand and because of the coverage in the news here as well so our Thailand bookings went down. It's been quite recently on Malaysia booking because a lot of people have picked up on the demonstrations in Kuala Lumpur and obviously in Indonesia; also even if the Bali bombings were seven or ten years ago, people are still wary of terrorism particularly in Indonesia, but not so worried about terrorism in Thailand, but obviously that is politically related. It's mainly in Thailand and Indonesia that we come across political issues" (TO7).

Fourteen interviewees stated that their organisations had been recently affected by a number of political crises in Thailand as examples from these two interviewees from different sectors illustrate:

> "Well, obviously in Thailand, which…when was that…? You have to remind me… 18 months ago. I think that would be the main one. I think everywhere, Bali, Vietnam, Indian Ocean, Dubai, there's been no problem. Thailand has probably been the only one having problems" (TA1).

And:

> "Our company faced a political crisis- that was the one in Thailand before it got into elections with the strikes and so on, which was roughly about a year ago. We actually faced losing our clients" (TC2).

These interviewees were from the tour operator sector and the tourism consultant sector. We can therefore conclude that political crises affect the tourism industry across its different sectors.

The 20 interviewees suggested that when political crisis situations involve violent action and military-related action such as the Egypt uprising, Thai military coup, or terrorist attacks, they tend to have a serious impact in terms of client confidence and the deterioration of the safe image of the affected destination for a relatively longer period. Four interviewees commented on the case of the Bali Bombing in 2002, which they claim still impact their organisation ten years on.

A few interviewees commented on the difficulties with the military coups in Thailand over the past several decades. One specifically spoke about these complications:

> "Military coups affected us a lot when we started out as well, it was 2006, wasn't it, so it's really hard, because Thailand is our main destination, and one of the reasons we were not really pushing a lot is because we were really worried that something else might happen" (TO8).

When commenting on the Arab Spring, the same interviewee stated:

> "Apart from the Thailand case, obviously the Arab Spring really affected our Middle East sales, with Libya going down, with problems in Egypt, with problems in Syria, it has really affected the whole area; the sales for the whole area have plummeted."(TO12).

Another interviewee echoed these sentiments:

> "Probably the main one has been the whole Middle East situation we have, but in particular with Egypt; and obviously that started with Tunisia which we don't feature that much. Then Morocco, Egypt, Libya and Syria, where we also had a touring programme. [There were] not many customers, but of course we had to pull all our customers out of the country. But Egypt was the main destination where we had [sic] most customers and where we have to take the biggest action and also where it is still really being felt. I think both in the number of bookings that had been taking is obviously a lot [sic] reduced now compared to what they were previously because people, I think, are still quite concerned about the on-going unstable situation in the country" (TO4).

Interviewees also cited experiences of political crises from decades ago including the Lockerbie Bombing of 1988 as mentioned by interviewee TO5 and the 1997 Luxor Massacre:

> "I have done quite a lot of dealing with political incidents in my time. This one was quite a long time ago that I used to deal with Egypt and it was a big terrorist attack in Luxor 1997. Our company actually lost tourists in that attack and that's probably the most difficult thing in my whole career. The company had 300 people in Egypt at that time" (DO1).

Specific incidents including military coups, terrorist attacks, demonstrations and protests have also impacted the perception of Myanmar:

> "A lot of the focuses have been on the political situation in Burma (Myanmar), because we just want to kind of start to cover Burma since Aung San Suu Kyi said that it is okay to visit. And so there hasn't been a political crisis since. Because there is [sic] election coming up soon [sic] so we are trying to kind of keep an eye on there. I think the big crisis was in Thailand when there was flooding in November and that was a crisis that I had to deal with but at the moment it's a lot of focus on Burma's political situation" (TO2).

On the European front, Greece's political crisis was mentioned by interviewee TO9:

> "We've got a similar situation with Greece, primarily because of the economy there with the Euro and the street rioting that was causing a few problems. And people are less inclined to travel to those areas, and it's also affecting the commercial side of the business because businessmen did not go there either" (TO9).

From the data analysis, the 18 interviewees commented about how diverse political crisis situations affected their organisations, where the impacts can be grouped into different categories: immediate impact, short term impact and long term impact.

Figure 5.1 Political crises' impacts on a time line

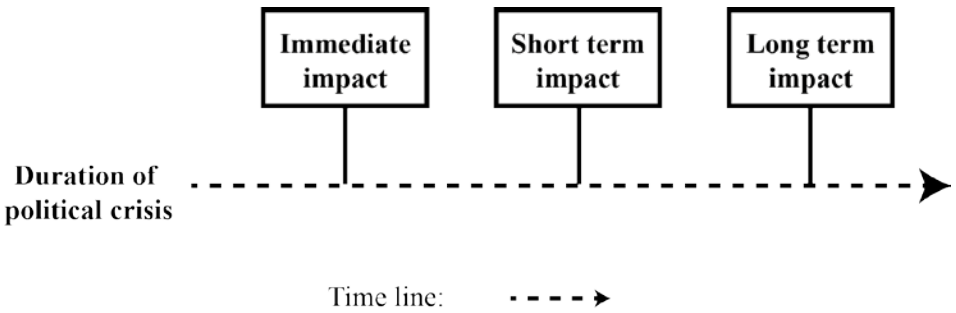


Figure 5.1 represents the immediate, short-term and long-term impacts that the interviewees recalled. The degree of immediate impact relative to short-term or long-term impact depends upon the type of political crises itself. The immediate impact occurs when political crisis hits the destination, and tourism stakeholders immediately feel the impact of this. Examples of immediate effects can include cancellation of tour bookings. Short-term effects include the loss of tour demand after the political crisis has passed; this can be due to the deterioration of the destination's safe image. Long-term effects include the impacts over a longer period such as occurred following the 2 Gulf Wars. The tourism industry requires additional time to recover its ability to repair, rebuild, and restore confidence for stakeholders. The next section will comprehensively discuss these impacts of varying time length.

Interestingly, eight interviewees from different sectors agreed that the immediate impacts of political crises were in fact quite similar. Those effects are mainly immediate such as cancellations of tour bookings or postponement of advance bookings.

> "The effect is not different. It's the same even though the bombing in Bali makes Bali quiet as a destination for quite some time…a long, long time. So it is going to be the same no matter where it happens in the world. The effect will still be the same even with political problems – when there have been bombings or anything like that and people died. So tourists will not go" (TC2).

Another example of this was provided by a tour operator interviewee:

> "There are similar things. There is always room to do the same sort of things and have the same things in our mind with safety, customers looking after customers, finding out exactly where we are in terms of the numbers we are dealing with and making sure that we also give information on our websites and post information to our travel agents, so that they know what we are doing as well. But there would always be differences according to where the problem is globally and where it can make it more difficult or easier [sic], depending on where you are and what you are dealing with" (TO9).

Conversely, 12 interviewees believed that the impacts of each political crisis vary. The different effects can last for the short or long-term depending on political crises and how their organisation has dealt with the effects:

> "The incidents are different in different places and perception of political crises in different countries is also different" (TO1).

When a political crisis happens, it immediately damages the tourism industry and stakeholders including hoteliers, airlines, tour operators, travel agents, governments, tourism organisations, tourists, and suppliers. As customers cancel their original travel plans, the impact of this choice propagates through all stakeholders:

> "It did affect our customers, therefore, because the majority of our customers are booked through travel agents; it affected our travel agents because we need to contact our customers, who were due to travel through those agents and seek to either differ their destination plans or re-book their customers to travel to another destination" (TO6).

An important consideration is that 19 interviewees who experienced immediate effects of political crises suggested that these effects varied according to each organisation's main tourism destinations. For example, a tour operator whose main destination is Indonesia was affected enormously by the 2002 bombings in Bali, unlike a tourism company who mainly provides leisure tours to Thailand. The latter, indeed, had been affected far more by the prolonged Thai political protest:

> "There was a bomb in Bali, which really affected their business. It didn't affect us that greatly because Bali wasn't really one of the major destinations that we featured, which was probably lucky in a way. I know a couple of Australian agents… it just crippled their market; they went bust because the Australians weren't going at all to Bali" (TO9).

From the data analysis, 14 interviewees agreed that short-term and long-term effects can be significantly different. However, the degree of those effects differs according to each particular crisis and how effectively that organisation dealt with the effects:

> "Regarding the main effects of those situations, I would say they have affected different countries in different ways. If it is a relatively short period of instability then my clients may suffer a relatively short period of reduced bookings, of people not wishing to travel. However, where along [sic] the period continues, then that can have significant effects… may cause them to look out the market so they can service instead then send tourists to other destinations" (TC3).

The next section discusses in detail how political crises affect tourism organisations.

5.5 The effects of political crises

This section addresses the effects of political crises confronted by the 20 tourism interviewees who participated in this study. Each political incident has distinguishable impacts and repercussions, dependent on several factors.

The 20 interviewees were asked what the effects of political crises on their organisation were. The responses indicate that effects can be categorised into two perspectives. First is the impact of political crises on their tourism organisations. Those include perception effects, financial effects and the aftermath. These can be influenced or magnified by other effects, which are coinciding effects, ripple effects and spillover effects. Figure 5.2 illustrates the effects of political crises along with their coinciding effects. The six effects are depicted under immediate, short-term, or long-term impacts.

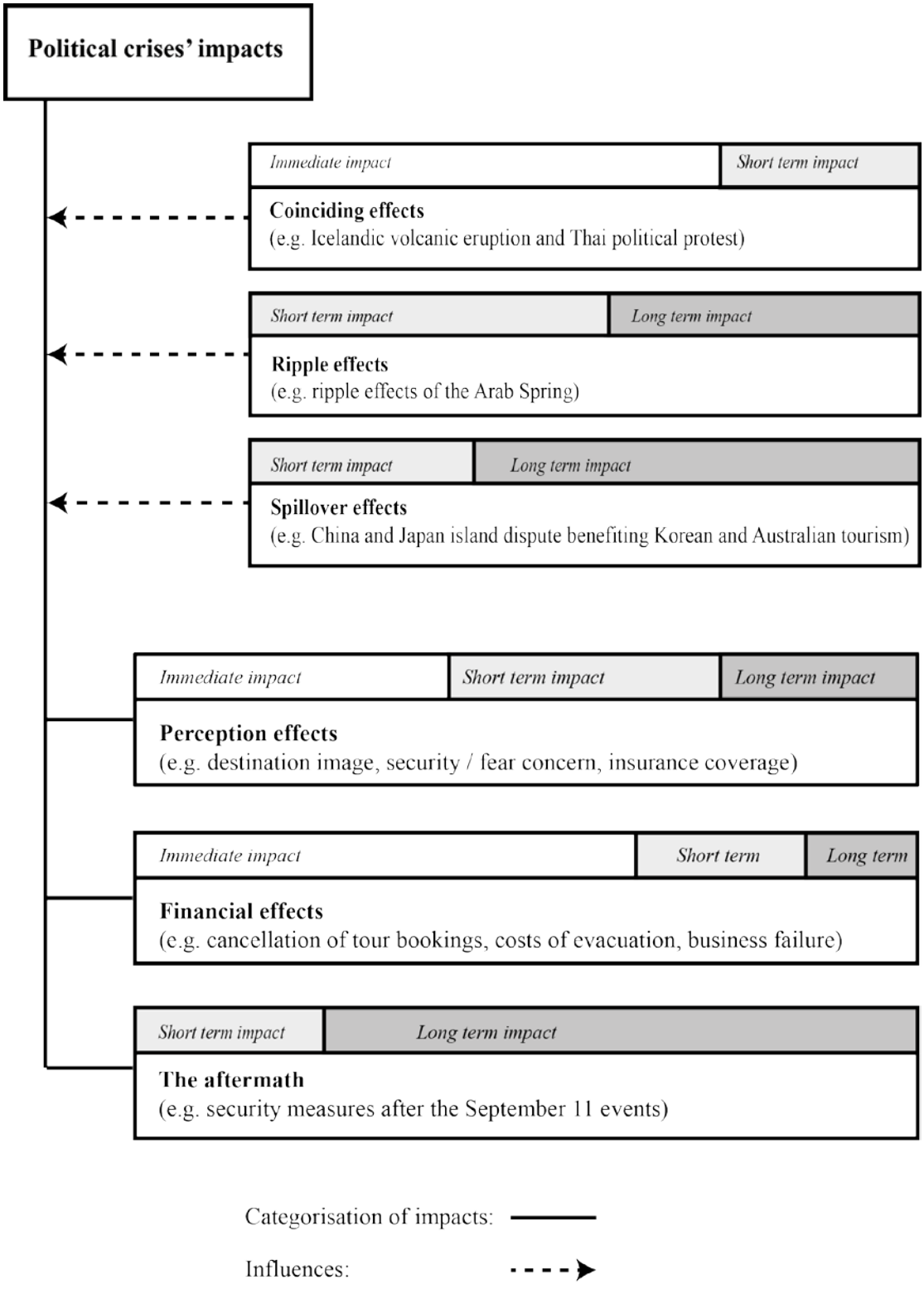
5.5.1 Perception effects

The unsafe image of an affected destination immediately impacts stakeholders' perceptions. The media plays a crucial role by broadcasting reports and visuals about political crises which can reduce any sense that the destination is safe or secure, resulting in loss of stakeholder confidence with growing security or fear concerns. Eight interviewees agreed that perception effects have a profound impact on their organisations. When political crises happen, their clients lose confidence in the safety of the destination:

> "I think the problem from the clients' point of view is that they see the news and all the news coverage is fires, bullets, blood, people dying; so people look at that and they think they can't get to Thailand" (TA1).

Effects of perceptions can have immediate, short-term and long-term ramifications. In the immediate term, the perception of the affected area degrades, consequently dealing a financial impact to the tourism organisations from loss of tourist confidence and subsequent cancellations.

Figure 5.2 Effects of political crises



If the political crisis involves violence, such as the Manila Hostage crisis or monk demonstration in Burma, the industry can see short-term issues. When political crises include violence or deadly incidents such as wars, military coups or terrorist attacks, long-term effects can ensue. Political crises, such as the Sri Lankan Civil war and the Bali Bombings, can seriously eroded tourist perception; tour operators and travel agents were reluctant to encourage their clients to travel to these affected destinations for various reasons. Inevitably, it is especially difficult to sell any sort of tourism in countries hit by serious political crises. Because the perception of the affected destination has been seriously damaged, it is no longer considered a safe place to travel. Other examples include Sri Lankan Civil War and the Libyan Revolution.

> "Comparing the effects of Sri Lanka's civil war and strike, the war is a much longer event as it carried on for months or years which affected the overall selling of tours to Sri Lanka. A strike is [sic] has a limited time period; the incident took only a few days. In Sri Lanka's case, we make sure we are not selling tours which means sending our clients to those countries" (TO1).

The Libyan Revolution affected the image of the entire country. Tour operators therefore stopped selling holidays to Libya even when receiving requests.

> "Probably not after the Libya situation, because it killed the market for people to go back there and until there's stability again, and that I think that's going to be a few years for Libya, before people start going" (TO9).

Six interviewees agreed that lack of demand for an affected destination greatly altered their organisations. This factor is a result of perception effects related to the period and degree of political crisis in question:

> "I think, with the red shirt demonstration, it started in April and it went on for about 10 weeks, so a lot of business was lost; it was ten weeks of

> business. It's a long time. Because we have to, you know, it's UK government policy, they have to be sure that their citizens will be safe, and so there was so much disruption. Though it wasn't aimed at tourists, you know, it wasn't an easy environment to be in Bangkok certainly. It wasn't affecting Bangkok Airport and therefore onwards to other places in Thailand. But definitely, we lost a lot of business…about five per cent" (TO8).

Due to the deterioration of an affected destination's safe image, tourists do not travel and tour operators and travel agents stop selling the affected destination. Interviewees believed the combined factors of insurance coverage and advice from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) significantly affect peoples' perception of a political crisis.

Four interviewees drew attention to the impact of loss of insurance coverage. Travel insurance contracts frequently contain a clause suspending or withholding coverage if government travel advisories recommend against travelling to a destination. Even when government advisories do not ban travel to affected areas outright, the consequent inability to secure travel insurance coverage has the same resulting effect for the affected destination:

> "For the red-yellow shirt demonstration, because we had lots of bookings at the time and political crises in Thailand happened, the foreign office sent out [sic] message to foreign visitors. You know, especially on their website, FCO website, do not visit Thailand – so what happened was the insurance did not cover any visitors from the UK to visit Thailand so we had a lot of bookings cancelled that holiday" (TO3).

Five interviewees agreed that FCO advice is a critical factor when British tourists choose a holiday destination. Moreover, although tour operators are not legally obliged to act according to FCO advice, they nevertheless tend to follow it and regard it as the most reliable source of information on destinations:

> "To take the affected destination off sale, is not [necessary for] compliance with the FCO; it's more prudent attention to FCO advice. We're not obliged to follow the FCO advice, if we wanted to, we could continue to send customers throughout the entire political situation, but within obviously our duty of care, we take that decision very carefully, because we leave our customers and our shareholders exposed to different kinds of risk, our customers to potential actual harm, our shareholders to legal harm; you know, should something happen to our customers" (TO6).

It can be concluded from this that the duration of the perception effect is of particular importance. If the perception effect is more long-term, even if it does not involve violence, demand is driven down and tourism companies are forced to absorb the costs on a daily basis.

5.5.2 Financial effects

Financial effects impact in the immediate, short and long terms. Tourism organisations are affected financially by the immediate decrease of tour revenue due to loss of current tour bookings and cancellation of advance tour booking, as has been discussed. Clients, concerned that their holidays will be seriously affected by political turmoil, often cancel their plans and choose safer destinations. Additional costs incurred by organisations, such as those associated with evacuating clients during the time of crisis or re-routing their itineraries, create another financial burden. These monetary effects require close monitoring as they can seriously erode the financials of a business and the business continuity of organisations.

Twelve interviewees suggested that the most immediate financial impact of political crises involved the sharp decline of tour revenue due to cancellation of new tour bookings:

> "Well, the effects are; it puts people off from booking; they're not inclined to select that area" (TO9).

Another interviewee stated:

> "There were enormous impacts on my organisation in terms of our Asia programme. Thailand represents 60 per cent of the business and for four months that business was turned off. One of the thing[sic] is we are selling Thailand holidays in this country, as Thailand has the best appeal for people and they can choose the destination that has many attractions such as cultural, scenery, beach and resort and it's very hard to say this at present. 'I'm sorry we can't go to Thailand; would you like to go to Malaysia, Bali, or somewhere else?' Because they have probably looked through the places already and chosen Thailand because of particular attractions and then it's very, very hard for tour operators to sell a destination that has been affected in sales for quite a long period of time" (TC1).

In terms of short-term impact, 10 interviewees reported that advance bookings had also been cancelled due to clients' loss of confidence in the safety and security of the affected destination:

> "The protests in Bangkok meant people did not go there and people who had booked previously [cancelled]. If they had booked their holiday six months ago, they asked to be sent somewhere else because they were not confident if they would be safe travelling there" (TO2).

The largest financial impacts are felt from the evacuation of clients out of the affected area during the time of crisis. Inevitably, they wish to immediately return home, thus incurring further costs for tour operators. Additional costs are incurred when flights are cancelled as a result of political crises, leaving tour operators to fly their clients home by different airlines. Nine tour operator interviewees agreed that when a political crisis involves violence and is disruptive to the destination's infrastructure, tour operators need to repatriate their clients out of the affected areas, or immediately back to their home countries. Those costs can also be incurred when rerouting clients' itineraries when disruption occurs:

> "Egypt was disastrous because people didn't want to go via Cairo for their flights. Also with Bahrain, people were cancelling their flights; they [sic] weren't actually connecting flights in Bahrain, people cancelling their flight via Cairo and not stopping in Cairo as well" (TO5).

> "It was a combination of having customers at the affected destination, how you deal with them, what you do, how you deal with their itinerary, how to manage their worries and fears, and any extra-pocket, out of pocket days you might have" (TO8).

In the case of the 2008 Bangkok Airport closure, many tour operators were obliged to transport their clients to alternate airports in Thailand or Malaysia, thus incurring further costs:

> "The yellow shirt demonstration was a massive issue as airports were being closed as a consequence; it affected the clients stuck at the airport, unable to fly in and out" (TO7).

As tour operators are responsible to their clients until they have arrived back in their home countries safely, they incur the cost of any additional transportation and accommodation that may be necessary in times of crisis:

> "If people got stuck in Phuket Airport you had to pay for them to go to the hotels. Then, when the customer is due to travel, they are… I would say they're probably the hardest set to deal with actually; and the worst… not the worst thing, but the worst financially" (TO8).

Long-term, financial impacts of political crises on tourism organisations abound; they may fail to achieve their annual business goals and objectives which, in turn, can cause catastrophic effects on those organisations. One interviewee, a tourism consultant to many large UK companies for over two decades, suggested that political crises can result in outright business failure, especially for companies that specialise or focus on a particular destination:

> "Very occasionally, the impacts of political crises can actually lead to the failure of a client due to the fact that they have all of their businesses, or a large majority of it, travelling to a particular destination, and whether the country experiences prolonged political problems; they are not able to diversify quickly enough, and time [sic] because of refund that they need to make to customers, cancellation, etc. They're unable to continue the business" (TC3).

Having discussed the financial effects of political crises in the immediate, short and long-term, it is essential for tourism managers to understand the diverse financial effects of various political crisis situations and their effects over time.

5.5.3 The aftermath of political crises

The aftermath of a political crisis warrants consideration. Aftermaths follow the effects of political crises after the incident itself had passed. A good example of these repercussions is when government policy amendments result in stricter security measures, thus hampering tourism.

Three interviewees of this study commented that the aftermath of political crisis impacts the tourism industry. Government policies designed to manage this period result in continued effects for the industry. Following the 1997 Luxor Massacre the Egyptian government put in place security measures that made it far more difficult for tourists to travel around the country; these measures also altered tourists' satisfaction with their trips as is evidenced by this interviewee's recollection:

> "I went to Egypt a few months after the Luxor Massacre. If we want [sic] to Abu Simbel from Luxor, Egypt, you still needed to go with the guard. And there were only two shifts a day, thus this issue completely impacted the tourists. In the old days, we could go anywhere we liked, which means it trims down the opportunity of doing business of [sic] the

country. Even though this was many years ago, the situation is still like this" (TC1).

In the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, obtaining tourist visas became a challenging experience virtually overnight. This severely impacted the ability of tourism companies to sell American destinations.

"In the US, the way they put it, it's more difficult to travel to the country … like airport security is a lot tighter. [This] makes life more difficult, and it's also difficult to get a visa to certain places" (TO3).

The interviewees of this study also spoke of the aftermath as directly impacting company policies due to altered public policies. This effect tends to be more pronounced in destinations that terrorist attacks.

Three effects influence the overall impact of political crises, which will be discussed in the next sub-sections. These include coinciding effects, ripple effects and spillover effects. Twenty interviewees believed that these effects can influence or magnify the degree of the impact.

5.5.4 Coinciding effects

The term 'coinciding effect' refers to 2 or more incidents occurring within the same time frame, thus resulting in a greater impact. Due to the coincidence of simultaneous crises, a profound impact was felt within the organisations of four interviewees in particular. Interviewee TO12, for example, explained the impacts of the Icelandic volcano eruption in April of 2010 which was quickly followed by the Bangkok 'red-yellow shirt' protests in May:

"At the time of the red shirt riots in May 2010, we didn't have that many clients in Thailand itself because it wasn't high season; but we had a few people who were travelling in the region, [in] Indochina. In their itinerary, their flights included a few days stay [sic] stopover in Bangkok

> at the end of the journey. Unfortunately, that period was also compounded by the fact that clouds were over UK airspace. So the two things clashed and it meant that clients who weren't supposed to stay in Bangkok had to stay in Bangkok. Because of the ash clouds, they couldn't get back into the UK; and then all the riots kicked off and we had clients who were staying close to Lumpini Park at Dusit Thani Hotel [in Bangkok] that we had to move" (TO12).

The coinciding effect is not limited to the tourism industry. Interviewee TO7 suggested that the compound impact of the UK economic crisis together with the Thai political crisis had an effect on consumer behaviour in general. Booking behaviour had changed; consumers were no longer inclined to purchase a holiday six to twelve months ahead of travel. Instead, given the economic and political uncertainty, they made purchase decisions within a much smaller window of three months or less:

> "For the red demonstration in Thailand, I would say it took maybe one year for tourism to go back to the same level for Thailand. There had been so many issues in the year before… you know, red shirt, yellow shirt, almost on a yearly basis. There was a big focus in the UK news about this because there's [sic] so many British tourists in Thailand; there are 900,000 British tourists travelling to Thailand every year" (TO7).

Therefore, the coinciding effects of simultaneous crises can exaggerate peoples' perceptions. This results in profound financial effects for the tourism industry: directly on both tourist generating countries and affected countries.

5.5.5 Ripple effects

Eight of the twenty interviewees commented on the birth of a ripple effect during times of political crisis. Like ripples across the water from a single drop, this effect occurs as one situation follows the initial state and continues to expand outwards as

more effects are felt. This often occurs once news of a political crisis spreads to the surrounding region and beyond, even if said regions are not directly impacted by each other or the primary crisis. In today's increasingly connected world, ripple effects can detrimentally affect the perceptions of a given area by both tourists and tourism companies alike.

During the Arab Spring, political protest in Tunisia and Egypt affected the sales and safety image of the region as a whole. 5 interviewees agreed that the ripple effect of this event profoundly impacted their organisations:

> "Because my tourists sometimes think Thailand has lots of problems they do not just avoid Thailand. Instead, they might avoid the whole region" (TO3).

Another interviewee witnessed a ripple effect following the Arab Spring:

> "Certain airlines have a monopoly on routes; there is no other way of getting to Sharm el Sheikh via Cairo from Europe. I was fairly surprised that even under the problems which were happening inside the city of Cairo, people were not prepared to go via Cairo airport; so that affected us a lot and our diving market for Egypt went down a lot. And also I believe even on [sic] long haul, some airlines were affected" (TO8).

The ripple effect can ultimately serve to reduce the confidence of tourism organisations doing business in a particular region. Such effects magnify the perception of the affected destination and consequently financial effects follow. In the case of the Arab Spring, tourism companies avoided sending tourists to Middle Eastern countries as the ripple effect swept its way through Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, and a number of others.

5.5.6 Spillover effects

Three out of the twenty interviewees commented that the spillover effect ought to be considered by tourism companies so that they can seize the opportunity presented to increase sales of certain tourism products. The China and Japan Island dispute in 2012 had a net positive spillover effect on destinations including South Korea and Australia, as this interviewee recalls:

> "Recently, there was a political crisis between China and Japan about the islands in the Pacific. In China, there was a lot of anger towards Japan. Japanese cars were kept off the road and Japanese restaurants were boarded up. Thus, the positive spillover was that both Chinese and Japanese tourists went to Korea or even Australia instead" (TA2).

The above statement addresses both the positive and negative spillover effects on tourism organisations. To reap these rewards, however, it is imperative that tourism managers carefully consider the potential effects of political crises thoroughly, preferably beforehand.

The effects of political crises are inescapable for tourism organisations. As the interview analysis confirms, the perception effect, financial effect and the aftermath of political crises all require thoughtful consideration and examination, as do coinciding, ripple, and spillover effects.

5.6 Political crises and their impact on stakeholders' confidence

Having discussed the effects of various political crises, this section analyses their repercussions as it pertains to tourism. As shown in Figure 5.2, the perception effect inevitably impacts stakeholders' confidence in tourist generating countries. From the data analysis, interviewees divided this issue of confidence on two main areas: (1) investor confidence (e.g. service providers such as tour operators, travel agents, and hotel investors) and (2) tourist confidence.

The issue of confidence is particularly important following political crises such as a military coups, demonstrations, protests or riots. Most interviewees regard tourist confidence as an essential element to their business not least because tourism is an intangible product. By its very nature, confidence is a volatile quality amplified by objective facts for better and for worse.

5.6.1 Investor confidence

Nine (2 destination organisations, 1 tourism consultant, 1 travel agent, and 5 tour operators) of this study's interviewees agreed that confidence is a key element in assessing whether a destination should be included in their companies' travel catalogue. As the safety of their clients is of paramount concern, they are likely to avoid selling destinations perceived as unsafe, even if these destinations are not subject to FCO travel restrictions.

When asked which strategy they applied to justify the image of safe or unsafe destinations, interviewees responded that their safety perceptions are derived from various sources of information and experience. These include (1) characteristics of destination, (2) historical political crisis events affecting its tourism industry, and (3) how a destination's government has dealt with past political crises.

The first of these factors – characteristics of the affected destination – includes locality, nationality, culture, infrastructure, and geographical contexts. Thus no two destinations are ever the exact same. Some tourism destinations boast desirable and safe infrastructure, whereas others do not; attributes such as these can accordingly affect how quickly a destination recovers from a political crisis.

The second factor - historical political crisis events affecting an area's tourism industry – refers to the number or frequency of political crises that have shaped the destination in the past. If, for instance, the destination has a long history of political crises, the perception becomes one of political instability and a lack of safety.

The last factor - how the destination's government has dealt with past crises – is particularly important to consider for tourism's sake. The aftermath of a political crisis depends upon how well an affected destination's government managed, and thus controlled, the effects. If a government has a solid plan in place mitigate the effects of political crises on tourism, this can reduce or eliminate negative perceptions among tourism stakeholders. The interviewees in this study believe there is a heightened potential for political instability and crisis in countries that have a history of such events, such as Thailand, India and Fiji. It is, therefore, important to consider how well the tourism industry in this, and other, destinations has recovered from past political crises.

As an example, interviewee TO12 cites her company's perception of the safety of the Philippines for tourists.

> "We currently don't feature the Philippines in our programme partly because of the political problems they have had. There was a coachload of tourists from Hong Kong that was hijacked, and also there were some political kidnappings and kidnappings of foreign tourists. I am sure you've seen a lot of these cases where they have been held for ransom and they had to escape by themselves. So there are many factors why we have held back in selling the Philippines" (TO12).

Three of the twenty interviewees explained that they avoid selling certain destinations because of other factors including perceived ethical issues:

> "We don't actually operate to Burma (or Myanmar). The reason for this is that, in my personal view, up until recently the volume of the business that we do would not be proportionate to the negative publicity we'll receive as a tour operator for operating to Burma while Aung San Suu Kyi was in prison or under house arrest. So it was a kind of ethical decision on a personal level rather than a business decision" (TO6).

However, attitudes towards Myanmar appear to be changing. Both the UK and the US governments have removed their reservation about travel to the country following the release of opposition politician Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest in 2010. With a new and deliberate policy of welcoming tourists since and restoring relations with other countries, Myanmar's safety image abroad has significantly improved while tourism has accordingly grown.

Several interviewees suggested that their companies initiated plans to launch Myanmar as a tourism destination following the high profile visits to the country by then- US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and UK Foreign Secretary William Hague:

> "I think Myanmar got back-up from the UK government. It's like a reassurance for British tourists that it's okay to visit. I think just recently the foreign minister of the UK visited Myanmar and also the US, as well. Mrs Clinton made it very clear publicly that they are okay, they are open. We are all [sic] right. And they don't seem to think election will cost any problems. It's nothing major. It's change for the better, so it's still positive in whatever the outcome. I think the Myanmar government still has to comply and not do anything horrible" (TO3).

Thus, as we see, the perception of destinations can derive and evolve from the news and experience emanating from abroad. For smaller tourism operations, confidence remains the key factor. However, for those organisations consisting of hundreds of employees organisations (such as that of interviewee TO4's employer which totals more than 250 employees), political risk analysis may also be required before investments are made.

5.6.2 Tourist confidence

Thirteen of this study's interviewees stated that they faced the challenge of declining tourist confidence in destinations recently affected by political crises. In the case of

Thailand in 2008, the visibility of the violence and chaos on international media outlets led to lost confidence. There was nothing the tourism industry could do other than wait and see how events unfolded as reflected by the following interviewee statement:

> "For 2009, basically, we were quite silent for six to eight months because when people are not looking to go to Thailand, [sic] nothing you can do. Whatever you do, they are not going. And that actually affects every tour operator, not just us. We work closely with other people and we know when they don't get any inquiries to go to Thailand" (TO3).

To compound matters, the degradation of a destination's safety image abroad further affects tourist confidence who doubt the continued safety of the area well after the crisis has concluded. A few interviewees noted that a decline in tourist confidence also affects consumer behaviour, as tourists do not book as far in advance for particular destinations, preferring instead a wait-and-see approach before committing.

Thus, the factors contributing to stakeholder confidence demonstrate how each requires close examination in the context of understanding the repercussions of political crises comprehensively. The next section discusses the multitude of information sources relied upon by the interviewees in times of political crises.

5.7 Sources of crisis information

The lack of information with which to support crisis management teams creates a major dilemma for crisis management strategy, as eight of this study's interviewees attested. To explore this issue, this section examines how trade organisations obtain crisis information; and which sources they prefer in times of political crises. Interviewees rely on a range of sources of information, as Table 5.3 illustrates.

Table 5.3 Sources of crisis information and use in different sectors

Source of crisis information	Destination Organisations	Travel Consultants	Travel Agents	Tour Operators
Tourism trade organisations (e.g. FCO, FTO, ABTA)	42%	45%	35%	25%
Destination organisations (e.g. TAT, PNG)	25%	10%	20%	2%
The media (e.g. BBC news, Guardian newspaper)	23%	37%	27%	18%
Ground operators (e.g. Ground handling companies, DMCs)	6%	n/a	n/a	46%
Other sources (e.g. travel blogs, local friends)	4%	8%	18%	9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

According to the interviewees, major sources of crisis information have been identified as: (1) tourism trade organisations, (2) destination organisations, (3) the media, (4) ground operators, and (5) others which include travel blogs and local friends.

5.7.1 Tourism trade organisations

Crisis information from tourism trade organisations includes advice from the FCO along with press releases from the Federation of Tour Operators (FTO) and Association of British Travel Agents (ABTA). They each play different roles in providing information to travellers, travel organisation and other stakeholders: FCO advice is the most specific and includes travel warnings for British tourists; information from the FTO and ABTA keep tourists abreast of current crisis situations and travel advice. Most tourism managers interviewed for this study primarily rely on FCO advice. Although this advice does not legally oblige them to take any action, it is nonetheless considered to be the most reliable source of information that additionally provides early warnings and risk assessments:

> "We are not obliged to follow the FCO advice. If we wanted to, we could continue to send customers throughout the entire political situation but within obviously our duty of care. We take that decision very carefully, because we leave our customers and our shareholders exposed to different kinds of risk: our customers to potential, actual harm; our shareholders to legal harm, you know, should something happen to our customers" (TO6).

FCO advice can also affect the coverage provided by insurance companies. In turn, organisations seek to mitigate the effects of political crises by dissuading their clients from travelling to a particular destination:

> "We also take a lot of advice from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. If they say it's really dangerous to go, then ultimately we have to take that into account because of [sic] people's insurance companies will not cover them if they travel against the FCO advice" (TO2).

The following interviewee mentioned a multi-resource approach that leverages both the guides of the FCO as well as information from the FTO:

> "When we have any sort of situation like this, we would always take action and advice from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. We are also a part of FTO, which is the Federation of Tour Operators, and we work very closely with them in sharing information and also making informed decisions between us. We would always be in contact when something like this is going to happen. And we did know obviously that potentially there was going to be a problem and we were just waiting for information from the Foreign Commonwealth Office when the FCO advised that it's against all but essential travel to Egypt" (TO4).

The size of tourism companies influence the way in which they obtain information and handle situations that arise. Interviewee TO4, for instance, works for a large tour operator consisting of more than 250 employees. She mentioned that she receives

'insider news', and was privy to crisis information before the FCO issued its advice. She also commented that she coordinates with the FTO in order to obtain and convey sensitive information in order to mitigate the effects of FCO advice.

Most interviewees in this study follow the advice given by their tourism trade organisations dependent upon the size of the organisation and its connection with trade organisations.

5.7.2 Destination organisations

Two interviewees out of 13 tour operators bemoaned the slow response by affected destinations' local tourism boards in disseminating information in times of crisis. For this reason and others, 10 tour operator interviewees rely more heavily on ground operators and business partners based at the destinations in question for updates. As interviewee TO3 stated:

> "During the Thai political protest in 2010, we usually worked with our ground handling people and DMC who sent out the news a lot quicker than the tourism authority of Thailand (TAT). That's very slow. We get [sic] the news from TAT a week later" (TO3).

From interview analysis, it is evident that destination organisations and local tourism board updates are more useful to travel agents, tourism consultants, and destination organisations that do not operate tours themselves. Unlike the tour operator sector that requires real time information to respond to clients, these stakeholders do not. Travel agents, for instance, inquire for information from their partnered tour operators who, in turn, are responsible for locating and assisting tourists affected. Destination organisations' websites serve as a useful source of such information for these tourism stakeholders.

Interestingly, two interviewees who work for destination organisations revealed the importance of conveying crisis information to tourist generating regions. They stated

that destination organisations should collate information from various sources, with an emphasis on accuracy.

5.7.3 The media

As has been previously discussed, the media plays a critical role during political crises by providing updates to international audiences. However, 11 interviewees (2 tourism consultants, 2 destination organisations, 2 travel agents and 5 tour operators) of this study's interviewees agreed that the media tends to exaggerate crisis situations, making it less valuable to their organisations. Interviewee TO1 explains this common sentiment:

> "With the example of the Bangkok floods, the perception is sometimes a bit of an exaggeration of what is actually happening on the ground. When the media published some pictures of the flooding in Bangkok, the casual readers or viewers assumed that all Bangkok was flooded. However, actually the central part of Bangkok was actually fine and most hotels operated normally. Only some of the downtown areas of Bangkok were flooded. For tourist circuits, clients will only have to judge whether it is actually safe or not, so we have to get the information from the ground handlers. We rely more on them than the media; and we have to educate clients also that the situation is not as bad as the media may suggest" (TO1).

Although few interviewees felt that different media sources provide distinct perspectives, five interviewees (2 tourism consultants, 2 destination organisations, and 1 travel agent) stated that they rely on the television media more than online blogs and websites. The data analysis reveals that tourism consultants tend to utilise this source of information more than other sectors. As interview analysis shows, the media does provide useful means of conveying some information in times of crisis to tourism stakeholders. However, its greatest direct impact is on tourists and potential tourists, as images of political violence and crisis situations can substantially and rapidly degrade their confidence.

5.7.4 Ground operators

In this study, the term 'ground operator' refers to local business partners, ground handling companies or destination management companies (DMC), which are located at tourism destinations. According to the data analysis explored earlier, most of the 13 tour operator interviewees derive reliable crisis information via operators on the ground. Because they have staff at the crisis location they can provide a more accurate and complete picture of events. Long-term relationships between ground operators and other tourism stakeholders can result in effective collaboration during times of crisis, such as this interviewee stated:

> "The destination management company that we work with in Thailand is very good at giving pragmatic, sensible, controlled advice about what's impacted, what's not impacted, where [sic] is safe, what's not safe, but to some extent again. It's the case like [sic] Bangkok flooding. I think the government advice against travel to certain areas almost the same time as the local agent said don't travel to Bangkok because of the flooding, you won't get anywhere. So I don't think, even then it was in relative tandem [sic] so it's almost perhaps we rely on the local agent for detail and to get a sense of what, where the situation is improving, so that we can start lobbying with government saying, you know, it's improved now you can lift the advisory off. Fortunately, we have the embassy… they can see it is flooding; they understand the local situation" (TO6).

One tour operator interviewee noted that during the crisis in Egypt recently, ground operators in the country effectively coordinated the necessary extra services for her company's clients. The lack of appointed agents at a particular destination thus leads to greater difficulties for management, as this statement exhibits:

> "I think Egypt- all of those destinations - have such good ground operators and representatives that really we wouldn't have any worries.

> If, say, we had actually moved into Burma that would be a lot more challenging if something happened there because although we have representatives, we are only newly working with them and that makes a big difference when you are dealing with a crisis to have that relationship there. It's also again the logistics and understanding the country. For me [sic] Burma, I'm not very confident. I don't really understand the layout of the country very well yet. Whereas, I know Thailand very well; I know Egypt very well. So making decisions becomes easier when you understand the country and you have [sic] relationship with your agent there and you've been working with them for a while. So something like that can add to the challenges" (TO4).

In addition, a political crisis in a country like Myanmar (Burma), where no such business partners exist, would pose far more problems than a crisis in a nation such as Thailand, which does have established partners. Interviewee TO3 spoke to this:

> "Assuming a political crisis is happening in Thailand, it's going to be a lot easier as we have our office there; our people can actually help clients a lot quicker. If it is happening in Burma, that's going to be a lot more difficult. The communication's [sic] never been easy anyway. You have to phone them as the internet never works, so basically that's the most you can do – we can't prepare anything for Burma really. We just have to rely heavily on our partner out there" (TO3).

It is clear that ground operators play a vital role as a source of crisis information for stakeholders in tourist generating regions. They can give real time information often with a more nuanced perspective than media outlets. In terms of crisis management, it is imperative to assess crisis situations from multiple perspectives; while the media can play a role in broader coverage, local group operators are far more important in terms of reliable, accurate and multi-sided information.

5.7.5 Other sources

Local networks (e.g. friends and relatives), travel blogs and local news provide additional sources of information during times of crisis. 4 tour operator, 1 travel agent and 2 tourism consultant interviewees in this study said that they utilize local online newspapers in order to establish the perspectives of the local citizenry, as well as blogs and discussion forums for further insight. From the data analysis, the interviewees who rely more on such sources of information tend to be travel agent and smaller scale tour operators with less than 10 employees in the organisations. They leverage their trustworthy relationships with locals in this way which can be more efficient than waiting for information to disseminate from elsewhere.

Having discussed the different sources of crisis information used by the 20 interviewees from four different tourism sectors, the findings reveal that each sector obtains information in times of political crisis slightly differently. The size of the organisation also influences their procedures for acquiring information. The findings of this study also affirm that travel agents and small tour operators with 10 employees or less tend to use a combination of sources including ground operators, local news websites, and travel blogs. Mid-range tour organisations with 50 employees or less demonstrated the importance of maintaining strong contact with their ground operators as a reliable source of information. Finally, tour operators with more than 250 employees obtain crisis information from a combination of sources including tourism trade organisations, ground operators, and their own large networks of employees and contacts in the region.

5.8 Summary

Having examined the effects of political crises encountered by the 20 interviewees who participated in this study, this chapter provides a comprehensive evaluation of the industry during times of crisis. The term ‘political crisis’, with specific regards to the tourism industry, has been defined and the characteristics of such crises have been illustrated. Different political crisis situations have been discussed and their effects on tourism organisations analysed. Further, the interview data collected demonstrates that there exist variable levels of understanding of the characteristics

indicative of political crisis situations. Moreover, this chapter displays how trade organisations understand the role of government in times of crisis.

An analysis of the effects of political crises on the interviewees' organisations has been divided into three effects: perception, financial and the aftermath. These effects are influenced by the coinciding, ripple and spillover effects under the different schemes of immediate, short and long term impact. The data analysis reveals that the 'perception effect' is considered the key issue by interviewees as it directly relates to the confidence of trade organisations and other stakeholders; furthermore, confidence plays a critical role on trade organisations in terms of sales to destinations affected by political crises. This chapter also reveals that the issues discussed above can magnify the effects of political crises on trade organisations. Important to this study, the sources of crisis information utilized by the interviewees reveal that different trade organisations utilise diverse sources of information during crisis events; the size of an organisation can predict and influence how it seeks information.

In conclusion, this chapter provides fundamental insight *vis-à-vis* the study's interviewees into how political crises affect trade organisations, how other stakeholders understand events, and how the effects of crises can degrade stakeholder confidence. This chapter, therefore, contributes to a fuller understanding of the impact of political crises on the tourism industry. A discussion of how the 20 interviewees respond to the effects of political crises will be discussed comprehensively in the next chapter. The chapter will also explore crisis management plans and strategies that interviewees and their respective organisations have implemented to mitigate the negative effects of political crises.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS – POLITICAL CRISIS STRATEGIES IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

6.1 Introduction

Having discussed the key effects of political crises in Chapter 5, this chapter examines the crisis strategies implemented by the 20 participating trade interviewees including crisis mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery strategies. In an attempt to gain insight into crisis management research, key factors influencing crisis responses are identified to assist stakeholders in their understanding of the natures of political crises and their impact on the tourism industry. Furthermore, this chapter identifies the most influential factors that render a destination more resilient to the effects of political crises.

6.2 Crisis mitigation

Eight of the twenty interviewees concede that there is a lower possibility of avoiding the effects of political crises when incidents originate from uncontrollable factors such as political protests, strikes, or government mismanagement. Five of the twenty interviewees suggested that the best course of action is to mitigate the effects of political crises in these situations. Five interviewees also believe that political crises are likely to occur in future in destinations with a history of them, such as Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand. In such cases, the strategy employed is to first understand past political conflicts and then prepare for future crises accordingly.

This section looks thoroughly at the strategies applied by trade organisations that mitigate the effects of political crises on tourism destinations. These include methods of risk reduction, perception assessment and travel insurance. Ten of the twenty interviewees suggested that a key purpose of crisis mitigation is to protect their organisation from adverse impacts of political crises.

6.2.1 Risk reduction strategy

All of the interviewees participating in this study suggested ways to reduce the effects of political crises. Half of the interviewees said they leverage connections with local citizens and business partners in addition to news sources in order to pinpoint potential liabilities. Upon recognising risks, 10 interviewees stated that they identify the potential impact on the tour operations on the ground; steps are then taken to mitigate those risks by limiting or withholding sales to that destination.

Three interviewees described the risks associated with operating tours in Indonesia following the 2002 Bali Bombings; it took a full decade after the incident for their organisations to reconsider the destination, only after the risks were deemed acceptable. Interviewee TO12 explains:

> "We removed Indonesia from the programme after [the Bali] bombing in 2002. Only now we are re-launching Indonesia again because ever since the bombing, there has been a lot of tension, [fear of potential] terrorist plans to attack places frequented by tourists" (TO12).

Like Indonesia, the Philippines are another destination that continues to be regarded as unsafe due to conflict between minorities. Four of the twenty interviewees mentioned that they eliminated liability altogether by not sending tourists to the country. As interviewee TO12 commented, the Philippines have been excluded from their company's products for the past ten years because of these concerns:

> "We currently don't feature Philippines in our programme partly because of the political problems they have had, but I think in terms of what the FCO are advising they are opening more and more. The country is becoming safer in the capital and around the northern islands of the country, so if we were to reintroduce the Philippines, we would put strict limitations on where our clients can go, because I believe there are certain areas that are still not safe" (TO12).

Two interviewees stated that their respective companies apply risk reduction strategies in Thailand by not selling tours in areas of conflict (namely the three southern provinces of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat). Although these organisations sell packages to other parts of Thailand, they only do so with proper crisis preparedness plans in place. If problems in the three southern provinces were to escalate and spread to tourist areas like Phuket or Bangkok, they would be prepared to manage the potential effects:

> "It's very, very difficult to plan because every situation is different. There are different consequences to very different situations; I mean the on-going problems in southern Thailand - in Yala - never affected tourists but that could move to Bangkok and, realistically, it might well happen that bomb blasts go off in Bangkok. We kind of recognise that but it's never happened so far" (TO7).

From the data analysis, half of the interviewees articulated how they apply risk reduction strategy by foreseeing potential risks of political crises at each destination; they then design their tour itineraries to exclude areas where either uncertainty or a history of political crises exist. More importantly, a few interviewees concluded that some destinations and their associated risks are more expensive than others. For example, the cost of risk in selling Thailand-based products is far higher than in the case of Vietnam, as the latter country poses a lower risk of political crisis. As a consequence, the interviewees opted to promote Vietnam as a destination instead of Thailand.

6.2.2 Perception assessment

Thirteen interviewees explained their experiences in the time leading up to political crises; they agreed with one another that generally bad news such as movement in the opposing parties, on-going conflicts or amendment of government policies precedes crisis events. Thirteen interviewees stated that they utilize indications such as these to implement effective courses of action in advance. Interviewee TO4, for instance, commented that when a political crisis materialises their organisations

should be ready for all possible effects. They need to know the number of customers impacted, the available airlines serving the area or other transportation alternatives, and the details including contact information of clients and their relatives.

Additionally, ten of the twenty interviewees suggested that it is essential to evaluate the situation once news has been obtained so as not to ignore potential problems or make quick assumptions. For example, in the case of the recent elections in Myanmar, two interviewees confirmed that they waited for the outcome and the direction of the newly elected government before deciding whether to include the country in their travel products:

> "With the Burma programme, there isn't really advice by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office against travel to Burma (Myanmar). It is a political reason that held us back from selling Burma. However, in 2009 we had information that led us to believe that this was changing; hence I started doing research on launching holidays [and] group tours to Burma. At that point, because Aung San Suu Kyi was still under house arrest, we had to make sure that what we offered to clients was safe. It wasn't government owned, so there were lots of terms and conditions that we had to stipulate in order for us to sell Burma" (TO12).

Once official news had been reported, a few interviewees assessed the situation further by obtaining additional information from their relationships on the ground (such as with local ground operators and business partners):

> "It's very difficult to plan ahead because every different political issue has a different resolution, you know. We can follow the politics in Thailand, but ultimately if we speak to, kind of Thai friends, [sic] like okay what's happening out there; elections are coming up out there; potential problems; demonstrations; it's very difficult, you know, for anyone to say for sure, you know, we have to ask what possible risks are out there in the next year" (TO7).

From the data analysis, 13 interviewees implement perception assessment of tourism destinations to plan in advance for crisis events. Excluded from these assessments, however, are most terrorist attacks which by their very nature, generally cannot be predicted.

6.2.3 Insurance coverage

Nine of the twenty interviewees agreed that travel insurance plays an important role during political crises. Although such insurance cannot alleviate all of the issues facing a tourism organisation following a crisis, it can help them reduce some or all of the negative financial consequences. One interviewee confirmed that companies issuing travel insurance pay for all costs incurred by their policy-holding customers who find themselves affected; these costs may include rescheduled flights, extended accommodation nights, and hospital visits related directly to the crisis (such as victims of violence):

> "To prepare, generally when clients book with us and they put down the deposit we confirm all the arrangements. We always try to make sure that they have travel insurance because we always say that the most important thing is for them to have travel insurance in place, one that can protect them if they need to re-route their holiday" (TO2).

Thus, travel insurance can be used to cover the risks of tourism operations; thereby guarding organisations against costly events that otherwise may have a crippling effect on their business. Nine interviewees further concluded that opportunities to protect their organisations from crises are limited, thus travel insurance becomes all the more important.

The discussion of crisis mitigation strategies applied by all of the interviewees reveals that it is still possible for organisations to lessen the impact of political crises, thus becoming less vulnerable. This is done by integrating a crisis mitigation strategy into a comprehensive crisis management plan for all key positions within an organisation.

6.3 Crisis preparedness strategies

When asked about the particulars of the strategies their organisations employ to mitigate the effects of political crises, the responses from this study's interviewees varied. A number of them apply largely similar crisis preparedness strategies. Two interviewees interestingly noted that there was no effective way to pro-actively prepare for future crises.

From the data analysis, the responses from the 18 interviewees whose companies do prepare can be summarised into three main crisis preparedness strategies: (1) diversification of tourism products, (2) strengthening communication at times of crisis, and (3) market segmentation.

6.3.1 Diversification of tourism products

Eight interviewees responded that they apply diversification strategies in order to prepare for the effects of political crises. Regarding diversification strategy, interviewee TC3 explained that their company diversifies the risk of the products in its portfolio. Because the company does not depend solely on sales of one product or destination, it can still offer alternative products, should a crisis occur in one location; it can likewise easily divert customers to other destinations rather than lose all of their business. Particularly in areas or circumstances where a destination is more likely to suffer a political crisis, most interviewees affirmed that their organisations have lists of alternate destinations; thus if one an area is affected by a crisis, the organisation offers the client a similar but safer destination. Interviewee TO8's statement supports this:

> "We diversify into more countries and our spending… we have to protect ourselves in terms of how we operate in Thailand" (TO8).

In addition, five interviewees concluded that it was not smart to consolidate destinations, thereby 'putting all eggs in one basket'. For those interviewees who focus on a particular destination, political crises can have a profound and very serious impact, as affirmed by interviewee TO3:

> "Because we specialise in Thailand and focus only on this destination, once the political crisis happened in 2010 all customers cancelled their tours and looked at other tour operators to go elsewhere. It was a [sic] main effect. We learnt [sic] not to put all our eggs in one basket. After the Thai political incidents, we expanded our products to more destinations by not working with only one destination" (TO3).

By contrast, interviewee TO10 specialises in gastronomic tours and thus is not as seriously affected by political crises. Their company sells food experiences and is not focused on any particular destination. In cases of crisis, unaffected destinations can easily be substituted.

One interviewee suggested that a diversification strategy itself involves risk and costly expenditures that ultimately cannot guarantee an organisation's success:

> "To prepare to deal with those political crises if it happens again, a lot of clients do like to have a spread of destinations in order not to have all of their eggs in one basket, so to speak. Even if they are very strong in a particular destination, they are always conscious of the fact that if something happens with that destination that they would have a serious problem, hence they would like to add a second destination, or third destination to try and spread the risk. Unfortunately, more often than not that results in a lot of expenses in trying to set up a brochure, marketing, and getting contracts in place, all these sort [sic] of things for a second or third destination, which then results in disadvantages to the company because they don't have the same advantages, the same knowledge, and the same context as they do in their primary destination" (TC3).

Nonetheless, the data analysis shows that the interviewees regard diversification strategy as one of the most effective crisis preparedness strategies in alleviating the potential risk of political crises, particularly at destinations more likely to be affected by political conflict.

6.3.2 Strengthening communication in times of crisis

Half of the interviewees responded that faster communication is crucial when preparing for potential crisis events. Specifically, communication with other stakeholders within the industry was singled out. Therefore, it is incumbent upon an organisation to strengthen communication platforms before political crises arise so that decisions can be made faster and more accurately in times of crisis:

> "It is important to strengthen communication to prepare for times of political crisis through developing relationships with different stakeholders within the tourism industry; [to] be more pro-active, especially with our ground operators who are located at different countries and different airlines. Because during times of crisis, you really need strong communication lines with people within the industry to assess crisis situations in order to make fast and accurate decisions" (TO13).

In addition, interviewee TO1 confirmed that effective communication needs to be established in advance to deal with the effects of political crises. When a crisis occurs, information is conveyed to the following stakeholders: tourists and hotel suppliers at the affected destination so that they can negotiate cancellations; airline partners who transport clients away from the affected destination; and ground operators who organises the logistics:

> "Faster communication has to be done. Decisions on what to do have to be taken very rapidly sometimes. So overall what we really have to prepare is communication and organisation; especially, we have to deal with lots of clients, or organisations in our London office" (TO1).

Another interviewee stated:

> "The most important in the whole crisis management procedure is communication with the clients and the local ground handlers to update

> us with what is going on. Sometimes, they may know what is happening, whilst the outside world can only watch the news. So we keep constant contact with our clients and our suppliers to make sure our clients are safe. That is the most important thing - clients' safety- by communicating" (TO12).

From the data analysis, strengthening communication strategy is implemented in two main ways: internal crisis communication and external crisis communication. Both areas require cultivation in order to strengthen an organisation's patterns of communication before a crisis hits.

Eight of the twenty interviewees commented that internal crisis communication is one of the key issues taken into consideration. To lessen the effects of crisis and take the proper action at the right time, management decisions must be effectively communicated within an organisation. Two interviewees spoke to this awareness, commenting that should a political crisis occur, they would immediately know what actions to implement in order to best facilitate the handling of their customers in the affected countries. Clearly, their respective organisations have strengthened their ability to respond to potential situations. Interviewee TO7 states:

> "When Qantas closed down for four days, we had clients that had to fly into Bangkok using them, so all we could do is to come into the office, find out who our clients are, produce a list of who's travelling, then call them up and say this is the situation" (TO7).

Effective crisis communication – especially internal communication –develops through regular practice and rehearsal. One interviewee cited the relationships with subsidiaries and ground operators fostered in each destination as a key factor for his increase in confidence that a crisis can effectively be dealt with; thanks to faster communication between the parties and a better understanding of expectations, the interviewee stated:

> "We have very good ground operators in Thailand [and] in the [sic] various countries; we work with operators who understand our procedures and how we think this situation should be dealt with. So we work in close partnership with local suppliers to ensure client safety especially in times of crisis" (TO12).

Six of the interviewees concurred that external communication is also a key issue. They cited the need to strengthen it in order to prepare for the effects of possible political crises. According to the data analysis, four of these interviewees included social media as one of their main external communication channels for customers and other stakeholders, these platforms are often readily accessible and reach a large audience in a short time. Interviewee TO5 supported this:

> "If a political crisis happens, we do have plans to deal with it through social communication which is a lot quicker nowadays. People are now more [sic] relying on social media sites like Twitter, Facebook, bloggers, etc. Not only that, they can actually view things more online, but we can put our own perspective [sic] behind it. And we are on Twitter and Facebook… we're getting ourselves more in-line with paper advertising, as well. It has been very good for us and people actually trust us knowing what we're doing so we got [sic] a very good communications with TAT and with other airline partners as well" (TO5).

Various channels of communication were cited by the interviewees including direct contact, traditional media outlets and social media platforms. Differing channels of communication play unique roles in terms of external communication. From the data analysis, the interviewees believe that strengthening outside communication is critical as it can convey security information both to tourists and broader audiences in times of unfolding events.

6.3.3 Market segmentation

Four interviewees commented that their organisations implement a market segmentation strategy to effectively plan for future political crises. Such strategies take into account how the image of an affected destination may vary depending on the view of a given tourist segments. Some tourist segments are enormously affected by a particular crisis, whereas others are not at all.

The market segmentation strategy implemented by the four interviewees includes behavioural segmentation. Customers are divided into groups according to their knowledge of a tourism product or destination, their experiences with it and their attitudes towards it. From the data analysis, these four interviewees suggested that the experienced tourist segment is better prepared for the possible effects of political crisis; this is due to their higher level of understanding a location and culture of a destination.

Interviewee TO6 explained that her company expanded to a new segment of tourists who are both more mature and experienced in travelling, thus rendering them less sensitive to some of the effects of political crises and media perceptions; they are often better equipped to discern threats and safety levels of a destination on their own. This group is less likely to be significantly affected by the news media or lack of confidence. Incorrect or distorted perceptions similarly do not make a large impact on them:

> "One of the factors is that Thailand customers are mainly experienced travellers. The target market for Thailand is a more educated, more informed traveller and as a consequence of the market in Thailand being of that nature, they are perhaps more used to turmoil and the recovery of turmoil. And I also think the experienced UK customer is quite pragmatic and they [sic] tend to be jaded by the press being dramatic or by situations causing challenges. They rebound quite quickly. If it's been, let say Spain, as the market was a lot broader and less experienced in terms of travel, I think it would have taken longer to recover" (TO6).

Interviewees of this study considered the Implementation of a market segmentation strategy to be an important means of preparing for the unexpected. Expanding into a more sophisticated clientele segment that are less sensitive to the effects of political crises and perceptions developed by the media at large is one way to mitigate risks. The data analysis reveals that such strategies benefit an organisation's ability to deal with future crisis events.

This section summarises different crisis preparedness strategies that the 20 interviewees and their organisations apply in their crisis preparations. The three preparedness strategies have been discussed in order to establish how effective they are in helping organisations anticipate potential circumstances and prepare accordingly. The next section comprehensively examines the crisis response strategies implemented by the 20 interviewees and their respective tourism organisations.

6.4 Crisis response strategies

Most of the interviewees in this study agreed that their crisis response plans include specific courses of action to implement at different phases of a crisis. This is done to ensure customer safety while minimising their organisations' financial exposure. Analysis of the 20 interviews indicates that crisis response strategies fall into three main areas: (1) operational response, whereby immediate actions are implemented in order to deal with the effects of a political crisis impacting customers and suppliers within the first 48 hours; (2) marketing response, through which short term marketing strategies are implemented to offset the loss of current and future sales; and (3) financial response.

6.4.1 Operational response

Of these three responses, 12 interviewees agreed that an operational response should be implemented immediately as crisis events unfold so as to minimise potential negative consequences as much as possible. This section summarises the immediate actions applied in response to political crises.

All of the interviewees were asked to explain what their operational response strategies were. Interviewees responded differently according to their customer profiles which may include tourists, tour operators, travel agents or destination organisations. Thus, each interviewee offers a unique perspective with regards to the operational responses of their organisations. For example, two of the destination organisation interviewees commented that their operational response was to immediately contact the tourism board of the affected destination to update and monitor the crisis situation; then they relay the information to trade tourism organisations, tour operators and travel agents working in the region. By contrast, 12 of the 13 tour operators responded that their immediate response was to locate all of their customers at the affected destination and evacuate them from the area as soon as possible:

> "We immediately contact our service providers out there, because it's a lot to do with how they coping. Because they are like [sic] our front line, because they look after our clients, obviously they will be the one [sic] that's helping us or how they can [sic] cooperate with us and hotels that we have to work as a team. The first contact will be the hotel and also the way we communicate between us make [sic] a lot of difference as to how are we make the decision" (TO2).

This response also suggests that tourism consultants and tour operators implement differing approaches in the face of political crises. Therefore, it is critical to identify the unique responses within the industry such as those that exist between tour operators, their clients, and their service providers, with the destination for the purpose of further data analysis.

Table 6.1 illustrates the interaction between different trade organisations and tourists, service providers and tourism providers. Responses by trade organisations in the tourist receiving and generating destinations are identified with the purpose of analysing the 20 interviews conducted in this study. Tourists include customers in the affected destination, and those scheduled with impending travel to it. Service

providers at the affected destination, or tourism receiving destinations, are those providing services to travellers; these include ground operators, transportation (e.g. by airline, coach, or domestic or international railway), accommodation or lodgings and restaurants. Tourism providers at tourist generating destinations include tour operators and travel agents.

Table 6.1 Interaction between trade organisations and tourists

Tourism segment	Tourists	Service providers at the affected destination	Tourism providers at the tourist generating destination
Tour operator	Direct response	Direct response	Direct response
Travel agent	Direct response	Indirect response	Direct response
Tourism consultant	Indirect response	Indirect response	Direct response
Destination organisation	Indirect response	Direct response	Direct response

As Table 6.1 shows, tour operators and travel agents uncompromisingly respond to crisis situations by contacting their tourist customers in the area of the events. Whereas operators respond directly to service providers and tourism providers, agents act only as intermediaries between tourists and providers without direct contact with the latter group. Tourism consultants do respond directly to tourism providers at the tourist generating destination, providing advice during crisis to tour operators and travel agents (who, in this study, are based in the UK). However, their response to tourists and service providers remains indirect. Finally, destination organisations may also indirectly respond to tourists and service providers located at the affected destination, however their crucial task is to directly respond to tourism providers based at the tourist generating destinations.

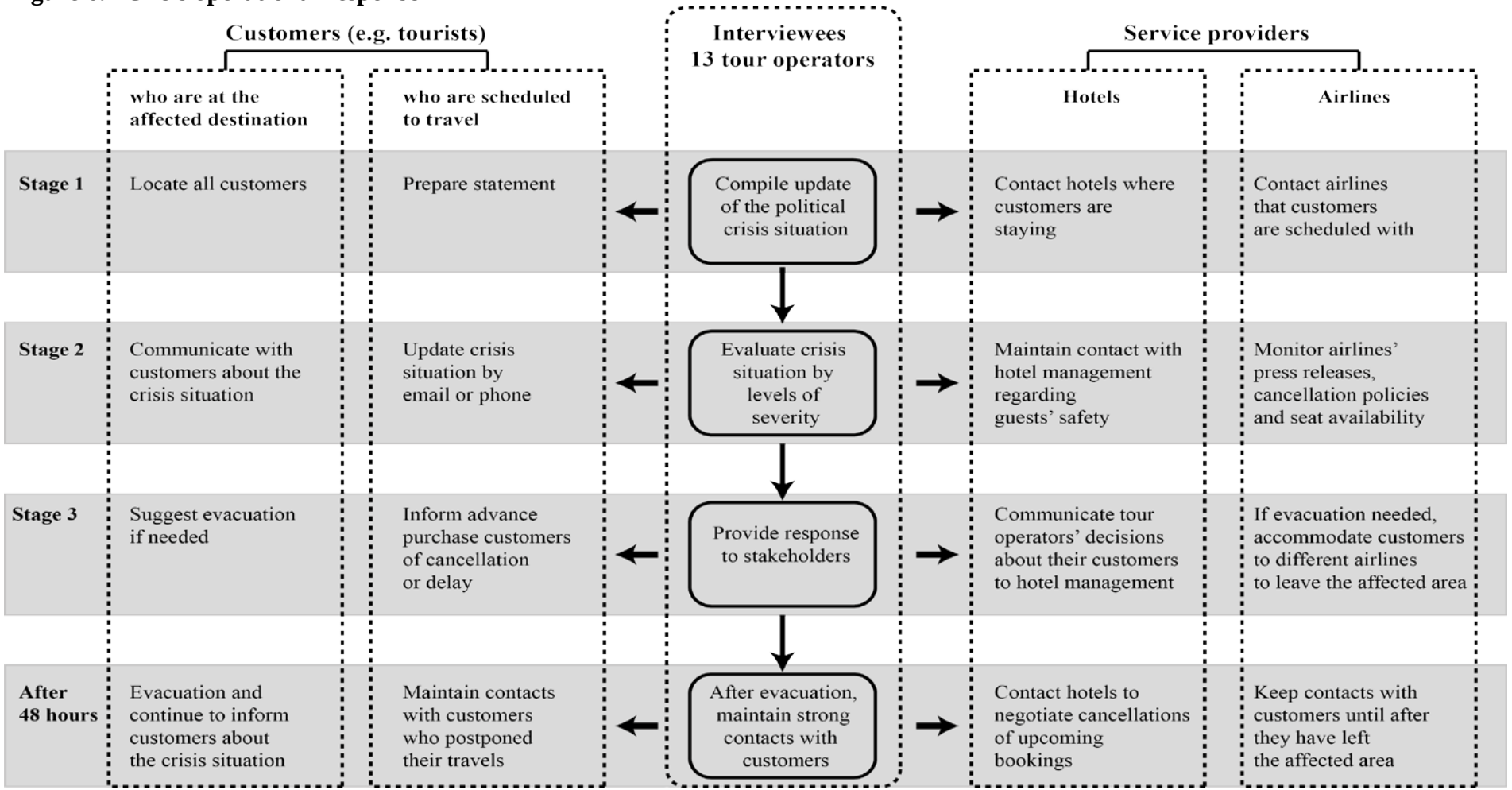
Four of the thirteen tour operator interviewees said that the protocol they use when responding to the effects of political crisis is to immediately contact their service providers, including ground operators and hoteliers. In the case of the interviewed wholesale tour operator who sells tours to UK travel agents, they said they were additionally responsible for contacting all customers during times of crisis:

> "You have to deal first and foremost with your clients who are on the ground so our focus is on people who are already in the destination that is affected. If we, as a [sic] tour operator, didn't show that duty of care the retailer or travel agents would lose confidence in us as an operator. So this is very important regardless of where in the world a political crisis happens. We take the initiative in that we show we are in control of the situation and we respond positively to make sure all customers are taken as a priority; and the travel agents would see that and trust that we're a reputable tour operator and that we are capable of handling such issues in a positive way" (TO6).

From the data analysis, the study reveals that tour operators play a more important role than their tourism counterparts (consultants, travel agents and destination organisation personnel) in terms of their immediate and direct response political crisis situations. Understanding how different trade organisations respond and interact with one another in times of crisis is a necessary component to the study of crisis management.

The 20 interviewees were asked to explain in detail what procedures were in place at their respective organisations to manage the effects of political crises. All of the thirteen tour operator interviewees stated that four stages of operational response are implemented within forty-eight hours. Moreover, those responses are grouped into actions that the operators use to respond to the needs of their tourist customers and service providers such as hotels and airlines. This is illustrated in Figure 6.1. The interviewed tour operators described actions taken during four distinct phases of a crisis as depicted on Figure 6.1. These include: (1) Stage 1, (2) Stage 2, (3) Stage 3 and (4) After 48 hours.

Figure 6.1 Crisis operational response



Twelve of the thirteen tour operators interviewed agreed that the moment a political crisis occurs; they compile different sources of information to provide an update of the situation. Their sources include ground operators, news channels, other media, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), and travel blogs:

> "If a crisis is happening in Burma, the first thing I do will be to talk to our local office in Burma, and make sure, you know, find out where they are. They normally have a guide with them or their own private guide; private driver. Make sure that they have a guide with them" (TO2).

During this stage, the firms of these 12 interviewees locate all customers along with the hotels they are staying in and the airlines they are scheduled to fly on:

> "Immediately what we would do is to look at all the customers that we have in a resort and look at all the customers that are due to travel eminently and we'll deal with them separately. Obviously our priorities are to look after anybody that is already in the country and it's often quite difficult to understand the situation when you're suddenly put into it and you have to make very quick decisions, which in hindsight, may not always be entirely the right decision. But the main thing is, you know, you always have to focus on your customers' safety and making the best decisions for them" (TO4).

Three of the interviewees said they prepare additional crisis information for those customers scheduled to travel to the affected destination in the near future.

The second stage occurs when the interviewees receive updated crisis information from their business partners. Four interviewee tour operators suggested that they reconciled this information with travel warnings from the FCO website in order to decide the best course action for assisting customers. As discussed in Chapter 5.7, most interviewees viewed FCO advice as an essential source of crisis communication, particularly because it directly impacts insurance coverage for

customers. Once the crisis situation is evaluated, the interviewees then stated that they explain the crisis situation from their perspective in a letter. They may choose to communicate directly with their customers at this time (both those currently travelling at the affected destination and those scheduled to travel to it):

> "We would monitor what the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) says. We will run a report to see if we have clients that are due to travel from now until the end of the year at least, and decide depending on the advice of the Foreign and Commonwealth office whether we stop clients from travelling to Burma or not; and this also depends on how soon the first batch of clients would be going to the country. And then we would contact the clients, talk to them about the situation, about their options and assure them that we are monitoring the situation and that we will make decisions that ensure their safety. Sometimes we may have to postpone tours and sometimes we would have to cancel all of them together [sic] and we can also offer alternative holidays for them; and if they wish they can re-book at a later date to go to Burma" (TO12).

Four interviewees also added that they contact hotel suppliers regarding the safety of their guests while tracking airline press releases to provide updates. At this point, the interviewees also track changes in airlines' cancellation policies and seat availability so that they can proactively plan should an evacuation or flight re-scheduling occurs:

> "After I talk to our local office, I would try to always call them maybe at their hotel to kind of explain what's going on and see how we can best handle our customers; whether they need to take a domestic flight or re-route their flights back home. So I would talk to our flight consolidator about, say if they need to leave the country straight away, how we would change their flight and how much it would cost for them to change their flight. After that, in a lot of situations, the travel insurance will cover the cost of that, so I'll ask the client to talk to their travel insurance as well" (TO2).

Once they have carefully evaluated all information, the third stage commences. Eight of the interviewees concurred that their actions beyond this point depend upon the severity of the crisis and any financial constraints.

Two of the tour operators interviewed also stated that they communicate with stakeholders such as hoteliers or airlines at this time, as summarized by interviewee TO13:

> "We need to talk with hotel management regarding aspects such as room cancellation or extension of stay. Airline partners are also contacted, particularly if an evacuation is required, as in this case all customers would need to be accommodated on available flights as soon as possible" (TO13).

Eighteen interviewees stated that while customer safety is their number one priority, they consider the financial repercussions, as well. This is in large part due to consumer protection laws that organisations are legally bound to.

The crisis in Egypt is a good example of some of these considerations. The demonstrations occurred primarily in Cairo and the conflict was of the domestic sort, pitting the Egyptian demonstrators against their own government. However, interviewee TO4 said that cities throughout the country were deemed unsafe due to the risk of a spillover effect. An FCO advisory impacted customers who had purchased travel insurance but had not yet departed for Egypt, as such an advisory suspends all future travel insurance to the affected area. Interviewee TO4, therefore, encouraged her customers to evacuate Egypt; even if they were not likely to be directly affected by the unfolding crisis; this was with financial considerations in mind as unrelated accidents such as falls or injuries would not be covered by insurance policies any longer. The same interviewee also voiced concern over the spillover effect that the Cairo demonstrations might have on other cities in the country. With exposure to both practical and financial risks, his organisation ultimately minimised their liability by recommending all customers evacuate from the country as soon as was practical:

> "When the Foreign Commonwealth Office advised against all but essential travel to Egypt, we immediately located all the customers in the resorts and looked at all the customers due to travel in the near term and dealt with them separately. For the beach resorts and places like Luxor, it wasn't as bad but obviously in Cairo that was the main focus of all the demonstration and that's where we decided that it was important for all our customers to be kept in a safe place and then brought home as quickly as possible" (TO4).

Five interviewees stated that they continue to provide responses both to customers at a crisis destination and those scheduled to visit it. Concerning those in the former category, a few interviewees discussed the alternatives available for them. If evacuation is advised and customers decline this, a disclaimer needs to be signed by customers at this stage:

> "What is interesting is that often customers don't want to move. They are aware of what's happening on the ground and they can see that it doesn't affect them specifically where they are staying, and so they think, 'why do I have to move?' so we give them the choice: we say well, you have the opportunity to move or if you want to stay we just need you to sign a waiver or disclaimer to say that we've given you the opportunity to move and you've chosen not to do that" (TO6).

In the case of those customers scheduled to travel, the interviewees contact them to inquire whether they wish to change their destination or cancel their holiday altogether. If the situation is not perceived as dangerous, most interviewees suggest amending an itinerary by omitting the affected area. If, however, the situation is perceived as unsafe the scheduled tour is typically cancelled and customers are provided a full refund.

Five interviewees indicated that during this third stage they also communicate with hotel management regarding room cancellations or extension of stays. Airline partners are likewise contacted to prepare for the possibility of an evacuation.

The fourth and final stage is the period after the first forty-eight hours. After the crisis response plan is implemented, the interviewees stated that they then ensure all customers are in safe locations; they maintain close levels of contact with them to keep them abreast of the latest developments. For those customers scheduled to travel to an affected destination in the near future and a decision to postpone the destination has been agreed between the parties, the tourism operators continue to provide regular situation updates. If, on the other hand, the decision has been made to cancel the tour, it is the responsibility of the tourism organisations to negotiate with their suppliers (i.e. airlines and hotels) for customer refunds. When suppliers help to absorb such cancellation costs, the financial fallout from a crisis on a tourism organisation can be greatly reduced.

> "In Thai [sic], hotels' cancellation policies are better than some other destinations. For example, we had a situation in South Africa where because of the Icelandic volcano Heathrow [Airport] was closed for a week and hotels in South Africa that we had prepaid said 'no, you can't have any money back for full cancellation'; but in Thailand they are more accommodating" (TA1).

Following the first 48 hours, most interviewees concurred that the operational response will have been implemented. Beyond this point, the interviewees must evaluate those responses and actions to form additional solutions. The purpose of operational response is to allow organisations to better deal with the effects of political crises, thus mitigating the impact they absorb as much as is possible. This section reveals that if a proper crisis management response is implemented, both the short and long term effects of a crisis can indeed be reduced.

6.4.2 Marketing response

This section discusses the crisis response of the interviewees' organisations from a marketing perspective. When asked what strategies they apply in response to the

effects of political crises, six of the twenty interviewees responded that marketing strategies must also adapt to the situation:

> "Bookings were affected. How we market was also affected, depend [sic] again on where the source of the crisis was from" (TO1).

Interviewee TO1 commented further that there exists a need to understand the characteristics of each unique political crisis in order to adapt and apply marketing strategies accordingly. Based on the data analysis, the most frequently cited terms used by interviewees to characterise political crisis events as they relate to marketing are as follows: (1) short-lived political crisis, and (2) long-lived political crisis. Six interviewees pointed out that a short-lived political crisis is a singular incident or an event that occurs over a short period of time, generally less than 72 hours. Beyond that point, the incident is considered a long-lived political crisis. A few interviewees agreed that it can be more difficult to manage the latter type of crisis. Specifically developing an appropriate marketing strategy and actions to take can be difficult when the direction of a crisis remains unclear.

> "Yes, the long-lived crisis is more difficult to respond to than the one day incidents as it depends on the severity of the incidents and what incidents have happened in the past. And the thing [sic], fortunately, because the tourism industry is very competitive, if a long-lived crisis happens it is difficult to come back. As a result, tour operators shift marketing campaigns to other destinations that are more mature and stable instead of the politically unstable destination" (DO1).

Table 6.2 summarises the marketing responses implemented by the 20 interviewees' organisations. The table demonstrates various effects of both short- and long-lived crises as well as different marketing response strategies implemented.

Table 6.2 Marketing response strategies

	Effects	Interviewees' marketing response
Short-lived crisis	Cancellation of new and advance bookings	- Suspend marketing of the affected destination: "We would generally tend to suspend our marketing throughout the crisis" (DO2). - Enhance marketing of unaffected destinations: "And if it is a short lived political crises, then, of course, we will not encourage holidays in that region for short lived events" (TO1).
Long-lived crisis	Overall selling tours to particular countries	- Marketing substitute products that have the most similar characteristics to the affected destination: "After the Egypt crisis, we're marketing substitute products which have similar feature as Egypt's such as Petra in Jordan" (TO13). - Suspending or removing the affected destination from our tour catalogue: "The main criteria for taking out such products is firstly that the business is effected with a long period of time and perceived as an unsafe destination then we can choose to take it out of the brochures" (TO1).

As shown in Table 6.2, the interviewees implement marketing strategies for both short and long-lived crises including the (1) suspension of marketing an affected destination, (2) enhancement of marketing to unaffected destinations, (3) marketing substitute products with similar characteristics to the affected destination, and the (4) suspension or removal of the affected destination from tour catalogues.

Given that political crises affect organisations due to cancellations of new and existing reservations, eight of the twenty interviewees agreed that their immediate response in terms of marketing was to suspend the location altogether as demand for it precipitously falls following a crisis event. In this way, their respective organisations need not spend money on marketing products to a particular region

which presumably will not make a return on investment. Once the crisis has passed, marketing can be resumed when deemed appropriate:

> "We would generally tend to suspend our marketing throughout the crisis, obviously because there is no point in advertising flying to Thailand if there is a crisis going on" (DO2).

Another strategy mentioned repeatedly was the enhancement of marketing collateral to other destinations.

> "I might decide not [to] promote particular products for a while. If it is a short-lived political crisis, then, of course we will not encourage holidays in that region for short lived events" (TO1).

Another interviewee echoed the sentiment, adding:

> "If there is a military coup there tomorrow, I've got to say that I would immediately divert all resources away from marketing Thailand because there's no point; it is completely an uphill battle. No one listens. You can do all the marketing you like, but if it's say [sic] on the BBC News that there's a military coup, there is no way you are going to get any new bookings to Thailand so there's no point; and it's definitely worth communicating with people who have already booked holidays" (TO11).

In some cases, tourism organisations may have to decline services to customers requesting travel to affected destinations. The interviewees of this study discouraged travel to affected regions for a period of time until a normal situation is restored. Some political crisis events such as the prolonged protests in Thailand, the crisis in Egypt, and the Libyan Revolution occur over a longer timeframe. Five interviewees said that such long-lived crises require unique marketing strategies; the longer a crisis features in the media, the greater the damage to a destination's image. They explained that destinations suffering from long-lived crises were removed from their product inventories:

> "The main criterion for taking out such products is [sic] firstly that the business must have been affected for a long period of time and the destination must be perceived as an unsafe destination. Then we can choose to take it off the brochures. So, taking any product off is a very long-term decision; it is not taken in the short term, so we have to wait for at least a year also [sic], or even more, before we take the decision of taking the products out" (TO1).

In cases where an affected destination's image deteriorates over an extended period of time, two interviewees stated that they selected other destinations with similar features and interests to market to their customers. In the case of Egypt, these interviewees encouraged customers to visit Petra, in Jordan, instead as it offers similar ancient and archaeological sites to explore:

> "Alternatively, we're marketing substitute products which have similar features to Egypt, such as Petra in Jordan" (TO13).

This constitutes another marketing strategy through which the interviewees seek to replace affected destinations with substitute products.

Taking all of this into account, it is evident that crisis marketing can occur during and immediately following a political crisis, such is the case with short-term strategy, and in the long-term, which involves recovery strategies for the purpose of organisational recovery.

6.4.3 Financial responses

As all of the interviewees attested, loss of revenue affects organisations during and after political crises; this can be attributed to reduced levels of new bookings, cancellations of existing reservations, or in some circumstances the complete collapse of demand for a particular destination. Organisations may also incur unexpected and considerable expenses as a result of assisting customers in an impacted area.

Two interviewees stated that it is imperative for their organisations to apply financial strategies in order to mitigate the effects of crises after the severity of the situation has been evaluated; this is done by assessing the level of financial exposure against the reserves set aside for such contingencies. If the crisis continues over a longer period, perceptions of insecurity can increase, eroding customer confidence as a result. This can result in profound financial consequences, as stated by interviewee TO13:

> "Importantly, continuous political crises may cause tourism companies high financial costs in order to support their customers who are in the affected areas: these may include refunds, ticket amendments, and cancellation charges. As a result, the company might be unable to continue their business" (TO13).

Interviewee TO13 enumerated the need to estimate for various potential expenses including operational response costs (such as those for hotel and flight cancellations or re-routing itineraries), marketing loss and lost sales opportunities. Anticipating these costs as soon as possible enables an organisation to better manage their cash flow and absorb the extra expenditure entailed in times of political crises.

Reduction cost strategy, according to the accounts of three interviewees, likewise requires consideration and implementation in order to diminish short term non-essential expenses. According to interviewee TO1, non-essential expenditure may be suspended or removed during a crisis. However, interviewee TO13 added further that such reductions may affect the image of an organisation and, accordingly, must be weighed carefully. For example, lowering the quality of brochures to save on marketing costs may result in long term damage to an organisation's brand image. Similarly, removing the marketing campaign to a particular destination altogether can save money in the short-term but may damage it in the long-term, such as interviewee TC2 explains:

> "Our company provides marketing consultant services to hotels some in Thailand. During the Thai protests in 2010, a few of these clients decided they needed to save on the cost of marketing by eliminating this budget and using the savings for other things. It took about three to four months for them to come back and use our marketing service again and I do think it is a backward situation as the affected Thai hotels should maintain marketing to ensure their hotels' visibility, especially during and after crises" (TC2).

Thus, such a cost reduction strategy requires very careful consideration and implementation to ensure that healthy areas of the business are not negatively and unnecessarily affected. Another potential strategy for cost control involves negotiating with tourism stakeholders. During the floods in Bangkok in 2011, airline and hotels reduced or eliminated cancellation costs. One interviewee explained how this helped to curb their losses:

> "An example is probably the bad weather in Bangkok last year; airlines were very quick to make sure that the customers did not feel dissatisfied. So we did make some full cancellations and also rescheduled their holidays; even the hotels were very good as well to counter that, so they were offering free changes. There was actually such availability of flights and hotels at no extra cost for the customers, that the customers could still go back later - up to a year later - to visit Thailand as planned; or if they couldn't do this because their dates were fixed, we offered them a full refund which was no problem" (TO5).

Two of the tourism consultants interviewed commented that it is important for their organisational customers to review their financial status against the potential effects of political incidents in order to anticipate exposure over the course of the subsequent three to six months; they should then set a contingency budget that reflects these revelations. Ultimately, financial considerations are critical for the continuity of an organisation during times of political crises. Financial responses, of

course, need to be implemented in accordance with marketing responses during times of crisis, while operational responses require immediate execution.

6.4.4 Factors affecting responses

The 20 interviewees gave their opinions and described their crisis response strategies. From the data analysis, this section identifies key factors that influence their responses to the effects of political crises; 18 out of the 20 interviewees agreed that response depends upon multiple factors. Such factors include: (1) the degree of violence, (2) duration of the political crisis, (3) the characteristics of the affected destination, (4) the coincidence of several crises, (5) the timing of a political crisis, and (6) the degree of media interest in a particular situation.

Eighteen interviewees agreed that their respective organisations have encountered adverse effects because of political crises. Included in their experience are effects stemming from the Sri Lankan Civil War, the Bali Bombings, the Arab Spring, the protests in Thailand, the Burmese monk demonstrations, and strikes in India. Their responses to these crises were different. Sixteen out of the twenty interviewees determined the severity of the effects of political crisis by violence or lack thereof which serves as a main factor in the response. During the Arab Spring and Thai demonstrations, the affected interviewees immediately evacuated their tourists from the affected destinations. Other examples also abound, as interviewee DO1 gives:

> "I used to deal with Egypt and there was a big terrorist attack in Luxor 1997. Our company actually lost tourists in that attack and that's probably the most difficult thing in my whole career. The company had 300 people in Egypt at that time. We were talking over the phone to the Foreign Office and every passenger had to be evacuated in 48 hours. So the company had to send the plane, gather all our passengers and fly them out within 48 hours. The impact of that thing with Egypt was enormous. Tourism didn't recover probably for two years after that and actually, to be honest with you, probably never got back to where it was

> in those days because there have been some smaller incidents since that time" (DO1).

Six interviewees consider the duration of a political crisis, particularly aware that non-violent events can become violent over time with effects appearing later:

> "The factor for consideration is the length of the time it lasted. I think if it does last a very long time then it can be very damaging. For the Thai political situation in 2010, it was difficult because it slowly grew. We actually made judgements day by day and on that level" (DO1).

Another example of this can be seen during the 2010 political protest in Thailand which began as a non-violent protest but escalated over the course of some months, culminating in an incident which triggered the country's worst political crisis of the decade. This case illustrates how even non-violent situations can evolve into violent confrontations; tourism organisations to be well aware of such situations and plan accordingly for the possible effects.

Organisations must also take into account the characteristics of the affected destination including historical roots of political crises and infrastructure. Interviewee TO1 notes the importance of Thailand's infrastructure as a main factor supporting the tourism industry after in the post-crisis period. Nine of the interviewees echoed this sentiment and suggested that Thailand's good infrastructure has allowed the destination to be resilient in the face of past crises:

> "The history of political crises of each country affects perception differently; protests in Egypt would have hundred times more of an effect than protests in Bangkok" (TO13).

The coincidence of several crises at once can also affect the tourism industry. For example, the simultaneous occurrence of the volcanic eruption in Iceland (April 2010) and the red-yellow shirts demonstration in Thailand (May 2010) disrupted the UK's tourism industry. Fourteen interviewees commented that such situations with

multiple adverse events have a greater effect on the tourism industry compared with those that occur in isolation:

> "The political problem in Thailand coincided with the natural events of the volcano in Iceland closing European airports so we have people stuck in Thailand- Bangkok - that wanted to leave but couldn't leave because there were no flights. This was such big news that it was the first time I've seen a drop and then a continued drop in the number of tourists enquiring and travelling and I see that now… even now" (TO7).

Another important factor identified by the interviewees was the timing of a political crisis. Six out of the twenty interviewees agreed, for example, that the effects of a political crisis are greater if the crisis occurs during the holiday season than during off-peak times. Likewise, media response to a crisis also affects the tourism industry. The interviewees believed that higher degrees of media interest in a crisis resulted in higher possibilities of the crisis being reported. Sixteen interviewees agreed that media reports during crises often exaggerate the effects:

> "Well, the media is important as well because of how they report the situation and there are some things that happen that do not register with the media. But there are certain things that media are just not interested in. An example of this was a case when I used to look after Africa, and I was travelling to Kenya at the election time several years ago. Almost anything that happened would make quite prominent news even if it is relatively small in term [sic] of the wider scale of things. I think that because of the historical links between the UK and Kenya, and also because I know that Nairobi is a hub for correspondence in Africa, there are lots of journalists actually based there, and who are looking for something to report. And that's often the case where you find situations that generate more news in one place than they would if they happened somewhere else" (DO1).

In summary, this section reveals six major factors affecting the interviewees' responses to the effects of political crises, regardless of the type of political crisis that has occurred. Having discussed the implementation of crisis response strategies by the 20 interviewees, this study categorises crisis response strategies into three perspectives: (1) operational responses, (2) marketing responses, and (3) financial responses. Moreover, the factors affecting crisis responses have been taken into account. This section serves to illustrate the different management practices that the 20 interviewees have towards the effects of political crises. The interviewees believe that crisis response strategies can mitigate or alleviate the effects of political crises in both the short and long-term.

The next section discusses how the 20 interviewees contended with the effects of political crises after the events conclude and how their organisations recover.

6.5 Crisis recovery strategies

When asked about how their organisations were restored to normal following past political crises, 18 of the 20 interviewees commented that confidence played a determining role in the process. If the affected destination regains confidence quickly, the tourism industry can recuperate thus helping organisations also recover from loss of sales. These 18 interviewees also stated that crisis recovery strategies serve as essential elements of crisis management, aiming to restore tourist and stakeholder confidence towards affected destinations. These interviewees likewise said that their organisations implement marketing recovery strategies following periods of crisis. However, two interviewees noted that their organisations did not implement crisis recovery strategies; instead they had replaced the affected destination with other unaffected areas:

> "I don't really have one [strategy]. We just let the situation calm down. We've got a lot of destinations anyway so people that are going to Thailand get sent then to Malaysia, Bali or Vietnam instead" (TA1).

When asked which stakeholder was most important in shortening recovery periods, half of the interviewees agreed that each play an equally important role in terms of the collaborative effort required during recovery:

> "I think that is a collaborative effort between the government of the destination through the tourism board and commercial partners who support tourism in the destination. So it has to be collaborative; no one stakeholder can influence recovery in tourism and I think it's the value of the tourism board that can be measured by its ability to coordinate and galvanise the tourism industry to that recovery effort" (TO6).

In addition, interviewee TO1 stated that the collaboration mentioned above involves the government, tourism boards, tour operators, travel agents, airline partners, destination organisations and the media. Each stakeholder has its own unique part to execute, such as the launch of brochures or communications of reassurance to clients and partners. Travel agents assist when they return the affected destination to their list of products, while hoteliers and airline partners launch campaigns to attract tourists at discount prices. The government's marketing and promotional campaigns along with regular press releases are both highly visible and significant to attracting tourism back to an area. As a consequence, once tourism to the affected destination resumes, awareness of and confidence in its safety gradually restores itself in many cases. Thus, each stakeholder serves an important role within the collaborative process:

> "Everybody helps to promote [the destination]. Considering who is the most important, well each part has their own place: the media; the tourism office have [sic] the responsibility of promoting the destination being a safe place; and the tour company like us and ground handlers have the responsibility of giving tours at good value so the price will be better. All of them have to work together" (TO1).

Based on the data analysis, Table 6.3 summarises key marketing strategies implemented by 18 of the 20 interviewees after past political crisis events.

Table 6.3 Marketing strategies for crisis recovery

Private sector strategies	Example of interviewees' comments
Sending journalists to write about the destination	"We invested in marketing by sending journalists and writing about the destinations to cover the media, newspapers and magazines" (TO1).
Price reduction strategies	"Ground handlers give us discounted tours" (TO1)
Start promoting the destination from the beginning: fresh marketing, promotion of the destination and online effort	"In the case of political crises we had with Thailand, we started everything from the beginning so we had to start marketing and promoting the destination afresh" (TC1).
Marketing online	"We tend to manage our own marketing through our website and through social media" (TO2).
Formulate promotional campaigns among stakeholders such as airlines, hotels, tour operators and the media	"The hotel tends to throw in some promotion as well by value added offers, such as free nights offers" (TC2). "TAT is good at promoting Thailand after the crisis particularly working with Thai Airways" (TO2).
Positive image through media	"We work with a lot of trade media, for example the TGG or Travel Bulletin…these are the people who spread the news within the industry. Obviously, they are the first to get the news and agents pass news back to the consumers" (TO3).
Public sector strategies	**Example of interviewees' comments**
Provide regular press releases and updates to the press to restore image	"TAT is supportive... after the political crisis they have to get the message out that Thailand is safe" (TO7).
Familiarisation trips	"TAT invited the tour operators from the UK and Ireland to go to different places in Thailand…to use the opportunity to make lots of news that can spread throughout mainland Europe that Thailand is safe" (TO3).
Maintain up-to-date news	"TAT communicates with the press, and has very strong connections in the UK" (TO7).

They can be categorised into two main areas: (1) private sector including tour operators, travel agents, service providers (e.g. hotels, airlines) and media, and (2) public sector including the tourism board, government, tourism organisations (e.g. ABTA, PATA).

6.5.1 Private sector strategies

Nine of the twenty interviewees commented that the private sector plays a significant role in shortening a crisis recovery period. The private sector includes tour operators, travel agents, service providers (i.e. hotels, airlines) and media.

Five of the tour operator interviewees stated that included among the recovery strategies employed by their organisations is to send journalists to the affected destination; this is done to reassure media consumers that it is once again safe to travel to a destination. Such journalists often work for publications that specialise in travel and leisure media, such as *Condé Nast Traveller* or the travel sections of newspapers such as *The Guardian* or *The Sunday Times*:

> "We have a strategy or plan to deal with the recovery period. We usually tend to have a promotion for that region. We invest in marketing by sending journalists and writing about the destination to cover the media, newspapers and magazines. Most of the hotels are always helpful about this" (TO1).

Table 6.3 points out the various marketing strategies leveraged by the private sector, and confirmed by the study's interviewees, during crisis recovery.

The five tour operators interviewed additionally stated that they communicate with their customers and travel agents to reinforce the message that the affected destination is safe, thereby encouraging them to consider it again as a destination:

> "Basically, trying to improve planning and customer awareness of the fact that the place is safe again… that's the main message that we have to try and get across and work together as a unit really" (TO9).

Notably, eight interviewees stated that they applied price reduction strategies through support from other stakeholders such as tourism boards, airlines, the media and hotels. By coordinating different service elements with which to formulate attractive tour packages, they can work in unison to promote the affected destination post-crisis:

> "The most effective policy after the crisis is over is to deal with [the] tourism board, the airline partners and hotel partners who help us. It's all separate elements; it's how we put them together to advertise or promote a specific country; and ground handlers give us discounted tours" (TO5).

In some political crisis situations, organisations market affected destinations anew, such as interviewee TC1 affirmed:

> "In cases of political crises we had with [sic] Thailand, we started everything from the beginning so we had to start marketing the destination, promoting the destination and the company with online marketing. You start building up, and then people start looking at websites about Thailand again" (TC1).

Another strategy is that of marketing online and/or through social media:

> "We tend to manage our own marketing through our website [and] through social media" (TO2).

Yet another strategy is to attract new or different segments of the tourist population. Two interviewees revealed that the experienced traveller segment is particularly prized. This segment's confidence tends to suffer less from misgivings than other

tourists may have towards a destination post-crisis, thereby playing a crucial role during the recovery process.

Most interviewees spoke to the importance of collaborating with airlines and hotels in their marketing and advertising campaigns during the recovery phase:

> "For the private sector, the hotel tends to throw in some promotion as well by value added offers such as free nights because they want to bring back the business and make sure it kicks back to life again" (TC2).

Another interviewee echoed:

> "Other tour operators also work very closely with hotel suppliers, because they are all trying to bring back tourists. What they do is give special offers to travel to pass on back to here and give benefits back to clients" (TO3).

This last quote refers to the national airline carrier of the affected country. After the political crisis in 2010, the Thai tourism industry worked closely with stakeholders in the United Kingdom; in particular, a solid collaborative effort developed between the industry, the country's national airline, Thai Airways, and the tourism-generating UK. The airline carrier offered discounted tickets for travel to Thailand following the crisis. Such collaboration can help to improve the image of the affected destination:

> "The Thailand Tourism Authority had been good at promoting Thailand after the crisis, particularly through Thai Airways. It's quite a strong brand. Also, they have promotional materials such as maps and things like that. I think that people really do recognise the image of Thailand from the Thai Tourism Authority and Thai airways, so promotion has been quite effective" (TO2).

Eighteen interviewees agreed that the media is of most use during this phase. Marketing recovery strategies in collaboration with the media have been categorised as follows: (1) General media: the BBC, TV, regular newspapers (mainly for the public), (2) Specialised media: travel and leisure media, e.g. *Condé Nast Traveller* (mainly for the public), and (3) Trade media: the TGG, *Travel Daily* (mainly for trade stakeholders).

Two interviewees leverage general media to rebuild tourist confidence as it targets a wide, general audience; whereas specialised media defines and fine-tunes the image to a more niche audience. Other interviewees confirmed that the general media enhances the safe image of the destination:

> "That's really interesting. I guess, actually [sic] after the crisis the media does play a role, because if people see positive images about the place on the news or they see things like that on TV about places changing, I think that does, sort of, play in people's mind and makes them want to go" (TO2).

Trade media is business-to-business, focusing on trade organisations to enhance awareness of the image of affected destinations. One interviewee stated that his organisation often coordinates with trade media to provide marketing and advertising for an affected destination:

> "To restore confidence, well, we also work closely with other trade media in the UK, for example TGG or Travel Bulletin. We have to say to the media that look [that] it is okay now in Thailand. These are people who spread the news within the industry. Obviously, they are the first to get the news and agents pass news back to the consumers. For the media, it's a combination of all those actually. Because I think for some reason any bad news it come [sic] out very quickly from BBC quicker [sic] than from anywhere else" (TO3).

6.5.2 Public sector strategies

Where the tourism industry is concerned, the public sector refers to tourism boards and government and tourism organisations (e.g. ABTA, PATA). Notably, six interviewees commented that the public sector serves an important role in the crisis recovery period. Further, this is particularly true of the tourism boards of an affected destination. This can be attributed to their role in restoring a destination's image while coordinating the support of trade organisations and other stakeholders between the affected destination and tourist generating countries:

> "In the recovery process, I would involve the tourism office and we'll have our retail offices, so we might involve them in doing promotions with the tourism board. Have [sic] special offers as well. Specially priced holidays will come out to try and promote the destination and that is the sort of thing we would promote and advertise to try and let our clients know that the destination is ready for people to return and then encouraging people by offering some special discounts, special prices, and airlines as well. Something like Egypt Air, you know, they would look at encouraging travel again, so again, they might be bringing out special prices on their air fares as well. It's very much a joint effort to try and encourage in recovery" (TO4).

A few interviewees commented on tourism boards' crucial role in communicating with a broad audience, thus restoring a destination's image and increasing stakeholder confidence. Tourism boards' main function is to help local businesses attract more attention in international markets. Accordingly, they organise marketing campaigns that are not only supported by the government, but also by local businesses such as hotels which may offer special rates to attract tourists:

> 'Tourism organisations such as ABTA, PATA … their major role are to provide information. Government, of course, has to establish the general public perception of how safe the situation is. Whether it will get better

> or worse, really, it is [sic] informational roles that tourism organisations and the government have to do' (TO1).

Notably, five interviewees agreed that tourism boards carry the most influence in terms of the image of a country following a crisis; these boards need the support of tour operators and travel agents in order to once again establish confidence in their destinations:

> "I think that it is very important for tourism boards to invest in positive PR and positive marketing to encourage the broader market to have confidence in the destination again, and they do it in partnership with the airlines or the hotels in order to reassure people that the market is back to normal. It's quite important for relationships with travel agents" (TO6).

Tourism boards also provide regular press releases and updates:

> "My opinion about the TAT office is that they should give regular press releases and update to the press as to what the situation is, as a lot of times different media companies have their own perceptions of what the situation is like; so if there is an official statement on a very regular basis by the tourism authority of Thailand in Thailand itself this is likely to have a significant effect on public perception. While at the moment, it's very random as everybody takes their own guess as how long [crises] will last" (TO1).

When asked how confidence was restored following past political crises, eight of the twenty interviewees commented that government played an integral role. Two interviewees stated that governments influence the confidence of tourists towards affected destinations. Thus, if tourism boards and governments implement proper recovery marketing strategies, they can help to minimise the length of crisis recovery.

The two interviewees commented on the Thai government's efforts to restore confidence following the political crises in 2010. They emphasised that the government, through its tourism board and the Tourism Authority of Thailand in London, worked with stakeholders including airlines, the media, and trade organisations to restore investor confidence; press trips were then organised and UK tourism managers, journalists and travel consultants visited Thailand to see for themselves:

> "The TAT office invited the tour operators from the UK and Ireland to go to different places in Thailand to see the suppliers instead of going to the travel mart. And also, we use PR to get the news out of the country that Thailand is safe and this is what we all hear. A lot of buyers from the UK and Ireland went there and used the opportunity to make lots of news to spread throughout mainland Europe that Thailand is safe" (TO3).

However, one interviewee commented that this strategy was effectively limited to a small number of the press trip's participants. Thus, in terms of investor confidence this strategy is more likely to help only certain tourism stakeholders.

From the data analysis, two key factors that organisations take into consideration within the context of marketing recovery strategy include (1) the timing of implementing the crisis recovery strategies, and (2) the evaluation of the destination's infrastructure.

Five interviewees in particular emphasised that in order for crisis recovery strategies to be most effective, they must be implemented at the right moment.

> "When the problem is over, then you launch the recovery plan to encourage people to come back. What's important is the timing. [This] would not be seen to be good the day after the demonstration is over. Give a little time for people to settle and, to be honest with you, for it to come out in the daily news is what's important in terms of the way news

> happens. Often this is not just about what's going on in Thailand, but what's going on elsewhere as to how much the public gets to see the story and how the story is managed" (DO2).

The interviewees also emphasized the government's role to ensure the destination is ready to accept tourists once again. This is especially true for locations affected by war which often damages a great deal of the infrastructure necessary for tourism. In such cases, the restoration period needs to be taken into consideration before strategic crisis recovery plans can be implemented.

Having discussed various crisis recovery strategies, all 20 of the interviewees described largely similar recovery strategies that include collaboration between all stakeholders and marketing campaigns following political crises.

6.6 Summary

This chapter explored the crisis strategies implemented by the interviewees' organisation in the UK tourism industry. The action plans are executed in accordance with different phases of political crisis and include crisis mitigation, crisis preparedness, crisis response, and crisis recovery.

The first section of this chapter demonstrated how the effects of political crises cannot be altogether avoided. However, they can be mitigated if trade organisations put proper strategies into place beforehand that include risk reduction, perception assessments and travel insurance. Applied crisis preparedness strategies were examined and their advantages and disadvantages for specific organisations assessed. Of particular significance is the strategy of diversification of tourism products which assists in maintaining continuity of an organisation should a political crisis disrupt business; by ensuring that it is not too heavily dependent upon any particular destination, a business can spread its risk over multiple locations. Additionally, strengthening communication can be implemented in advance to ensure that information is conveyed effectively at the time of a crisis. Together with behaviour segmentation, a market segmentation strategy is further recommended, as

it allows trade organisations to select consumer markets which fare comparatively well during political crises.

The chapter has also shown that responses to political crises can be divided into three groupings by time: immediate, short-term and long-term. Immediately following a crisis event, operational responses are applied to support customers at the affected destination or those scheduled to travel to the location in the near future. Short-term responses include those actions related to marketing, including the suspension of marketing the affected destination or removing it indefinitely for long-lived events. Additionally, an alteration to financial strategies (such as cost reductions) can further ease the impact of political crisis and enable an organisation's continuity. Lastly, long-term marketing strategies are implemented during the crisis recovery period by both the private and public sectors. The data analysis confirms that full collaboration between tourism stakeholders is of great importance and constitutes the main element with which confidence in affected destinations is restored.

The next chapter provides a comprehensive discussion of this research's findings and their implications towards crisis management theory.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a discussion of the research findings and their contribution to crisis management theory. Key factors that have emerged from the findings will be discussed with reference to the literature review so as to develop a framework for political crisis response. This chapter looks into three main areas that factor into the development of a political crisis response framework. First, the contribution of a political crisis classification model for the tourism industry is discussed. Second, the contributions of different sources of information in times of political crises, as derived from the primary data, are incorporated into the political instability and image-making process model. In the final section, the discussion culminates in the development of a framework of political crisis responses for the tourism industry.

7.2 Typology of political crises

This section discusses the definitions of political crises that have emerged from this study and the development of these definitions for the tourism industry. These terms are discussed with reference to tourism literature, and in the next section conclusions are drawn to suggest a method of classifying political crises on a model that contributes to the overall framework.

7.2.1 Political crises in the tourism industry

From the findings, the interviewees reveal various characteristics that they identify with different political crisis situations and consider to be fundamental elements of dealing with the effects of political crises on tourism. The findings presented in section 5.3 reveal that there are four characteristics of political crises which require consideration: (1) the roots of conflicts, (2) management control, (3) disruption, and (4) cultural differences; these were the aspects by which the interviewees were led to understand political crises within the context of the tourism industry. As there exists a lack of clarity in tourism literature over the specific definition of the term ‘political

crisis' (as it applies to the tourism industry), the term 'political instability' is widely used instead. Although political instability is a fundamental element that can result in political crisis (Hall, 1994), this study suggests the importance of the broader characteristics of political crises in order to better understand the effects of the different forms of political crises on the tourism industry. From the data analysis, three issues have emerged from the research findings that support this choice. Firstly, the findings reveal that the interviewees do not consider terrorism to constitute a political crisis. Secondly, the interviewees feel that environmental crises such as the floods ought to be considered as political crises because of the management control aspect of such events. Thirdly, this study exhibits the important role that cultural differences play as it pertains to perception of a given political crisis.

On the subject of the first finding above, the interviewees contended that because terrorism often originates from external factors it should not be considered a political crisis. However, given that the effects and crisis management response to terrorism are in many ways similar to those of political crises, this study retains terrorism within its scope.

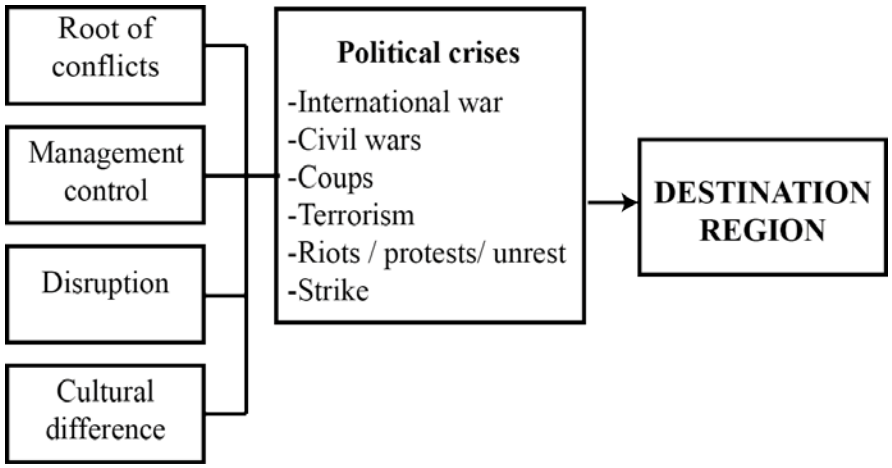
Regarding the issue of environmental crises, Zimmerman (1983) argues that environmental or economic crises can precipitate political crises. While Zimmerman does not cite mismanagement by a destination's government as a factor in this process, some of the interviewees suggested that the floods in Thailand can be considered within the context of a political crisis because their effects were compounded by the mismanagement of the destination's government. This confirms the value of understanding the characteristics of political crises, which are investigated by this study.

Lastly, this study proposes that cultural differences can account for varying perceptions and thus is an important factor to consider. Interviewees confirmed that a political incident may be perceived as a political crisis by onlookers in one country whilst it may not be perceived as such in another. This factor confirms one of the reasons why tourism studies have lacked understanding of political crises in the past

as, historically, not all destinations have been affected equally by political crises. Furthermore, this factor is a reason why the tourism industry lacks a structured political crisis management framework. Cultural differences appear to affect political crises differently, dependent upon social and geopolitical contexts. Further research would contribute to a better understanding of political crises in different cultural contexts.

The three issues discussed here reconfirm the understanding of political crises and their effects on various tourism organisations. The findings further reveal four characteristics which are of great value to the tourism industry in the field of political crisis management, as shown in Figure 7.1, which forms part of a political crisis response framework.

Figure 7.1 Characteristics of political crises



Subsequent to the literature review, the definition of the term 'political crisis' remains unclear. Previous research has illustrated the difficulty of identifying types of political crises. Hall and O'Sullivan (1996) discuss the dimension of political instability, which includes war, civil wars, coups, terrorism, riots, political unrest and strikes. Henderson (2007), meanwhile, suggests that corruption could perhaps be added to this list. It is clear that a lack of consensus continues to exist regarding the term 'political crisis' within the tourism industry. Consequently, classifications of

political crisis types remain subject to debate, as do the methods and techniques used to cope with the effects of each type of political crisis.

From the primary data, this study collates interviewee responses in order to arrive at a definition for the term 'political crisis' as follows: *Any incident or event originating from the management shortcomings of a destination's government where any such incident or event negatively impacts organisations and the daily lives of people in the area, thereby potentially affecting the tourism industry; however, the effects of such situations can vary considerably as a result of cultural differences.* This definition of the term 'political crisis', adopted by this study, enhances the ability of the tourism industry to deal with such situations.

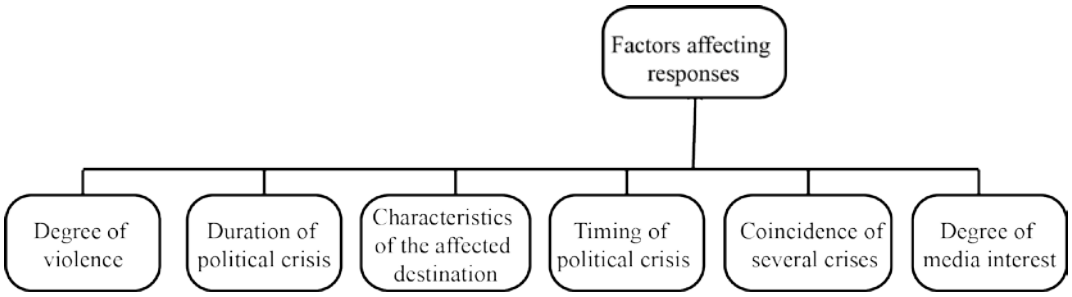
7.2.2 Political crisis classification

The findings demonstrate various effects of political crises upon the tourism industry that are associated with different types of political crises. Such effects include: perception effects, financial effects, effects in the aftermath, influences of coinciding effects, and the ripple and spillover effects. The findings suggest that the perception effect is the single most important determinant of tourist confidence of the affected destination. The findings further reveal that the financial effect is a direct consequence of perception that occurs as a destination's image deteriorates. This indicates that destination image is, thus, the most significant factor requiring consideration when developing a political crisis management strategy.

The interviewees also commented on phenomena such as the ripple, coinciding and spillover effects. The findings reveal that these effects amplify the other impacts of a crisis, such as when two or more incidents coincide. These effects have been thoroughly examined by this study, as there exists a lack of research on the influence of such effects and little attention paid to them despite the fact that this study's findings reveal their significance. This study suggests that the repercussions of the coinciding, ripple and spillover effects can magnify other effects of crisis on tourism such as public perception, financial effects, and the aftermath itself.

From the findings, various effects have been discussed as well as the manner in which the interviewees respond to them. Six factors affect the management response to political crisis. These factors are as follows: degree of violence, duration of political crises, characteristics of the affected destination, timing of political crises, coincidence of several crises and degree of media interest, as shown in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2 Factors affecting management responses



Of these six factors, the degree of violence and duration of political crises were most frequently cited by the interviewees of this study. As discussed in the literature review, a significant number of researchers have studied the effects of political violence on tourism (Teye, 1988; Hall, 1994; Hall & O'Sullivan, Neumayer, 2003, 2004). However, this study's findings reveal that concerns regarding political crisis situations are not focused exclusively on violence-related situations. Non-violent political situations are considered equally important as such situations can change unexpectedly and require preparation accordingly.

Having discussed the two most important factors emerged from this study, it is clear that those affecting response, degree of violence and duration of events are the primary factors requiring consideration. From the literature review, different methods of classifying political crises have been discussed such as the continuous and discrete crisis in the study of industrial crises by Siomkos (1992); the dimension of political instability suggested by Hall and O'Sullivan (1996); and the application of the DEFTCON model to crisis study by Beirman (2003). However, any single dimension alone is not sufficient enough to help tourism stakeholders better

understand political crises. Instead of classifying the political crisis event as continuous or discrete (Siomkos, 1992), or as a riot or civil war (Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996), or in terms of the degree of its severity (Beirman, 2003), there are other factors that must be accounted for. Emerging from the findings, this study suggests two dimensions in particular for consideration: the degree of violence, and the duration of the political crisis. By integrating these two aspects, a new methodology for the classification of political crises for the tourism industry emerges, as demonstrated in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3 Political crisis classification model

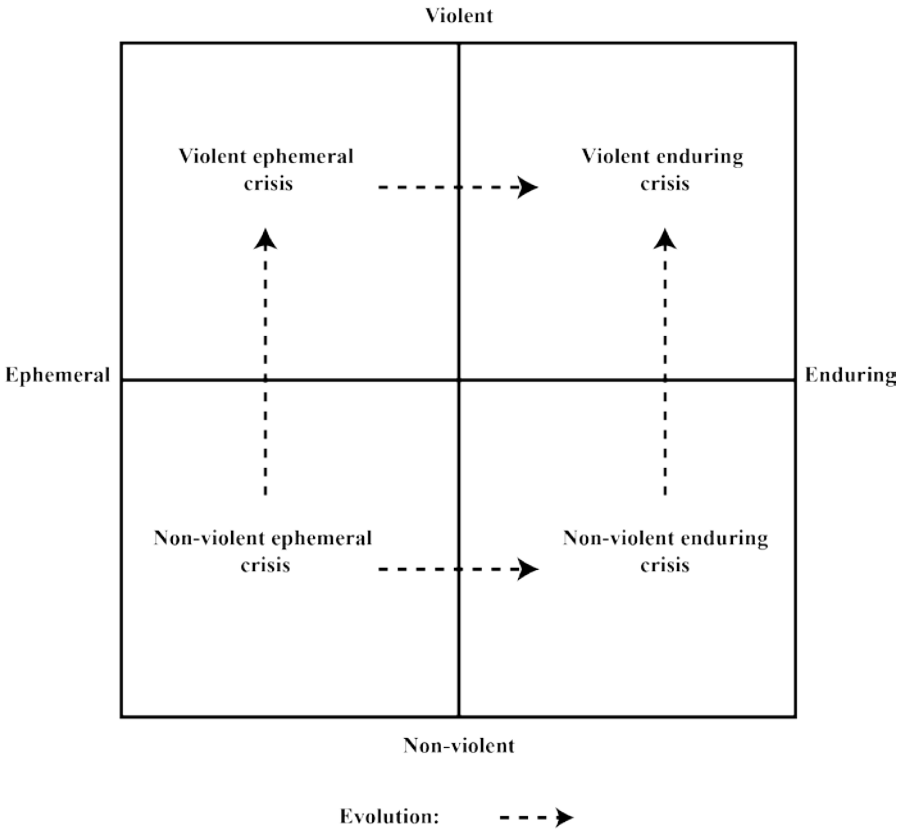


Figure 7.3 presents a method for understanding the nature of political crises. The two-dimensional figure includes four areas, each determined by the combination of the degree of violence and the duration of the crisis. This distribution leads to different management approaches for each type of crisis event.

The findings suggest that political crisis situations can frequently be assessed in terms of the degree of violence involved and their duration, factors expressed in Figure 7.3. The first dimension is the degree of violence which ranges from non-violent to violent. The second dimension is the duration of the crisis which ranges from ephemeral to enduring, where ephemeral may span from a few hours to a few days and enduring from several days to months or even years. From these two dimensions, political crises can be further divided into four main types as follows: (1) violent enduring crises, (2) violent ephemeral crises, (3) non-violent enduring crises, and (4) non-violent ephemeral crises.

As its name suggests, violent enduring crises are violent crisis events spanning a longer period of time. Examples of such crises are the Sri Lankan Civil War (1983-2009), the Burmese Monk Protest (2007), the Kashmir conflict (2010) and the Egyptian Revolution (2011). The findings suggest that enduring crises profoundly impact a destination's image because of sustained media coverage and, potentially, an over-emphasis on the dangers posed. As seen in Figure 7.3, a violent enduring crisis can develop from a non-violent ephemeral crisis, a non-violent enduring crisis or a violent-ephemeral crisis. The findings show that management responses can include the evacuation of tourists from the immediate and surrounding areas. In terms of marketing response, the affected destinations are altogether removed from sales offerings by organisations. The impacts of violent enduring crises can pose catastrophic challenges to the tourism industry as they can destroy tourists' perceptions of a country's safety for many years to come. An example of this is the long-lasting Gulf War in Iraq.

A violent ephemeral crisis stems from brief violent events. Examples of violent ephemeral crises are the Luxor Massacre (1997), the September 11 terrorist attacks (2001), the Bali Bombings (2002), and the Manila Hostage Crisis (2011). From the findings, this study suggests different strategic responses to this type of crisis. Because of safety considerations caused by the higher degree of violence, the first course of action is to evacuate tourists from the affected area. Organisations can then suspend marketing of the affected destination.

A non-violent ephemeral crisis is a brief event, lasting between a few hours to a few days; it does not involve violence. Examples of such events include the 24-hour Lufthansa strike in 2012. Tourism stakeholders are often less impacted by such crises. In the Lufthansa case, tourism management responded by re-routing tourists to alternate flights. However, a non-violent ephemeral crisis can evolve into an enduring crisis that either remaining non-violent or becomes violent, as exhibited in Figure 7.3.

Non-violent enduring crises can extend from several days to several months, as their name suggests, but remain non-violent. The protests in Greece (2010-2013) and the Bangkok Airport closure in 2008 are examples of such crises. Although they may appear to impact the tourism industry less for lack of violence, this study exhibits how even non-violent enduring crises can have massive economic repercussions on the tourism economy of the region. When such an enduring crisis occurs, the interview analysis of this study suggests that short-term sales strategies require adjustment by re-working tour itineraries to bypass affected areas. Marketing campaigns are similarly adjusted to feature alternative destinations within the same country. In the case of the Bangkok Airport closure, marketing campaigns were modified to exclude Bangkok in favour of Phuket, a beach destination. Non-violent enduring crises may or may not evolve into violent enduring crises. During the prolonged Thai protests in 2010, violence erupted in the tenth month following a single incident that spawned a succession of violent occurrences. From that point onwards, the incident was irreversibly perceived as a violent enduring crisis with far more severe consequences for tourism stakeholders; tour operators evacuated customers from the entire country; marketing campaigns were altered, suspended or removed altogether; and tour operators and travel agents in the generating regions stopped selling destinations in Thailand.

This confirms that a political crisis classification model is able to facilitate organisations' crisis responses even when a crisis evolves into another type, as shown in Figure 7.3.

This study further suggests a new model of classifying political crises and examines its usefulness in terms of management response to the effects of such crises. However, there is a limitation in using this model to classify political crises, as ephemeral crises can evolve into enduring events. As it is difficult to foresee how crises will develop, and management response is required at an early stage when a crisis is still likely to be classified as ephemeral, the assessment of the crisis must be on-going and evolve with the event so as to allow for appropriate changes in response. This model helps to classify political crises in order to apply management responses befitting of the unfolding events. Understanding the nature of political crises aids tourism stakeholders so that they may mitigate their effects. This model of political crisis classification contributes to crisis management theory by equipping the tourism industry with a better understanding of response to diverse crisis situations. The next section discusses the impacts of political crises on the destination's image, the key factor.

7.3 Political crises and destination image

From the research findings, the perception effect is a main factor impacting tourism stakeholders and directly resulting in the deterioration of the destination's image. This section discusses the importance of destination image within the context of political crisis management. First, it examines the image-making process in terms of both the destination region and the tourist generating region. Next, this section demonstrates the evolution of the image-making process in times of political crises.

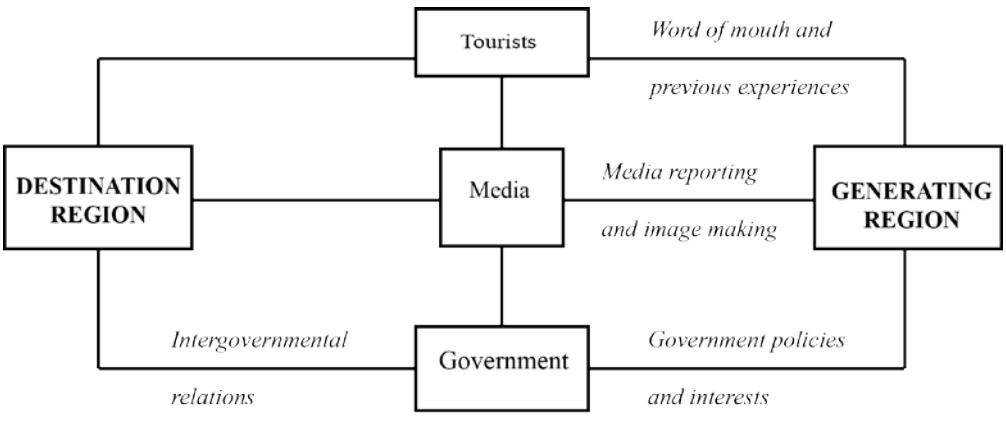
7.3.1 Political crises and the image-making process model

From the research findings, communication during crisis situations is of paramount concern. The findings reveal different channels of crisis communication between the affected destination and stakeholders, especially those within the revenue-generating region. This study considers that it is important to understand how crisis information is conveyed to generating regions through these diverse channels available to tourism stakeholders. Because tourist generating regions and destinations are typically removed geographically from one another and involve distinct cultures,

effects can be magnified. Hall (2012) argues that there has been a significant amount of research conducted in destinations themselves but less attention paid to this issue in tourist generating regions. Past crisis management research includes work on plane crashes (Glaesser, 2002), terrorist attacks (Wahab, 1996; Sonmez et al., 1999; Blake & Sinclair, 2003; Hollinshead, 2004), diseases or epidemics (Noij, 2001; Miller & Ritchie, 2003), and natural disasters (Faulkner 2001; Ritchie, 2004). In contrast, this study takes a different view of crisis management by utilizing primary data derived from a tourist generating region (the United Kingdom); the findings reveal unique management approaches which are to be discussed in the next section.

Understanding image-making processes and how trade organisations and other stakeholders are informed of political crises provides a better understanding for tourism managers who are confronted with these situations. Referring to the literature, the findings agree with the work of Hall and O'Sullivan (1996) and are demonstrated in a model of political instability, violence and the image-making process, as shown in Figure 7.4. This model demonstrates how the media is the main communication channel between all stakeholders in the destination regions as well as those of tourists and governments.

Figure 7.4 Political instability, violence and the image-making process



Source: Hall and O'Sullivan (1996)

From the research findings, this study argues that the media is a fundamental source of crisis information. While media reports have an immediate effect on the image of

a destination in times of political crisis, additional sources such as crisis reporting through tourism trade organisations, destination organisations and ground operators also intersect to form a broad picture of events, as discussed in Chapter 5.

When a political crisis occurs at a destination, crisis information is conveyed through various communication channels. From data analysis, sources of crisis information confirm that a broad spectrum of channels including tourism trade organisations, destination organisations, ground operators and the media, as well as their individual roles, need to be included in crisis management study. The work of Avraham and Ketter (2008) on media strategies for marketing destinations in crisis confirms the importance of sources of information in times of crisis.

However, sources of crisis information suggested by this study have two additional issues requiring further consideration for proper political crisis management. The first pertains to the growth of social communication channels in addition to traditional media. Tourists now receive instant information through social networks from different points around the world, thus dramatically altering the dynamics of crisis communication. The second issue relates to how different sectors rely on each channel of communication. As discussed in Chapter 5, trade organisations in generating regions such as tour operators obtain more information from ground operators than they do from media coverage. These destination operators may readily confirm or disprove reports in the media, providing information support for crisis management. However, large organisations (those with more than 250 employees) tend to rely on tourism trade organisations such as FTO as a source of communication in times of political crisis; they tend to have preferential contacts within these organisations that readily provide trustworthy information. Therefore, the most appropriate source of crisis information may depend upon the sector and the size of the distinct trade organisations involved.

The sources of crisis information mentioned here contribute to the crisis image-making model which is discussed further in the next sub-section. However, this study does not include in-depth details of crisis communication; rather, it reveals channels of communication that are important to trade organisations and other

stakeholders in times of political crisis. The next section comprehensively examines the image-making process in times of political crisis.

7.3.2 Destination image and confidence

The findings of this study reveal that a destination's image is affected by political crises and the media. The findings further confirm that there is a relationship between confidence and destination image. Whenever the destination image is considered unsafe, tourists and investors lose confidence towards that destination (Richter, 1983; Hall, 1994; Sonmez et al., 1999).

This study suggests that three factors need to be considered with regards to the deterioration of a destination's image during times of political crises. They are: (1) geographical context, (2) tourist segmentation, and (3) the destination government's own stability. In the first case, the findings acknowledge the ripple effect following crises such as the Syrian Revolution, after which the destination image of the surrounding countries including Iran, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Oman were all affected. The Arab Spring is another such example where the findings confirm that tourists in general avoid travelling to the Arab region. Moreover, in the case of Thailand, tourists tend to avoid the south eastern region of Asia despite the confinement of the crisis to Bangkok.

Regarding tourist segmentation, the findings suggest that perceptions differ depending upon the view of particular tourist segments. Experienced travellers are far better equipped to identify the actual safety level of a particular destination, as interview analysis revealed. This group is thus less likely to be affected by media reports or the general public's lack of confidence. Moreover, using Pearce's Travel Career Ladder model (2011, p. 113) as an example, "there are five hierarchical steps affecting tourist behaviour that include relaxation, stimulation, relationship, self-esteem and development, and fulfilment"; the level of stimulation (including safety and security needs) supports this study's findings that experienced travellers pay less attention to safety and security issues than less experienced ones. This reconfirms

the idea that destination image plays a large role during political crises, as only a small subset of experienced travellers will likely be less affected.

Finally, the findings confirm that the ability of a destination's government in managing a crisis directly relates to both tourist confidence and destination image as discussed in Chapter 5. If the government enjoys an overall positive image domestically and internationally with regards to its management of the situation, then the perception of safety at the destination will be less affected. A government of a destination is, therefore, an important factor to consider during a political crisis, as its actions or statements can either improve or further damage the effects of political crises and how these are perceived.

This study displays how destination image and tourist confidence directly relate to the impacts of political crises. Accordingly, they are integral to the crisis image-management process as demonstrated in Figure 7.5.

Figure 7.5 Crisis image-making process

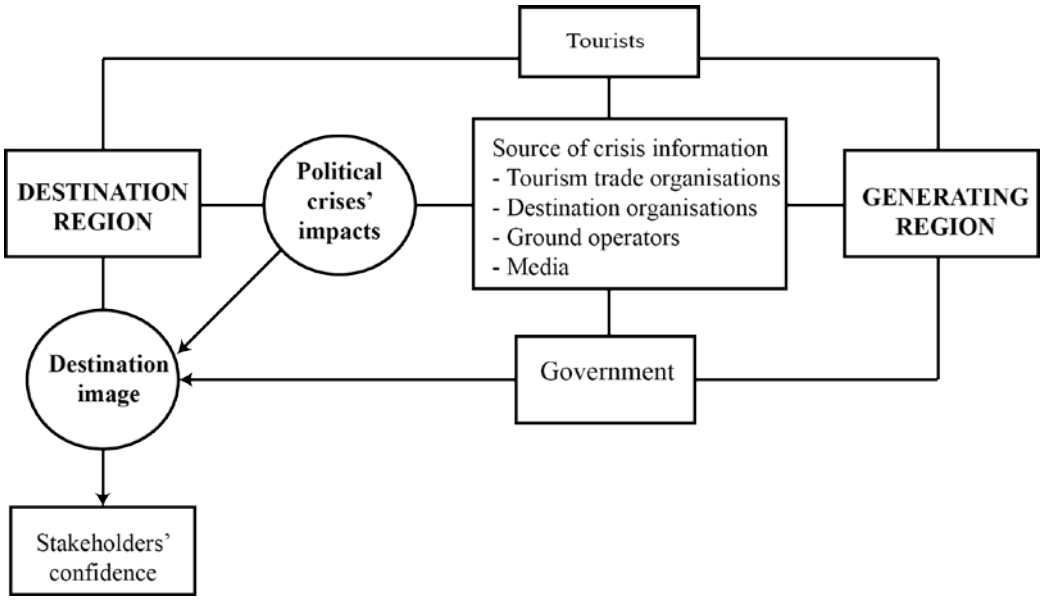


Figure 7.5 demonstrates the process by which crisis information is conveyed between the affected destination and the tourist generating region. Also represented is the role of governments and tourists. When political crises occur at tourism

destinations, information is conveyed to stakeholders in the generating region through tourism trade organisations (e.g. ABTA, FTA), destination organisations (TAT), ground operators, and the media (BBC, TV, social media). As has been discussed in detail, political crises impact a destination image negatively; a degraded image impacts stakeholder confidence in that particular destination. Government also plays a major role in communication between the two regions in addition to influencing the perception of the affected destination's image.

This section demonstrates the role that sources of information play on a destination's image in times of political crisis. The model crisis image-making process also demonstrates the responses of stakeholders both within the affected destination and those in tourist generating regions alongside the governments.

7.4 Political crisis strategies

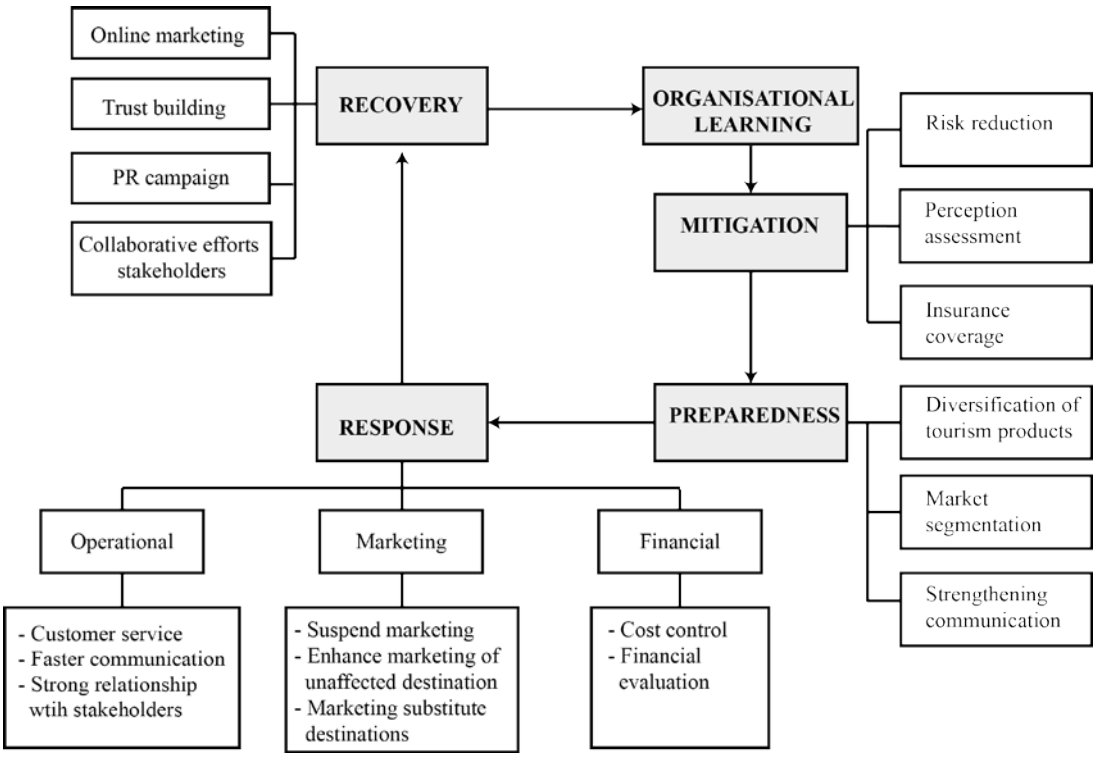
The findings presented in Chapter 6 reveal crisis strategies in accordance with the different phases of political crises. This study has divided crisis management into five categories: (1) mitigation, (2) preparedness, (3) response, (4) recovery, and (5) organisational learning, as illustrated in Figure 7.6. Tourism literature confirms that crisis strategies are executed according to the different stages of a crisis.

Figure 7.6 illustrates the distinct phases of political crisis management, and how each stage influences the next. Political crisis strategies begin when organisations prepare ahead of time for possible effects of political crises. They apply crisis mitigation strategies and other preparedness strategies before a crisis occurs. Once the political crisis hits, the organisations then implement response strategies, executed according to the unique aspects of the management strategy (such as operational response, marketing response and financial response). After the political crisis has ended, organisational stakeholders restore confidence of the affected destination by applying political crisis recovery strategies. After this stage is complete, organisations can evaluate their existing strategies and make improvements to them during the organisational learning phase. Interestingly, the

interview findings did not demonstrate that this phase of the strategy is effectively or habitually implemented.

The findings of this study reveal that the interviewees believe political crises are more likely to occur at destinations with a historical record of past incidents. Therefore, they must prepare accordingly by learning from past crises and adopting appropriate strategies for future ones which may arise during the organisational learning phase. Just as this study confirms the value of organisational learning, so too does academic literature.

Figure 7.6 Political crisis strategies



According to crisis mitigation strategies, the interview findings reveal that the interviewees employ the following three strategies: risk reduction strategy, perception assessment, and insurance. These findings are in line with the work of Smith (1995) who notes that disaster aid and insurance can be used to a limited extent to mitigate future losses. Becken and Hay (2007, p. 59) confirm that "Insurance is critical for tourism. In many cases it allows the tourism industry to

spread the residual climate-related risks that cannot be avoided by other adaptation measures". From the findings, this study confirms that the effects of political crises cannot be removed or avoided and thus that crisis mitigation strategies help trade organisations alleviate some of the effects of political crises.

According to crisis preparedness strategies, the findings reveal three additional strategies implemented by the interviewees: diversification of tourism products, market segmentation, and strengthening communication in times of crisis. There are two main considerations when implementing diversification strategy. The first is that diversification can be highly effective in reducing the effects of political crises and diverting existing clients to unaffected destinations. The second consideration is that diversification is a long and often expensive process not without risks of its own; organisations must invest in knowledge and expertise as well as new products and relationships to leverage it effectively.

There is, of course, no guarantee of success. Thus, the potential benefits of this approach deserve careful consideration, weighing the possible outcomes and risks involved. It was Ansoff (1957) who presciently suggested that diversification strategy requires careful investigation prior to implementation, as it can pose greater risks if an organisation invests in unknown markets. The research findings further reveal that interviewees apply a horizontal diversification strategy by expanding their products into similar markets in order to appeal to their existing customers.

With regards to market segmentation strategy, the findings conclude that the interviewees apply behaviour segmentation to their experienced tourist segment, which they believe is less sensitive to media reflections of destination image. Additionally, according to Pearce's Travel Career Ladder (2011, p. 113), the Travel Career Ladder model specifies five different hierarchical steps affecting tourist behaviour: relaxation, stimulation, relationship, self-esteem and development, and the idea that experienced tourists pay less attention to safety and security issues. This study confirms that following behaviour segmentation strategy by targeting the experienced tourist segment can be an effective crisis preparedness strategy for tourism organisations.

Regarding crisis mitigation strategies and preparedness strategies, organisations must contemplate two issues. Firstly, both mitigation and preparedness strategies must be incorporated into the strategic management of organisations. Such strategies of insurance, diversification strategy and behaviour segmentation need to be implemented in the long term. Secondly, the issue of risk reduction strategy arises. The interviewees of this study believe that destinations suffering from chronic political crises and unrest need to be carefully evaluated so as to consider temporarily suspending or permanently removing them altogether. Interviewees concluded that destinations such as India, Fiji and Thailand fall into this category.

The research found that crisis responses employed by trade organisation could be categorized as follows: operational response, marketing response and financial response. The three factors supporting the action of operational responses are those of customer service, faster communication and strong relationships with all relevant trade organisation and stakeholders. Customer service remains paramount because it enables trade organisations to retain their clients' loyalty. Such customers are more likely to purchase from those trade organisations which have provided them with good customer service in the past, particularly during disruptive events. Another aspect of crisis response is marketing response, which involves suspending marketing of affected destinations or enhancing marketing efforts of unaffected destinations. Finally, as tourism organisations are economically affected by political crises, a financial response is enacted. The findings suggest three recommendations for the crisis response phase. Firstly, businesses require inside information from trusted sources. This study suggests that businesses should have or cultivate a set of direct and highly trusted relationships, enabling them to access knowledge beyond local media sources. Such access can also help reassure customers of their trustworthiness and thereby maintain their customers' businesses. The way to build these special, informative relationships could be through social media, email or direct telephone contact. Secondly, this study suggests that simple clear messages to customers are important. A code of conduct or set of promises could be established. This could be built into promotional material and documents, so that customers know that their service provider has thought about likely troublesome situations, and has clear methods with which to respond. Lastly, crises are global in nature: thus, in

order to implement immediate responses effectively, the question of time difference needs to be addressed. In cases, when a crisis occurs and tourist generating countries are located in a different time zone, this invariably renders the situation more challenging for tourism managers. It is recommended that this issue be incorporated into crisis management.

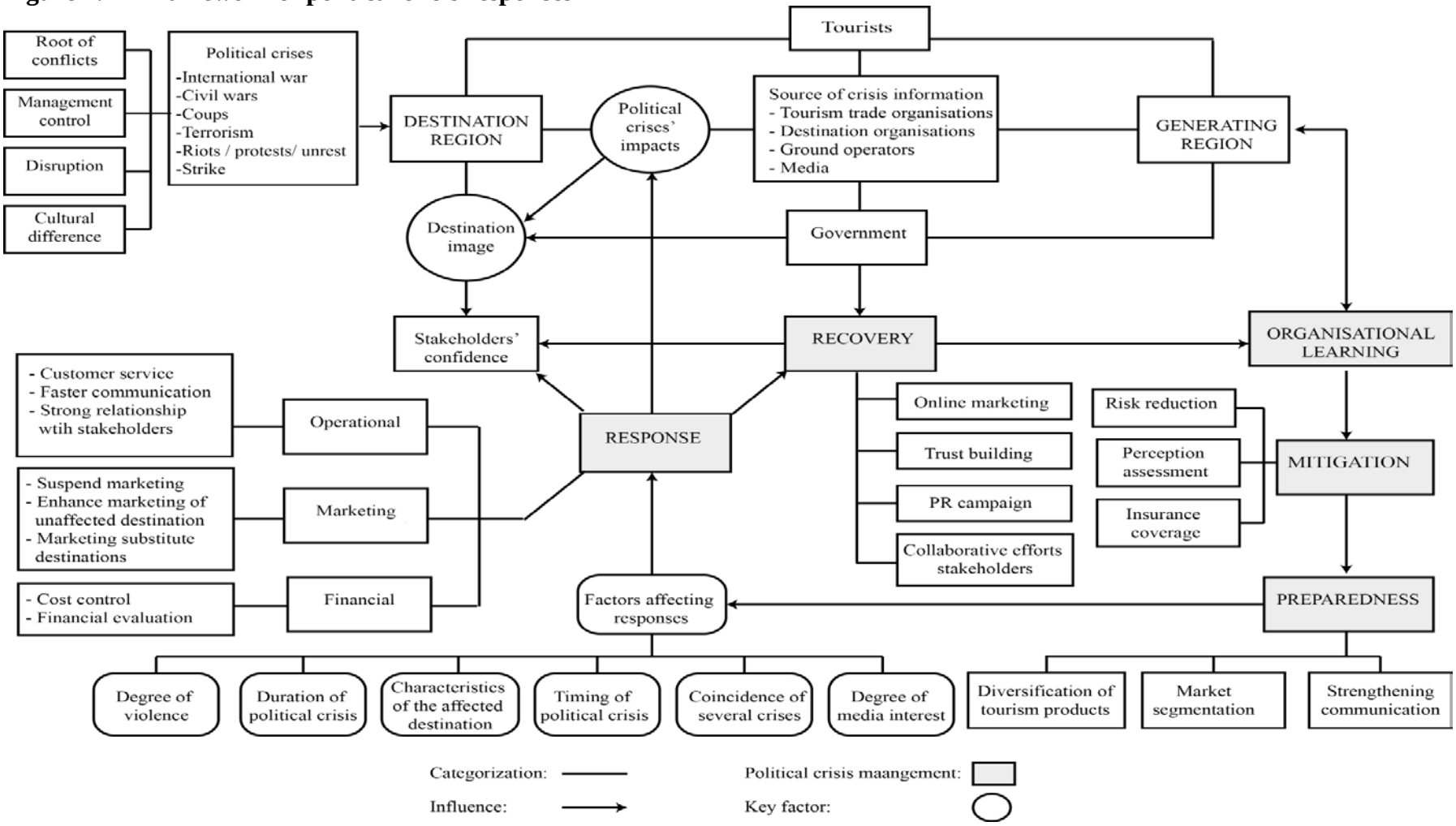
Crisis recovery strategies primarily focus on marketing. A number of scholars suggest various marketing strategies to help destinations recover from crises (Beirman, 2003; Carlsen & Hughes, 2008; Prideaux, Coghlan & Falco-Mammone, 2008; Scott, Laws & Prideaux, 2010). Emerging from the interview findings, interviewees conclude that collaborative efforts between stakeholders in both affected destinations and tourist generating regions have the distinct ability to abbreviate the crisis recovery period. The last stage is organisational learning and, as has been discussed previously, must be integrated into the present study.

This study categorises political crisis strategies according to crisis stages, and suggests that these need to be further developed into a framework of political crisis responses for the tourism industry to be discussed in the next section.

7.5 A framework of political crisis responses

Coupling the research findings with the literature review discussed in this chapter, this section brings together the main factors of political crises that affect the tourism industry and its crisis management strategy. Developed from three main areas, the framework of political crisis responses is as follows: (1) the understanding of the nature of political crises and their impacts upon tourism; (2) the role of the destination's image and the crisis image-making process; (3) the strategies applied during the stages of political crises. These three areas together form a framework for political crisis response, as shown in Figure 7.7.

Figure 7.7 A framework of political crisis responses



The framework demonstrates the role of tourism in two regions: the destination region and the generating region. When a political crisis occurs in a destination, stakeholders feel the impact in both regions. The ramifications of crisis vary depending upon the type of crisis (e.g. war, civil war, coup, terrorism, riots/ protests/ unrest, strikes), its origin, the management of it, and cultural differences. The image of a destination is immediately impacted by crisis, and as it depreciates, stakeholders lose confidence. Crisis information is conveyed to stakeholders in both the destination and the generating regions. Those in the latter area include tourists and trade organisations (tour operators, travel agents, tourism consultants, and destination organisations) who respond to the effects by implementing strategic management initiatives.

Political crisis management has been divided into five stages in this study. The first stage occurs when organisations prepare for possible effects of political crises. This is done by applying *mitigation strategies* (e.g. risk reduction, perception assessment, and insurance coverage) and *preparedness strategies* during the pre-event stage (e.g. diversification, marketing segmentation and strengthening crisis communication). When political crisis befalls a destination, the *management response* is implemented to deal with the immediate effects. However, those responses vary. Six factors of management response have emerged from this study and include: the degree of violence; the duration of the crisis; the characteristics of the affected destination; the timing of the political crisis; the coincidence of several crises at once; and the degree of media coverage of the situation. The implementation of crisis response procedures can itself be divided into three perspectives: operational response, marketing response, and financial response. The operational response considers customer service, expedited communication and strong relationships with stakeholders. The marketing response includes the strategies of marketing suspension, enhancing marketing of unaffected destinations and marketing substitute products. Financial evaluation is used to assess the financial consequences of the crisis. After the political crisis has passed, *crisis recovery* is implemented in order to restore stakeholder confidence, which can be achieved if stakeholders and governments collaborate effectively. Recovery strategies may include online marketing, trust-building, public relations campaigns, and collaborative efforts between stakeholders.

The last stage occurs when crisis management strategies are *reviewed* and improvements are made for future political crises; feedback is also dispersed to tourism stakeholders in generating regions.

Figure 7.7 demonstrates three important factors in times of political crisis: the political crises' impacts (circular), destination image (circular), and political crisis management (rectangular). As a political crisis affects the image of a destination, implementation of crisis management can reduce the adverse effects while restoring stakeholder confidence.

The application of the political crisis response framework to current political crises is demonstrated in Table 7.1. Four steps are required to understand how to apply this framework: (1) classifying political crises by using the political crisis classification model, (2) understanding the characteristics of a political crisis, (3) evaluations of the impacts of a political crisis, and (4) applying political crisis strategies according to the characteristics and impacts of a particular crisis. Examining political crises in 2013, different political crises result in different impacts and implications. This section addresses how the political crisis response framework can be applied to real situations in the year 2013 such as the on-going crisis in Egypt, the Kenyan attack, the chronic political protests in Thailand, and the United States federal government shutdown.

Table 7.1 The application of the political crisis response framework to current political crises

POLITICAL CRISES	**EGYPT CRISIS (2010 – present)**	**KENYAN ATTACK (21 – 24 September 2013)**	**THAI POLITICAL PROTESTS (2006 – present)**	**UNITED STATES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN (1 – 17 October 2013)**
POLITICAL CRISIS CLASSIFICATION MODEL	**VIOLENT ENDURING CRISIS**	**VIOLENT EPHEMERAL CRISIS**	**NON-VIOLENT ENDURING CRISIS**	**NON-VIOLENT EPHEMERAL CRISIS**
SYNOPSIS	Political protest in September 2013, Egypt's bloodiest day since the pro-democracy uprising two years prior known as the 2010 Arab Spring. Demonstrations took place in Cairo, Mahallah, Alexandria, Fayoum, Assiut and Qena.	The Kenyan attack on 21 September 2013, at least 72 people died in a four-day armed stand-off at a shopping mall in the Kenyan capital of Nairobi.	Since a coup d'état in September 2006, the enduring Thai political protests intensified leading to a violent confrontation period in April and May 2010 causing over 80 deaths. Chronic, but non-violent, political protests are on-going.	During 1-17 October 2013, the United States federal government entered a shutdown and curtailed most routine operations after Congress failed to enact legislation appropriating funds for fiscal year 2014.
AFFECTED DESTINATION AND AREAS	The Arab Republic of Egypt: Cairo (the capital city), Mahallah (the industrial centre), Alexandria (a major tourist destination), Fayoum, Assiut and Qena.	The Republic of Kenya: Nairobi (the capital city) and areas within 60 kilometres of the Kenya-Somali border.	The Kingdom of Thailand: Bangkok (the capital city). The four southern provinces (Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Songkhla) on the Thai-Malaysia border are affected by a violent enduring crisis that is unrelated to the political protests.	The United States of America: The Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island, national park closures, and all tourist destinations located on federal land.

UNDERSTANDING CHARACTERISTICS OF A POLITICAL CRISIS EVENT				
ROOT OF CONFLICTS	A conflict between supporters and opponents of Egypt's ousted President Mohammed Morsi, seen as a continuation of the 2010 Arab Spring.	A militant Islamist group from Somalia affiliated with al-Qaeda, leading to the attack of the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi.	A conflict between two opposing parties in Thai politics; supporters and opponents of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, who was deposed by a coups d'état in September 2006.	Political crisis centered on healthcare program funding and triggered by the conservative segment of the Republican party.
MANAGEMENT CONTROL	On Thursday 12 September 2013, the situation aggravated as the president's office declared at state of emergency was extended for a further two months because of the security situation.	The Kenyan government could not control the situation resulting in 72 deaths within the four-day attack.	Following the spring 2010 incidents until the mid of year 2013, there have been on-going political protests although non-violent and on a much smaller scale. Neither the previous nor current governments could effectively control the situation.	Attempt by the conservative Republicans to leverage the shut down of the government to remove healthcare program funding.
DISRUPTIVE	The 2013 anti-coup alliance protest was disruptive to people's lives and that of visitors.	Tourists cancelled their travel to Kenya following the attack, thus immediately affecting the local economy. Disruptive to people's lives.	The 2013 political protests are disruptive to certain areas of Bangkok where there are gatherings of protesters.	Approximately 800,000 federal employees were indefinitely furloughed, and another 1.3 million were required to report to work possibly without pay. Federally managed tourist sites were closed as all other non-essential government functions.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCE	Egypt remains a primarily Muslim country even as it has secularized in recent decades. However, the country has a large conservative segment which opened the door to Islamic extremists to intervene in the country's politics.	Diverse ethnic groups where more than 80% are Christians and less than 20% are Islamists. Following the attack, the Islamist group al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for this event.	Buddhist country. Politics became an integral part of daily life. The interview findings confirmed that Thai people tend to take political crises seriously. For example when there is a political conflict within the government, they are more sensitive to the situation than it would be the case in, say, Singapore or Japan.	Major political crises affecting tourism are rare in the western world and the economic consequences were largely unexpected in the tourism and aviation industries.
POLITICAL CRISES' IMPACTS				
TRAVEL ADVISORIES	The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) advise against all but essential travel to the rest of Egypt except for resorts on the Red Sea in South Sinai and those resorts on the Egyptian mainland in Red Sea governorate (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1 October 2013).	The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) advise against all but essential travel to some parts of Kenya including major areas of Nairobi (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1 October 2013). Whereas, the French government only issued a caution and requested French travellers to contact the embassy in Nairobi.	There are currently no travel advisories related to the political protests. However, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) continues to advise against all but essential travel to the provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Songkhla on the Thai-Malaysia border (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 30 September 2013).	The US federal government has reopened as of 17 October. Some delays may still occur at all US Airports and ports of entry. Foreign and Commonwealth advises travellers to check their airline prior to travel (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 18 October 2013).

POLITICAL CRISES' IMPACTS **(perception, financial and aftermaths)**	The on-going political protests destroyed tourism economy due to loss of stakeholder confidence towards the destination as stakeholders are highly sensitive to protests involving violence. Declaration of state of emergency severely damaged the safety image of the country. The crisis deeply affects tourism business financially because of the enduring nature of the conflict.	The perception of an unsafe image worsened including different segments of travellers such as leisure, VFRs and MICEs. Perception was further affected long-term due to political instability following the Kenyan crisis in 2008. Increased fear concerned tourism stakeholders resulting in greater financial impacts.	The enduring nature of the situation affects tourist and stakeholder confidence. Tourists and investors are less likely to consider Thailand as they are concerned about the possibility of renewed and sudden violent episodes.	The closure of tourist sites such as the Statue of Liberty and national parks immediately affected tourist perception of the USA as a destination. However this incident was characterised as a rare one-time event. This political crisis therefore has not deteriorated tourists' and investors' perceptions of the destination. However this political crisis inevitably affected stakeholders financially.
POLITICAL CRISIS STRATEGIES (implemented by trade organisations in generating regions)				

MITIGATION	Avoid sending tourists to Egypt. Even though the city of Sharm El Sheikh is not affected, the situation remains uncertain. If tourists nevertheless wish to travel to the area, check insurance coverage and select airlines with extensive networks in the region to facilitate potential tourist repatriation.	Evaluate the political situation and the potential recurrence of terrorism. Select destinations where insurance coverage is maintained.	While the small-scale and non-violent nature of the protests in 2013 means that they are, in themselves, not a cause of concern, the history and unpredictability of the potential development of events dictates that tourism stakeholders pay close attention to the situation to be able to respond promptly to any change. Insurance coverage for Thailand is provided except for the four southern provinces subject to the FCO travel advisory.	Suggest re-scheduling of travel to the US during the 1-17 October 2013 period with no further action required.
PREPAREDNESS	As the Egyptian crisis is an enduring one, trade organisations must diversify their destinations in the region. Alternatively, target tourists seeking to travel dangerously or those who wish to visit post-conflict areas.	Diversify products to other destinations in the region. Communication channels need to be maintained, especially with tourists who are on location in remote areas.	Target experienced travellers who are less likely to be sensitive to political conflict news or target travellers who have been in Thailand previously. Diversify product portfolio to include neighbouring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. In case the protests turn violent, tourists can alter their plan to fly through Singapore or Kuala Lumpur.	Strengthening communication in times of crisis could help tourism organisations.

RESPONSE	Following the declaration of the state of emergency, contact customers who are currently in destination to give them the choice to evacuate or remain in the area. Trade organisations market substitute products with similar characteristics, such as Morocco.	As soon as the news of the attack spread, tourism organisations immediately located their clients who were in Kenya to keep them informed of the situation and offer them the choice to evacuate or remain in the area. Then contact hotels to ascertain clients' safety. Update clients with impending travel.	Inform clients who are at the affected destination, but it is not necessary to evacuate clients out of the protest areas or the country as the small-scale protests are localised and non-violent. The Thai government issue regular press-releases to keep stakeholders informed.	Have alternative plans in place to visit state and local tourist spots on those days federally managed sites are closed. Such plans could be available when access to these sites is disrupted by other causes, such as weather conditions or public demonstrations.
RECOVERY	Egyptian government invites foreign journalists to visit the tourist destinations; communicate that Egypt is now safe.	Kenyan government needs to re-establish confidence by effectively communicating the ephemeral and localised nature of the event. Invite public figures to visit the country to reinforce the safety image of the country.	Promotional campaign by national airline (Thai Airways). Also campaigns to promote major events such as football friendlies with British clubs and golf tournaments attracting leading players.	US government issued a press release updating the situations to normal; all federally managed tourist sites reopened.
ORGANISATIONAL LEARNING	Due to on-going political crises, inform clients of potential trouble before travelling to Egypt.	While tourist attacks occur without notice, foretelling signs and geolocation awareness can mitigate the risks. For example, Al-Shabaab is a terrorist group based in Somalia where the Kenyan army has a UN sanctioned policing role.	Political crises in Thailand can break out at any time because of the unstable nature of the country's political situation requiring tourism organisations to keep well-informed of current events.	The US government shutdown is an example of the potential consequences of crises that generally remain within the political sphere in politically stable countries. Tourism managers must consider the potential consequences of political crises even in politically stable climates.

7.6 Summary

As discussed above, future research and the further development of theoretical frameworks is required in the field of crisis management within the tourism industry. There is an acute need for the exploration of attitudes and opinions of managers within the industry towards crisis management itself. The interview approach in this study supports the development of crisis management strategies, which tourism managers are currently undertaking to mitigate the negative effects of political crises they have encountered. This study addresses these issues by developing a framework for political crisis responses specific to the tourism industry, based on the detailed reflections and attitudes of a sample of tourism managers in the United Kingdom towards destinations as they pertain to previous political crises as well as crisis management literature.

This study contributes new knowledge to three areas of the field. The first contribution is the development of a framework of political crisis responses based on the opinions of industry professionals, which fill the gaps in research undertaken in tourist generating regions. There have been a growing number of political crises impacting the tourism industry, affecting the destinations themselves and also tourist generating countries such as the United Kingdom. The second contribution is that this framework contributes to the knowledge of crisis management theory, specifically in terms of the effects of political crises on tourism, whilst previous research was oriented towards crisis and disaster management. This study confirms that political crisis management and crisis and disaster management possess unique characteristics and, therefore, cannot be implemented in the same manner. Third, this study introduces a political crisis classification model to assist the tourism industry in outlining the various types of political crises. Duration concerns generally pertain to enduring and ephemeral crises, such as prolonged political protests. A number of methods and techniques have been identified to deal with repercussions of political crises according to the different phases of the crisis cycle.

The political crisis response framework outlines strategies according to each stage of a political crisis. Focus has been placed on crisis management response, as the

response period should be implemented in terms of operational, marketing and financial responses. The crisis recovery period constitutes another crucial stage; this study suggests that at this time, trade organisations and other stakeholders should collaborate with media channels. Communication needs to be established first for action to be implemented effectively.

While a political crisis management plan is clearly beneficial for tourism managers, the research findings suggest that the interviewees' organisations do not currently have such plans in place; thus the introduction of these would be highly beneficial.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on the impact that political crises have upon the tourism industry, and the industry's crisis management responses to the ramifications of such crises. Academic literature on this topic has been presented comprehensively in Chapters 2 and 3. As this study centres on the impact of political crisis on the tourism industry, different types of political crises are presented in Chapter 2. The tourism industry lacks a framework to address and manage these impacts. Therefore, a study of political crises has been integrated into this research to achieve the aim of developing a framework of political crisis responses for the tourism industry. Crisis management literature was examined in Chapter 3 and was consequently divided into three categories: crisis mitigation and prevention management; crisis response management; and crisis recovery management. While previous research has focused on the impacts of crises on particular tourism destinations, this research primarily focuses on the impacts of political crises on trade organisations along with the implementation of management responses by such organisations.

This thesis's methodology was presented in Chapter 4. Interpretive philosophy was applied inductively to collect primary data. Primary research was undertaken through 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews with tourism experts (two destination organisations, three tourism consultants, two travel agents, and thirteen tour operators). The primary data was then analysed by a process of coding that classified the data into differentiating themes. The themes were analysed thematically according to the interview questions.

The present chapter provides a conclusion to this study. First, the key outcomes of the research are summarised and the work's contribution to knowledge is discussed. Evaluation of this research is then considered, with suggested future research in the last section.

8.2 Key outcomes of the research

This body of research underscores the mutually dependent relationship that exists between tourism and politics. The secondary research findings reveal the influence of politics on tourism including international relations, public administration and public policies. Likewise, tourism provides a lucrative source of revenue for a nation, thus exerting its own realpolitik.

There exists, as this research demonstrates, an intimate link between politics, crises and tourism; the academic literature confirms that the primary requirement of tourists is not relaxation or cultural events but rather political stability (Richter & Waugh, 1986). Given this findings, a politically unstable destination can be especially prone to political crises (Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996) thus encouraging tourists to seek substitute products elsewhere. When a political crisis devastates a destination, it may take a prolonged period of time before its image is restored and confidence among all stakeholders is regained. This is in part due to the fragility of a destination's image; in turn, stakeholders including hoteliers, airlines, tour operators, and travel companies suffer financial damage. In some severe political crisis situations such as war and civil war, the economy of the affected destination can find itself so deeply affected that the tourism industry is unable to rehabilitate itself. As this thesis demonstrates, political crises can exert a profound effect on the tourism industry; stakeholders must employ strategies that can help to restore destination image and tourist demand in the aftermath of a political crisis. Understanding the concepts of politics and crises with regards to tourism provides the foundation for this study.

The academic literature clearly demonstrates that differing political crises cause unique impacts on tourism destinations and organisations. For example, the Egyptian Revolution destroyed the country's tourism industry; the prolonged Thai political crisis has created an enduring image of politically instability which has resulted in a loss of confidence. Crisis management literature (Chapter 3) demonstrates that the tourism industry must utilize different crisis management strategies for each distinct phase of a crisis (e.g. pre-crisis, crisis, and post-crisis). Particular crisis management

models have also been examined such as those targeting the organisational and sectoral levels (Smith, 1990; Smith & Sipika, 1993; Coombs, 1999; de Sausmarez, 2003). This study has leveraged extensive previous research on crisis and disaster management, developing an understanding primarily from the crisis and disaster management model (Finks, 1986, 2000; Roberts, 1994; Faulkner, 2001; Ritchie, 2004); there is currently a lack in the existing tourism literature of political crisis management frameworks to use for reference. The primary research further revealed strategies that tourism organisations have implemented when encountering political crises.

Interviews with 20 tourism experts were undertaken between February and August 2012 in order to gain insight into trade organisations' perceptions of political crises and their effects on tourism. The perception of trade organisations is of critical importance if we are to appreciate the impacts of political crises. The data analysis emphasizes the importance of these organisations in terms of the crisis management of a destination's image. The research demonstrates the perceptions of managers in trade organisations across tourism sectors; regarding the effects of political crises, it is clear that opinions and perceptions of stakeholders diverge. Loss of confidence, concern for safety and security, fear of loss, and lack of future confidence towards the affected destination, especially those with a chronic history of political crises, are confirmed. Interview analysis also provides additional insight into the variable effects of political crises based on the particular situations and the perceptions thereof. The impacts of political crises have been comprehensively categorised into the following effects: the perception effect, the financial effect, and the aftermath. The influencing factors include the ripple effect, the coinciding effect and the spill-over effect. These effects are further classified based upon the time lapse of events (e.g. immediate, short-term and long-term). This study demonstrates that the perception effect, a destination's image and stakeholder confidence are all key factors in political crisis management.

This study has also sought to examine trade organisations' management of political crises. Management responses have been classified according to the four main stages of political crises: (1) crisis mitigation strategy; (2) crisis preparedness strategy; (3)

crisis response strategy; and (4) crisis recovery strategy. The findings reveal that academic tourism literature lacks essential preparedness strategies including diversification and behavioural segmentation.

Interviewees discussed the strategies of mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery. The study further confirms that if proper crisis management is undertaken during the response phase, impacts in the short and long terms can be mitigated, reducing the recovery period.

Crisis responses are examined from two main perspectives: corporate strategies and tactical strategies. Interestingly, the findings reveal the usefulness of tactical strategies; this has not been revealed in previous research. Different types of operational response are discussed in Chapter 6 and crisis strategies such as marketing and financial responses are included in the discussion. This research provides a detailed survey of trade organisation responses to political crises which has, until now, been lacking in tourism literature. These strategies will be discussed in detail below when this study's contribution to knowledge is evaluated. The work focuses on management response, as this is the most consequential area from which to develop a framework of political crisis responses and, in so doing, achieve the study's goal. Crisis recovery strategies have also been presented in terms of private and public sector strategies. The outcome shows that government plays an integral role for crisis management during the recovery phase. The role of private organisations including tourism organisations, the media, and tour operators can also function to shorten the crisis recovery phase.

A framework of political crisis responses, as demonstrated in Chapter 7, was informed by the primary research and developed accordingly. This framework is intended to form a significant contribution to the knowledge management of political crises within the tourism industry. The framework that has emerged from this study will assist researchers in better understanding the dynamics of political crises and their unique impacts on tourism destinations. Political crisis strategies and the six factors contributing to management response have also been included within the framework. The primary contribution of this work is the framework of political

crisis responses put forward in Chapter 7; another is the political crisis management framework to be discussed in the next section.

8.3 Contribution to knowledge

This study contributes to knowledge in two decisive ways; first is the political crisis management framework presented in Chapter 7 and derived inductively from the interview findings; the second contribution is that of the political crisis management framework for the tourism industry; neither of which have been offered before. The perspectives of British trade organisations have been integrated into developing this framework, which will be discussed in this section.

It is clear that a political crisis management framework for the tourism industry has been lacking, as have studies on tourist generating countries. From the findings, disaster crisis management has been applied within the organisations studied; however, there still exists a lack of political crisis management strategy within the tourism industry itself. From the primary data collected, four stages of political crisis management exist, as discussed in Chapter 6: (1) mitigation, (2) preparedness, (3) response, and (4) recovery. Before implementing crisis strategies in response to the effects of political crises, the research findings suggest the importance of understanding political crises ahead of time, as discussed in the previous section. This is in line with the work of scholars such as Fink (1986), Roberts (1994), Parsons (1996), Miller and Ritchie (2003), and Prideaux et al. (2003), who believe that the manner in which a crisis is dealt with ought to depend on its type. In the research findings, the interviewees suggested that political crises had negatively affected their organisations, indicating that crisis management needs to be implemented in response to the effects of political crises. Based upon the literature review, previous crisis and disaster management frameworks are illustrated in Table 8.1, and the political crisis management framework developed by this study is demonstrated.

Table 8.1 Political crisis management framework

Stages	Fink's (1986, 2000) stages	Roberts' (1994) stages	Faulkner's (2001) stages	Ritchie's (2004) stages	Political crisis management (developed from this study)
1. Pre-event	Proaction	Pre-event: where action can be taken to prevent disasters	When action can be taken to prevent or mitigate the effects of potential disasters	Action taken to prevent disasters	Pre-event: where action can be taken to mitigate the effects of potential political crises until apparent gathering of local population for political purposes or report of unrest. ***(Mitigation and preparedness)***
2. Prodromal	Prodromal stage: when it becomes apparent that the crisis is inevitable		When it is apparent that a disaster is imminent	Apparent a crisis/ disaster is about to hit	
3. Emergency	Acute stage: the point of no return when the crisis has hit and damage limitation is the main objective	Emergency phase: when the effects of the disaster has been felt and action has to be taken to rescue people and property	The effect of the disaster is felt and action is necessary to protect people and property	Incident hits: damage limitation and action needed	Emergency: Political crisis occurs: the effects of the political crisis felt with immediate response needed ***(Operational response)***
4. Intermediate	Reaction	Immediate phase: when the short-term needs of the people affected must be dealt with - restoring utilities and essential services. The objective at this point being to restore the community to normality as quickly as possible	A point where the short-term needs of people have been addressed and the main focus of activity is to restore services and the community to normal	Short-term needs dealt with: restoring services	Intermediate: From this point it depends whether crisis is ephemeral or enduring. If ephemeral crisis, this stage is relatively short but is longer for an enduring crisis ***(Marketing and financial response)***
5. Long-term (recovery)	Chronic stage: clean-up, post-mortem, self-analysis and healing	Long-term phase: continuation of the previous phase, but items that could not be addressed quickly are attended to at this point	Continuation of previous phase, but items that could not be attended to quickly are attended to at this stage	Longer term, clean up, repair, reinvestment, post mortem	Long-term: repair damaged infrastructure and reputation ***(Recovery)***
6. Resolution	Resolution: routine restored or new improved state		Routine restored or new improved state establishment	Normal or improved state created	Resolution: learnt from past crises ***(Organisational learning)***

Fink (1986, 2000), Roberts (1994), Faulkner (2001), and Ritchie (2004) propose different models to represent the phases of a crisis; the findings of this research are in line with these. Therefore, by all accounts crisis management strategies are only effective when implemented according to the phases of an incident. The interview findings demonstrate an understanding of four stages: crisis mitigation, crisis preparedness, crisis response and crisis recovery as discussed in Chapter 6. However, marrying the literature with the interview findings, this study suggests that political crisis management be categorised into five stages: (1) pre-event, (2) emergency, (3) intermediate, (4) long term, and (5) resolution.

It is important to consider the fact that this study focuses specifically on political crises. Thus, previous crisis management frameworks support the findings of this study but cannot necessarily be implemented in the same manner due to three important issues, discussed as follows.

The first of these reasons is that this study's political crisis management framework does not include crisis management strategies during the prodromal stage (in which action such as the gathering of the local population for political purposes takes place) as this generally overlaps with the next phase depending on how quickly a political crisis emerges. The pre-event stage is when action can be taken to mitigate the effects of potential crises until the apparent gathering of local populations for political purposes or report of unrest. Crisis management strategies during this phase are those of mitigation and preparedness.

The second issue is that both the emergency and intermediate phases require crisis response strategies. The emergency phase primarily requires a crisis operational response while the intermediate phase requires marketing and financial responses. This study suggests that enduring crises or ephemeral crises need to be identified in order to determine the duration of this stage and, thus, the proper response.

The third issue is that the interview findings of this research do not necessarily support the inclusion of the resolution stage in political crisis management, based on the opinions of the interviewees. From the literature review, it is clearly important to

include the resolution stage in a political crisis management framework because political crises are events that may reoccur, likely originating from a politically unstable government. Thus, organisational learning from past political crises becomes imperative. Several authors such as Fink (1986, 2000), Burnett (1998) and Ritchie (2004) confirm that crises may act as turning points for organisations, and believe that an improved state is possible if a destination leverages its newfound knowledge post-crisis to make policy changes and adopt or modify strategies. The function of organisational learning, therefore, allows stakeholders to learn from past crises. This study recommends that the resolution stage is included in a political crisis management framework.

Table 8.1 sets out a political crisis management framework for the tourism industry. The model suggests that the effects of political crises can be alleviated during the different phases if strategies are properly and timely executed.

8.3.1 Pre-event stage: mitigation and preparedness

As shown in Table 8.1, the pre-event stage is in line with the research findings that action can prevent or mitigate the effects of potential political crises in future. Such management during this phase includes the implementation of a crisis mitigation strategy and a crisis preparedness strategy. Referring to the literature review, examples of such actions include training staff for periods of emergency as well as the development of human resource management for crises as suggested by Faulkner (2001) and Ritchie (2004). However, this study suggests that mitigation and preparedness strategies need also be incorporated into strategic planning. Such preparedness strategies include diversification of tourism products, market segmentation and strengthening communication. Different types of crises should be classified within such a framework, such as natural disasters or political crises, in order to support the effectiveness of the crisis management plan.

Examples of this phase can be seen in the chronic political crises taking place in Thailand. The respondents interviewed in this study attempted to mitigate the risks

of potential crises by organising tours that bypassed the affected city of Bangkok, shifting focus instead to other areas of the country. The interviewees attested to staffing emergency teams that were equipped to reach customers in any affected areas. The interviewees also cultivated strong relationships with their business partners, such as airlines and hotels at the affected destinations, in order to ensure support would be available if a crisis were to occur. Crisis management can be incorporated into strategic management in two ways. First, by proactive planning and strategy formulation by environmental scanning, issues analysis, scenario planning, strategic forecasting, and risk analysis, and secondly by planning for scanning and issue analysis, making contingency and emergency plans or adjusting any other plans for potential crises.

8.3.2 Emergency and intermediate stages: response

During the emergency phase, the political crisis has occurred and the immediate effects are felt. Therefore, a crisis operational response needs to be implemented immediately, which is in line with the findings of this study.

During the emergency phase, a crisis operational response strategy needs to be implemented if a high degree of violence is involved; organisations immediately evacuate their customers from destinations where such situations occur while short-term planning also requires attention. Adjusting marketing and financial strategies at this time ensures post-crisis business continuity and recovery in the subsequent stages.

From the research findings, operational responses are summarised according to the evidence provided by the interviewees (as presented in Chapter 6). At this stage, an operational response is first implemented according to the effects of political crises, especially in the case of those who are at the affected destination and are consequently directly affected by the crisis.

The main objectives of the emergency phase are two-fold.: firstly, to care for customers currently at the affected destination; and secondly, to immediately

activate communication and gather crisis information (as discussed in Chapter 5) while conveying appropriate messages to customers, business partners and other stakeholders. This is confirmed by Beeton (2001), Berry and Rondinelli (2000), Faulkner (2001), Glaesser (2005) and Heath (1998). Moreover, crisis management strategy needs to organise a coherent management response and offer accurate information to customers. Necessary action must be taken such as evacuation procedures, emergency accommodation, distribution of medical supplies and health services. Collaboration becomes crucial at this stage among all stakeholders such as internal communications between employees and managers, and external communications between customers, tourism boards, government agencies, and the media. In the case of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, the interviewees commented that they immediately located all customers in the country and implemented their evacuation plans to fly them out. As this example displays, necessary action needs to be taken immediately during the emergency phase of a crisis.

Continued from the emergency phase is the intermediate phase, where short-term crisis management responses such as marketing and financial responses are implemented to alleviate the effects of political crises. From the research findings, the strategies implemented during this phase exist to help an organisation minimise any effects that have already occurred. Marketing responses, such as suspending destination marketing, are effective as are financial responses such as implementing cost control in operations departments and auditing to ensure business continuity.

From the research findings, this study suggests that the emergency and immediate phases are critical in terms of crisis management response and must be implemented accordingly in the operational, marketing and financial sectors of an organisation. This study confirms that proper crisis management response can reduce the short-term and long-term effects of political crises while expediting the crisis recovery phase.

8.3.3 Long-term recovery phase

The long-term phase is when crisis recovery strategies can be set in motion. The main goal immediately following a crisis is to minimise the negative effects, prevent further depletion of confidence, and restore stakeholder confidence as soon as possible. In the long-term, however, the main strategy centres on the restoration of the destination image. Reviving the image of the destination to the travelling public at large while restoring media confidence and communication are singularly important for the long-term health of the destination. Reassessment of infrastructure (which may have suffered damage), rehabilitation of affected areas, and restoration of tourist and investor confidence are all simultaneously necessary when promoting recovery strategies. During this phase, action must be taken including destination marketing, niche marketing, enhancement of public relations and publicity. The findings confirm that full collaboration between stakeholders in the tourism industry is requisite to recovery in this period; stakeholders in tourist generating regions should establish strong relationships with those in affected destinations to facilitate a full recovery effort.

8.3.4 Resolution: organisational learning

Finally, the resolution phase allows organisations to evaluate the effects of political crises on their organisations and re-evaluate their strategies, if necessary, for future events. The interview findings confirm that certain destinations such as India, Fiji, and Thailand suffer from political crisis lifecycles. This makes the evaluation and implementation of crisis management essential. Furthermore, Evans, Campbell and Stonehouse (2003) suggest that the progress of strategy must be monitored continually through feedback. Flexibility is, therefore, necessary for crisis management as proposed by Ritchie (2004); this is consistent with the research findings indicating that the flexibility of crisis management strategies allows for optimal development and evolution.

The political crisis framework is broken down into the different phases of a political crisis's lifecycle. This framework helps the tourism industry to understand the dynamics and how to effectively manage each stage.

The benefits of the political crisis response framework are not limited to tourism organisations but also extend to governments in both affected destinations and generating regions; the work reveals how aspects of a government's reaction towards an affected destination following a political crisis, such as diplomacy and international relations, can impact all trade organisations. For example, following the 2008 Mumbai attack, the Indian government's diplomacy and international relations with Pakistan deteriorated as the Indian prime minister stated that the terrorists originated from Pakistan, an allegation that caused tension and disturbed trade between the two nations. The Indian government's reaction affected trade organisations in India and Pakistan, as well as other tourist-generating regions, which send tourists across their borders. Chronic ceasefire violations along the India-Pakistan border in the Jammu and Samba districts have further ignited tensions between the two countries. This study further reveals that political crises impact relations with neighbouring countries, such as the case of Myanmar. As tourism only recently developed in Myanmar, some regions of the country remain restricted due to the political crisis of the on-going conflicts in the Shan, Karen, Mon and Kachin states; this has resulted in border restrictions between Myanmar and China as well as increased safety concerns for tourists in the border areas of Thailand, Laos, and China.

This study also reveals the impact of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) travel advisories on trade organisations in generating regions, tourism destinations and local economies affected by crises. The interview findings confirm how the effects of FCO travel advisories on the tourism sector are magnified as the insurance sector reduces their financial exposure by limiting or declining coverage to destinations cited in FCO advisories. The interview findings further expose that FCO advisories are the single most important consideration taken into account by trade organisations when discouraging clients from travelling to affected destinations. The economic impact of travel advisories in both the generating regions and the affected

destinations remains an open question. Therefore, it is proposed that governments in affected destinations and generating regions as well as government branches such as the Foreign and Commonwealth Office should consider this framework to better understand the economic implications of their diplomacy, public statements and actions pertaining to travel in and around affected areas.

The political crisis classification model presented in this study is primarily intended to help trade organisations understand and classify political crises in order to respond to their impact. However, potential users of this model are not limited to trade organisations; government, media, stakeholders further afield, insurance, finance, transport, construction, and others can all benefit from this model to understand the dynamics of political crises and be thoroughly prepared for their impacts. Affected destinations' governments can apply the political crisis classification model to develop diplomatic responses according to each crisis type; the governments in generating destinations can use this model to assess the larger impact of crisis before issuing travel advisories. The next section evaluates this research.

8.4 Evaluation of the research

This study acknowledges the value of interpretive research approaches and their associated qualitative methods. The main findings of this research have been derived inductively from 20 interviewees. This section critically appraises the research undertaken, identifying its strengths and acknowledging its limitations.

This study adopted a qualitative approach in attempting to incorporate the insight of trade organisations into the scholarly field of the impact of political crises upon tourism organisations in the United Kingdom; it also utilized this approach to understand how the effects of political crises can be overcome or managed. A qualitative methodological approach appears to be the best way to collect the required data within a broad scope of information.

In-depth interviews provide new insights and allow for easier interpretation of the contextual impacts of political crises which affect the trade organisations of tourist generating regions. The interviews were undertaken in the tourist generating region because there has been a lack of research on the impacts of crises in generating regions, as most previous research has been undertaken at tourism destinations. It should be noted that the findings from a tourist generating region are significantly different from that of research undertaken at destinations. Research conducted at tourism destinations narrows the scope and views that an outsider can gain regarding crisis management, as destinations hosting tourists are well aware of the impacts of crises on their destination but lack insight from generating regions. Thus, the researcher decided to conduct interviews in a tourist generating region, namely the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom was chosen because of its long history as a tourist generating area. Data derived from the United Kingdom reflects an accurate outcome. Semi-structured in-depth interviews are among the most commonly recognised forms of qualitative research method and are widely used (Mason, 2002). They are considered by many to be a practicable approach to obtain what, for qualitative researchers, is the central ontological components of social reality. The main aim of this study is to develop a framework of political crisis responses for the tourism industry. This aim was achieved by collecting in-depth data and information from UK tourism experts who have experience and are currently active in the tourism industry.

There are four main strengths of this research process. The first is that interviews were generally conducted at the interviewees' private office or other preferred location. The convenience of time and location to interviewees can help gather more detailed and informal opinions. Sixteen interviews were conducted at the interviewees' offices, which helped produce a good overall outcome as public locations such as coffee shops can be disruptive. The interviewees, considered experts in their field, allocated time of up to one hour; most gave their opinions freely and without disruption. For example, when asked what strategies they use to prepare for the effects of political crises, most interviewees responded with a detailed answer that lasted for 10 to 15 minutes. The researcher needed to carry on the conversation and lead the topic naturally to the next question.

The second strength of the utilized format is that all interviews were undertaken with representatives of four different sectors; destination organisations, tourism consultants, travel agents, and tour operators. The culminating data allowed the researcher to gain insight into the implementation of crisis management throughout the entire industry. Having applied the same questionnaires to all interviewees, the researcher were then able to understand their responses in light of different perspectives, which served to strengthen the findings and outcomes of this study.

The third strength of this approach is that the interview analysis was completed manually by the researcher. This style enables the research itself to evolve with the collected interview data, culminating a more thorough understanding although the weakness of this is its time consumption: the researcher must manually analysis and categorise codes on a spread-sheet according to the different themes. Thematic analysis was applied by using the methods suggested by Boyatzis (1998). Additionally, once the interviews were conducted, the researcher listened to digital recordings of them shortly afterwards. This facilitated an accurate manual transcription of each interview within a few days of it taking place. The researcher could readily check that data was transcribed accurately before any analysis took place.

The fourth strength of this approach is that interviewees were willing to give their opinion readily, even as it pertained to sensitive issues. In part, this can be attributed to their interest in contributing to the study's findings.

Certain limitations in the methods used and results obtained must be acknowledged. Generally, this study has three limitations. The first limitation concerns the amount of time that the interviewees were given to articulate their procedures and opinions on the effects of political crises and the management thereof. These are difficult issues to address in the immediacy of an interview situation. At the time, the researcher decided against sending participants the questions ahead of time so that responses would be more spontaneous and thus more honest. In hindsight, had the

interviewees been supplied with the questions in advance they may have had more time to reflect and more completely express themselves.

The second limitation arises more interestingly. Because the researcher is from Thailand, itself a major tourism destination as this study attests, the interviewees often focused on political crises and their effects in the researcher's native land. This required additional questions posed by the researcher to probe their opinions on other affected destinations so that Thailand did not dominate the interview.

The third and final limitation is that the research findings reflect the perspectives of executives within the UK tourism industry; it does not reflect the perspectives of tourists directly, although there is a section discussing tourist confidence in Chapter 5. Nonetheless, it remains a weakness of this study as its insights are primarily drawn from the perspective of trade organisations rather than tourists. In terms of developing a framework of political crisis responses from the viewpoint of tourism managers, the findings withstand this scrutiny.

8.5 Future research

Although a number of issues remain unresolved, this research offers a foundation on which to base further study. Political crisis management in the tourism industry has only gained increased attention by academic researchers in recent years, mainly focusing on crisis and disaster management. Therefore, further research and framework development are required in the area of crisis management specifically concerning political crises in the tourism industry.

This research presents the perspective of the United Kingdom, a tourist generating region whose organisations have suffered serious and negative impacts as a result of wars, riots, uprisings, protests and acts of terrorism in tourism destinations. This study develops an effective political crisis management approach to prepare for and respond to these effects in the future. However, the scope of this work is quite narrow, warranting further study outside of the United Kingdom. Importantly, the interview findings confirm that trade organisations use nationality as a proxy for

cultural background based on Hofstede's (1983) model, thus affecting management response to crises differently. Future research should apply this political crisis management response framework to other tourist generating regions in order to more closely examine this cultural dimension for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. This could be achieved by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative approach would help to develop strategies that can address cultural differences in the context of crisis management for particular tourism destinations; the quantitative approach would be necessary to understand perception and measure cultural attitudes towards political crises at different destinations.

There is also scope for future quantitative in political crisis management. Such work could add further insight and assessment of the causes and degrees of crises' impacts by applying multidimensional scaling techniques. Such an approach could cluster the diverse causes of crises while demonstrating the varying degrees of impacts according to each crisis. Further research is also need to evaluate and assess the political crisis response framework developed by this study. This necessitates comparison with other crisis strategies implemented in tourist generating destinations.

This study confirms that social media plays a significant role as a platform where tourists exchange opinions as well as their own experiences of political crises. To examine its uses and impact on travel decisions, future research should investigate social media's role and how it impacts travel during and after crisis events. Though existing literature focuses attention on the socio-psychological effects of social media in travel and tourism, very little attention has been paid to understanding the extent to which social media can play a role in crisis management. Accordingly, future research should integrate social media components on the crisis management response approach taken by affected destinations and their governments.

Another key issue arising from this study is the importance of the context in which tourism managers respond to, and ultimately manage, the negative repercussions of political crises within the industry. It is, therefore, crucial to explore the attitudes of

tourists towards the implemented management response. This study suggests that this can best be done by examining the perspectives of tourists and populations exposed to international and social media coverage of political crisis events. The study of tourist behaviour in times of crisis remains relatively unexplored. Pearce's (2011) study on "The Tourist in Trouble", uses motivation theory as illustrated in the Travel Career Ladder (2011) to understand how tourists seek to travel dangerously; however, it only partially helps us understand tourist behaviour in times of crises. Future research should offer the currently missing guidance for crisis management in the tourism industry by integrating tourist behaviour in times of political crises into crisis management theory. Travel risks must be considered in terms of real and present risks, perceived risks, image of a destination and tourist attitudes. It is crucial for tourism managers to understand tourists' behaviour, perceptions and attitudes in order to devise marketing strategies that address their concerns, alleviating the negative and reinforcing the positive impacts of political crises.

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