

A Case Study of How VisitScotland Prepared for War

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VisitScotland, the national tourism agency for Scotland, used a scenario-planning process to untangle the complexity of the forthcoming war in Iraq. The scenarios explored the impact of such a war on tourism against a backdrop of an economic environment of failing equity markets and GDP. In 2003, Scotland was on the verge of a recession, and VisitScotland wanted to know how war would affect this economic environment and, simultaneously, how this would affect different tourism markets. VisitScotland constructed four scenarios: how the West was won, global Northern Ireland, new dawn, and into the valley of death. The scenarios helped the organization develop policies and actions to deal with contingencies in each scenario. More importantly, the article shows how VisitScotland managed the process, what it did, and policy implications for the future.

Keywords: *scenario planning; tourism; policy; war; terrorism*

History tells us that terrorism affects tourism. Durie (2003) recorded that the first tourists came to Scotland because of war and terrorist activity in Europe. The first Grand Tours of Scotland, for example, were a result of tourists being displaced from France and Germany during the time of the Napoleonic Wars. In addition, tourists were displaced from Ireland in early Victorian times because the destination was seen as barbaric and unsafe for travelers. In more recent times, tourism destinations have been affected by terrorism and war. For instance, in 1996, Egypt experienced a 43% decrease in tourism receipts as a result of the activities of the Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya terrorism group, who killed 18 Greek tourists in Cairo (Sonmez 1998). The Bali bombing in 2002, resulting in the deaths of more than 200 people, had a profound effect on Indonesia's GDP. As a result of the bombing, employment fell by 22% and GDP by 10.5% in the following year (Sinclair and Sugiyarto 2003a). The terrorist attack on an Israeli airliner in Mombasa in 2002 resulted in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom (UK) government announcing that travel to Kenya was unsafe. As a result, a number of major airlines cancelled their flights to Kenya, and this had a detrimental effect on Kenya's economy (Sinclair and Sugiyarto 2003b).

Against this background, Brown (2003) and Schwartz (2003) contended that policy makers would be naive if they thought that current and emerging security problems would take care of themselves or go away. The policy lesson (Ranstorp 2003) is to engage security problems in such a way that helps policy makers understand the disruptive nature of such problems on tourism and the development of

subsequent recovery strategies. The recent terrorism incident in Madrid (Fuller 2004) and the inevitability of a terrorism attack in London (BBC 2004) only reinforce the point that Al Qaeda is splintered and active in far more countries than world leaders thought (Schwartz 2003). Al Qaeda is a network in name, meaning "the base" (Yeoman 2003), which was created in 1989 as Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan and Osama bin Laden began looking for new jihads. The organization grew out of a network of Arab volunteers known as Arab-Afghans, who fought under the banner of Islam against Soviet communism. Now, this terrorist organization is suspected of networking with other similar groups to bring about catastrophic destruction on a worldwide basis. It is a drive for jihad, meaning "struggle," in which they defend faith and ideas through armed conflict.

If, as Brown (2003) suggested, policy makers in tourism ignore the threat of continuous disruption due to terrorism threats, they would be naive and irresponsible. Glaesser (2002) contended that national tourism organizations should in reality prepare contingency and crisis plans to deal with such threats. Planning must, however, go beyond reactive crisis management if the threat of terrorism is to be a continuous backdrop to the industry. One way to deal with this problem in a holistic and systemic manner is to use the process of scenario planning (van der Heijden et al. 2002). This process puts terrorism into the context of tourism to explore and understand the degree of disruption and how it links with other mitigating factors such as economics and consumer behavior. It also highlights the need to understand the relative importance of these other factors.

WHY SCENARIO PLANNING?

VisitScotland is the national tourism organization for Scotland. Its vision is to be the world's best tourism organization. This means that the approach adopted for strategic planning is proactive and futures based. Scenario planning is the capability of organizations to understand their business

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environment, to think through what this means to them, and then to act on this new knowledge (van der Heijden et al. 2002). Scenarios are a range of pictures and stories of the future that are constructed using drivers and trends that shape the future. These drivers are manipulated to give alternative outcomes in which plausible and multiple scenarios are constructed for a specific date in the future.

VisitScotland used this approach to understand how the then-forthcoming war in Iraq could affect Scottish tourism. In the context of 2002, there had been mounting anxiety at the rise of terrorist activity globally, with the proclamation by the U.S. government connecting 9/11 to Al Qaeda and to Iraq and weapons of mass destruction. VisitScotland was concerned about the increased probability toward war in Iraq, with the United States and UK as the leading actors driving a policy of engaging Saddam Hussein in a Gulf-style war, and how this would affect tourism. Because the consequences of such a disruption on Scottish tourism could be significant, in particular in regard to international tourism, VisitScotland decided to address the issue through creating a set of alternative scenarios on war and recession in which to explore the economic impact on tourism. The importance of exploring the war scenarios against the backdrop of the economic environment was considered relevant because of falling equity markets since 2000, the fact that Scotland was on the brink of an economic recession, and a general feeling of a lack of business and consumer confidence at the time (Oxford Economics Forecasting 2003).

WHAT IS SCENARIO PLANNING?

What are scenarios and scenario planning? There is no single, universal definition of either. For example, Michael Porter (1985) talked about scenarios as an “internally consistent view of what the future might turn out to be,” whereas Peter Schwartz (1991) described “scenario planning as a tool for ordering one’s perception about alternative future environments.” One aspect that is sure is that scenario planning is not a forecasting methodology but a means to think about the future. It is a description of multiple futures. The history of scenario planning lies in two worlds (Lindgren and Bandhold 2003). The first was futurism, in which scenario analysis became an important method for generating futures thinking and scenarios became an effective presentation format. The second was strategy, in which strategists and managers since the 1970s have searched for new and more relevant tools to work with complex issues. Whereas futurists used scenarios as a means to analyze, debate, and communicate the “big issues,” strategists were interested in them as a powerful planning instrument. Modern scenario planning is attributed to Herman Kahn (van der Heijden et al. 2002) and the RAND Corporation. Kahn developed a technique called “future-now” thinking. He adopted the term *scenario* when Hollywood decreed the term outdated and switched to the label *screenplay*. The scenarios he developed were part of military strategic research conducted at RAND for the U.S. government, and he coined the phrase “thinking the unthinkable.”

In the 1970s, companies like Shell International adopted scenarios as part of their strategy repertoire. Shell is widely acclaimed as “the most famous scenario planning company.” Pierre Wack, Arie de Gues, and Kees van der Heijden are

famous scenario planners of this company and era. Their ability to foresee possible futures and act quickly has been credited as the primary reason behind Shell’s success during the Yom Kippur War. More recently, in a world in which uncertainty, insecurity, and turbulence are evident (Yeoman and McMahon-Beattie 2005), scenario planning has received a renewed interest. The focus of scenario planning today is around *scenario thinking*, in which mental models of the future are shifted. De Gues (1997) and van der Heijden et al. (2002) made considerable use of Kolb’s learning loop in their explanation of how learning takes place for individuals and groups during scenario planning. The learning loop describes the strategy development process in its integration of experience, sense making, and action into one holistic phenomenon. Hence, scenario planning becomes a means of thinking and learning about the future. But learning is ineffective in isolation. Eden and Ackermann (1998) contended that learning must happen in parallel with stakeholders to action change. It is stakeholders, whether in business or public policy, that have the power to create change. Van de Heijden et al. (2002) noted that there is no point in creating scenarios if you cannot action change. Hence, scenario planning is both a social and political process as well as a mechanical task process of scenario construction.

The use of scenario planning in tourism has received little attention. Early work by the Singapore Tourist Board (Yong, Keng, and Leng 1989) examined a methodological process and the marketing implications of a series of events using a delphi forecast. Tress and Tress (2003) used a scenario-planning methodology for a participatory landscape study of Denmark. Eden and Ackermann (1998) used scenario-planning techniques in strategy building for Scottish Natural Heritage. More recently, the World Tourism Organization has used scenario-planning techniques when dealing with contingency planning (Glaesser 2003). Although scenario planning has been used in tourism, much of the work is, however, confidential. Therefore, there is a lack of documented and research publications in this field. Others works that have been published (or are about to be published) are by the authors of this article. These articles include “Foot and Mouth Disease: A Re-Occurrence for Scottish Tourism” (Yeoman et al. 2005); “What Do You Want Scottish Tourism to Look Like in 2015?” (Yeoman 2004b); “West Nile Virus: A Scenario or Not for Scottish Tourism” (Yeoman, Lennon, and McMahon-Beattie 2005); “Scenarios and Visions for Scottish Tourism” (Yeoman and Lederer 2005); “Our Ambitions for Scottish Tourism: Turning Scenarios into Strategy” (Hay and Yeoman 2005); “Developing a Scenario Planning Process Using a Blank Piece of Paper” (Yeoman and McMahon-Beattie 2005); and “Preparing for Tomorrow: Policy Implication for Scotland’s Tourism Scenarios” (Yeoman and McMahon-Beattie 2004).

THE SCENARIO PLANNER

Ratcliffe (2003) discussed the scenario planner as a *bricoleur*, in which the planner mixes and matches a variety of methods and practices. A bricoleur is a “Jack of all trades” or “professional do it yourself,” as defined by Lévi-Strauss (1996). Here, the scenario planner uses a crystallization or triangulation of methods, which is a familiar concept in the research literature (Denzin and Lincoln 2002). The concept

of triangulation is a critical element in dealing with the veracity of different issues, trends, and assumptions surfaced by scenarios. This process of triangulation is the foundation of Yeoman and McMahon-Beattie's (2005) work in scenario planning for the tourism industry. By using a triangulation of methods, both qualitative and quantitative data can be used for interpretation and the construction of scenarios. The importance of dual data overcomes many of the problems of scenario planning, in which policy makers and business strategists have dismissed qualitative data as "too visionary and science fiction," and quantitative data are dismissed by social scientists "as unrealistic in a problematic world." By using a triangulation of methods that draw on both qualitative and quantitative methodologies and data, many of the boundaries of such approaches are enhanced. This triangulation approach was used by VisitScotland (Yeoman 2004b) in the publication of their 2015 tourism scenarios.

SCENARIO PLANNING IN REALITY

The remainder of this article is devoted to a case study describing how VisitScotland used scenario planning in reality. The research is a representation of reality, in which the process is "full of imperfections," "where people make mistakes," "where decisions are taken now rather than later," and "where decisions are constrained by politics and time pressure"; all of these characteristics represent the decision-making process of the real world (Eden and Ackermann 1998), where "actions" are captured and observed. The case study describes how VisitScotland used scenario planning to make sense of the forthcoming war in Iraq and the degree of disruption on tourism. The contribution of the article lies both in the application of scenario-planning methodology and in dealing with the reality of the problem

SCENARIO PLANNING IN CONTEXT

Bearing in mind that any degree of disruption from war and recession could severely affect Scottish tourism, VisitScotland used an accelerated scenario-planning process because war was imminent. These Level 1 scenarios (van der Heijden et al. 2002) provided a framework in which war and economics could be explored as a means to activate awareness, create dialogue, and bring about actionable responses. Scenarios that are classified as Level 1 are the first-draft or untested scenarios. As further scenarios are constructed, they become richer and more robust as other opinions and data are folded into them. They are subsequently named Level 2, Level 3, and so forth. Using the Idon Scenario Thinking methodology (Galt et al. 1997), the Level 1 scenarios were constructed "back-of-house" by VisitScotland's scenario planner and a scenario-planning consultancy, Bee Successful Ltd. This methodology uses a tool called hexagons (Hodgson 1992). Dodds and Hocking (1994) praised the technique as a process of introducing and structuring ideas. Hodgson (1992, p. 227) stated that scenario planning using hexagons "is the process of rendering tacit models shareable by use of

representation mapping. This mapping is done by means of a variety of techniques which are like moving diagrams."

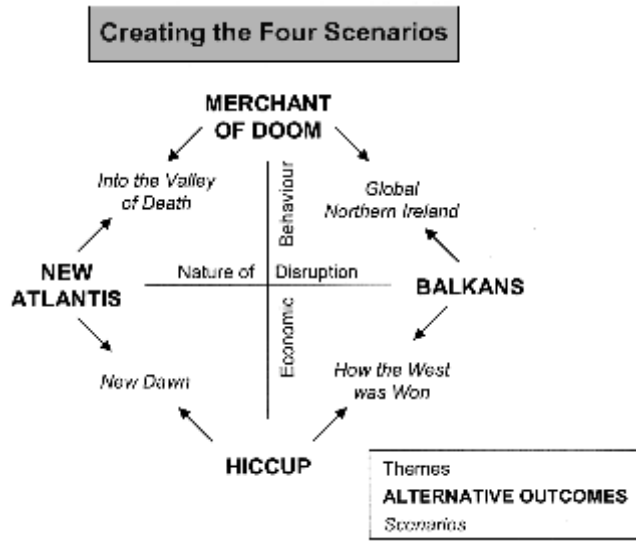
The Idon scenario thinking provided a structured process for Level 1 scenario building, which involved individuals noting down the ideas on magnetic colored hexagons, then placing them on a whiteboard. The hexagons are then clustered to show related concepts and connections to ideas. The flexibility of the method lends itself to support the various stages of scenario building and means that it can be used in various contexts with a collective view of ideas. The contribution of hexagons lies in its ability to cluster and connect problem component parts through the use of colored hexagons for quick identification. For further details about this scenario-planning methodology, readers are referred to van der Heijden et al. (2002).

Scenario Building: Level 1

Due to the complexities of the problem and the need to make sense of the situation (Eden and Ackermann 1998), a number of boundaries were established. For example, one of these was the establishment of a 5-year timeframe. This allowed the scenario builders a frame of reference to judge the likely time span of war and the period of recovery. Next, a number of driving forces were identified that represented those underlying and affecting factors that set a pattern of events and determined outcomes in the business environment. The forces that shape tourism include business confidence, consumer confidence, GDP, exchange rates, oil prices, levels of taxation, government borrowing, transportation, consumer perceptions, media stories, and levels of disruption. These driving forces were calibrated based on identifying the degree of high uncertainty with the most direct impact, because these aspects of the problem construction are of most importance in determining the alternative future outcomes in scenario planning. These uncertainties were further calibrated to identify two overarching themes and find alternative outcomes, and to identify two overarching themes that form the basis of contrasting scenarios. Figure 1 is a scenario matrix that represents the foundation of the scenarios.

The two main themes in this matrix are *nature of disruption* and *economic behavior*. Each theme had an alternative outcome. *Nature of disruption* had outcomes of *New Atlantis* and *Balkans*, whereas *economic behavior* had outcomes of *hiccup* and *merchant of doom*. Alternative outcomes were calibrated into four scenarios, namely, *Global Northern Ireland*, *How the West was won*, *New dawn*, and *Into the valley of death*. The names of these scenarios represented the essence of the scenarios and were portrayed as movie titles so that their distinctive features could easily be understood by users. To amplify the stories, each scenario was then written up from the perspective of daily life and how such events in such scenarios would affect the individual. This approach is very important because it accesses readers' tacit and episodic knowledge, which is seen as more important than reasoned and rational behavior. Sparrow (1998) concluded that personal knowledge, rather than reasoning, has a greater impact on decision making, hence, the use of stories in scenario planning as a means to convey messages and events to readers. The scenarios are located in Table 1.

**FIGURE 1
SCENARIO MATRIX**



Scenario-Planning Workshop and Uncertainty in the Organization

Once the scenarios had been constructed, they were tested with a range of decision makers within VisitScotland. A 1-day Idon Scenario Testing workshop set out to achieve the following: first, to introduce the four scenarios, looking at coherence, content, and validity; second, to address the impact of each scenario on Scottish tourism; and, finally, to make recommendations of what actions VisitScotland should undertake in the scenarios. Although the workshop was productive and achieved the set objectives, the robustness fell short of expectations. This was for several reasons. Those participating in the workshop were middle managers rather than key decision makers. Hence, on reflection, they did not have the authority to instigate change, only to make recommendations.

The outcomes from the Level 1 scenarios led to some uncertainty in the organization regarding what to do next. As external events were unfolding, elements of the scenarios were becoming a reality. The pivotal point was when Tony Blair announced that British troops would be stationed at Heathrow Airport. The pictures of this event on television dramatically shifted senior stakeholders’ perception of the problem. This event acted as a catalyst for a period of intense scenario building to construct Level 2 scenarios.

Level 2 Scenarios: War Becomes a Certainty

The purpose of Level 2 scenarios was to enrich the Level 1 scenarios with more robust content, portraying the direct impact on tourism and what actions should be taken by the organization to create change. From January 2003, VisitScotland enriched the scenarios and undertook a series of strategic actions based on them.

Table 2 highlights the features added to the war scenarios and the impact on tourism. The war stories were updated by folding in more precise details about military actions from material supplied by the Centre for Strategic and

International Studies (Meyer 2002). A serious strategic conversation about the scenarios was now shaping in the organization as the senior management team put their weight behind the scenarios. All of the departments within VisitScotland undertook a series of workshops with the scenario planner to correlate the scenarios with tourism. These workshops looked in detail at the effect of the scenarios on international tourism, domestic tourism, business tourism, and tourism activities. Within the workshops, activity focused on implications and actions. Furthermore, VisitScotland decided to abandon the *Into the valley of death* scenario because it was the most extreme and implausible scenario with only a low degree of probability. In any case, if the world economy collapsed into a 1930s-style depression, there would not be any point in marketing tourism, because very few people would be going on holiday!

Econometrics

Huff (1990), Sparrow (1998), and Eden and Ackermann (1998) noted that management thinking is anchored in rationality. They contend that to bring “belief” to scenarios, decision makers tend to believe in numbers because they are from a world of statistics, economics, and positivism (Denzin and Lincoln 2002). It is as if numbers are a science of final answers that drive strategy and direction. The use of econometrics in tourism policy making is highlighted by Blake et al. (2004) as a means to demonstrate how changes in economic drivers such as GDP, inflation, and exchange rates can be manipulated to produce scenarios. By folding numbers into the scenarios, more buy-in and credibility are attached to them by policy makers.

Therefore, an econometrics consultancy, Oxford Economics Forecasting (OEF), was engaged to quantify the three scenarios in table 1. The OEF brief in detail was to forecast the likely impact of each scenario on VisitScotland’s markets up to 2008. This analysis was segmented into UK holidays, short breaks, business tourism, and overseas tourism. As the Level 2 scenarios were now more robust, it was easier to use drivers that could be quantified. These drivers include levels of disposable incomes, GDP, exchange rates, interest rates, oil prices, consumer confidence, and business confidence.

The main findings from the study (OEF 2003) highlighted that in the absence of war, spending by UK residents on holidays in Scotland would be expected to grow by 4.2% in 2003, driven by the short-break sector. Business trips to Scotland, however, were likely to fall as a result of the economic environment. This was driven by the performance of the stock market and the levels of merger and acquisition in companies.

The impact of each of the scenarios on Scottish tourism is seen in tables 3 through 6. Within the *How the West was won* scenario, UK and Scottish growth does not suffer any ill effects in 2003 and accelerates marginally in 2004 with rebounding business and consumer confidence. In the *New dawn* scenario, growth falls in 2003, but by 2004 there is something of a catch-up. The final scenario, *Global Northern Ireland*, would push the UK and the rest of the Western world into outright recession, with the UK GDP falling in 2003 and recovering only moderately in 2004. In this worst case, holiday trips from the UK would drop by 3.5% from the baseline case in 2003 and total spending by more than 5%, reflecting the impact of a deteriorating economic situation.

TABLE 1
LEVEL 1 SCENARIOS

Scenario 1: Global Northern Ireland	Scenario 2: New Dawn	Scenario 3: How the West Was Won	Scenario 4: Into the Valley of Death
<p>I knew I couldn't escape from this, I realized that events would catch up with us all. When the prime minister ordered troops onto the streets of London . . . just a security measure he said. It happened this morning, a bomb blast in Edinburgh that ripped through the lobby of the hotel, killing 12 Americans, 3 Australians, and 8 hotel employees. According to the local hospital, more than 98 people were reported hurt in the blast. A barman told me that at about 7 a.m., there was a big blast, then fire and smoke billowing from the hotel, and there was lots of noise. This was a daily occurrence all over the world. We now see troops stationed at Edinburgh airport, bomb scares, and security cordons. The worst day was on March 15, when the whole transport system came to a close. All regional airports were closed; it was as if nobody traveled that day. Roads saw no cars; railway stations were deserted. We all stayed at home that day.</p> <p>You tend to just block it out now you live on the edge, and you just get on with daily life. It is a difficult story to tell. Your personal space has been invaded and plagued by constant tragedy. It's a situation of big brother, police state, and fear. A world of global conflict that seems to be fighting itself.</p> <p>It started 5 years ago, with the growth in anti-western and -American culture. It's as if the world was starting to turn against all that America stood for. . . . McDonald's, John Wayne, Coke, and individualism. It's as if the middle ground collapsed and fanatics had taken over the world. It's those fanatics or those to the extreme of society who command the politics; they dominate the world and</p>	<p>It is becoming a daily occurrence watching "the inspectors." Everyone is glued to the newspapers, radios, and reports from CNN about the tribulations of the UN Inspectorate Team in Iraq. The UN's team is based at the Al Hyatt Tower Hotel, and everyday at 6.30 a.m. the UN's land cruisers, driving at high speeds, are followed by more than 50 cars packed with journalists eager to find out where the inspectors are heading. Many journalists have been staking out both the inspectors' hotels and the UN compound from very early morning, not wanting to miss out on the beginnings of the operations. It is live breakfast TV in which a scene of near-pandemonium shows cars trying, some in vain, to keep up with the high-speed convoy.</p> <p>Every day, inspectors arrive at a factory or airfield searching for chemical or biological weapons. This has been the situation for the past 18 months. All they have found was a couple of smallpox manufacturing plants in southern Iraq. Secretly, people were beginning to think that perhaps the United States had overreacted.</p> <p>Then, one day, I remember President Bush address the nation. I will never forget that broadcast. It was one of those moments that you remember, like Princess Diana's death. Mr. Bush said that negotiations had broken down. In spite of the Iraqi leader having misled the UN diplomacy team, a major underground city complex near Tikrit had been discovered. Iraq was now refusing entry to the inspectors. In light of this failure to comply with the weapons inspections, the United States, with the support of the UN, had launched cruise missiles to take out the complex. This was the trig-</p>	<p>On reflection, the past 5 years have been like a John Wayne movie. It all began on March 15, 2002, when UN inspectors were working in Iraq. The team was searching a missile-testing range and a chemical warfare factory outside Baghdad. As the inspections took place, an air raid siren wailed in Baghdad—a thin white line of smoke could be seen in the sky, but its source was unclear. An unnamed Iraqi Civil Defence official reported a "hostile flight" over the capital. The U.S. Joint Task Force at the Prince Sultan air base outside Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, had launched the first wave of B52s, forming a mask of dust that obliterated the whole of Baghdad.</p> <p>This was a war that had seen a couple of regional situations in which the soft belly of tourism and aviation were hit. George W. Bush was not going to be bullied and walked over. Saddam was going to be taken out. This was a war between the new generation and the precision of Western armaments on one hand, and clumsy World War I rifles and bayonets on the other. Saddam had no chance. It was all over in 6 months. I watched the movie via CNN. It was good watching.</p> <p>We had a minor economic blip; oil prices rose. Some short-term unemployment in the City (more like restructuring), old industries disappeared, and manufacturing was down slightly. That year's holiday was in Austria rather than Australia. But life went on as normal.</p> <p>Actually, 1 year later, confidence returned to the market. George Bush had saved the world. We had won. Nothing could beat us. Although there were continued regional hotspots, we had the 7th Cavalry and could take anyone out. We all</p>	<p>The past 5 years have been the worst in my life! I remember Gordon Brown announcing to the House of Commons on November 27 that public finances were to plunge £20 billion into the red, based on a downturn in economic forecasts. I remember that Gordon said, "This was the worst for 30 years." It was worse. Gordon got it wrong. It eventually turned out to be worse than the depression of the 1930s. It was as if an economic nuclear bomb had exploded! I blame George Bush and his gung-ho attitude. I recall the words of Tennyson, as U.S. troops poured into Iraq:</p> <p>Into the Valley of Death, rode the 7th. Guns to the left, fanatics to right. Forward goes the 7th Cavalry. Charge, goes those 100,000. What a blunder, right into the valley of death.</p> <p>Volley'd and thunder'd. Storm'd at with shot and shell.</p> <p>Boldly they rode and well, into the jaws of Death.</p> <p>All the world wonder'd, what a hell.</p> <p>More than 350,000 U.S. and UK troops died in Iraq. Millions of people were affected by chemical fallout. Oil supplies stopped, and the Middle East became no more. I remember the farmers of the world complaining that the consequences of chemical fallout affected the world climate and agricultural systems. Crops were hit by droughts, floods, pests, and disease at the same time as grain in New York of bread queues and black markets, where Al Capone ruled. It was a disaster that triggered a major deflationary occurrence and stock market collapse—a situation that ruined the</p>

our lives. At the start of 2003, when war tensions in the Middle East were beginning, it was Saudi Arabia that was facing the challenges of that world. It was King Fahd who was trying to balance the need to support the West and his own fundamental Islamic people.

This balance brought strain to the West as we know it. We saw oil prices initially rise as a reaction to the threat of war. If it hadn't been for the intervention of the U.S. government, things would have got worse. They were the ones that tried to stabilize or normalize the situation. But, after 6 months of stalemate, George Bush wanted a result—an ambition to succeed where his father had failed—combining this with cracks in the U.S. economy. Historically, most U.S. presidents tended to switch to the international scene to deflect attention from failings at home. It was the so-called announcement by the Federal Reserve that consumer confidence was at an all-time low. Companies like American Airlines going to the wall and even Microsoft reporting sluggish profits . . . that prompted George Bush into action.

A war that backfired when bin Laden was immortalized as a martyr, leading to a series of world crusades between East and West. Regional conflicts and flashpoints that hit the soft belly of aviation and tourism. People are now a lot more entrenched and cautious about things. It's about saving for tomorrow in case this world directly hits me.

America couldn't cope with fighting Islam all over the world. It was as if every cause had a worldwide Islamic connection. American Marines reentered the Philippines fighting Abu Sayyaf on the southern island of Jolo to contain a

ger to launch "Baghdad First," which was a strike at the heart of the Saddam Hussein regime, launching a fall from within. Key installations were seized in the attack, including key bridges and communications systems. Within 7 days, the city of Baghdad had been seized, but the major problem during the next couple of months was the guerrilla war in remote parts of Iraq. This was now a Holy War in which people were on their home soil, defending against the evil empire. Saddam gave it one last shot.

A chemical missile was launched on Jerusalem, with sarin being released on the city. Sarin is a colorless liquid several times more deadly than cyanide that attacks the nervous system. Inhalation causes death within 1 minute of exposure. More than 6,000 people died that day.

The world experienced unanimous outrage. The bombing of Jerusalem immediately brought a tough response from the United States with precision air strikes on Saddam's mountain fortress. Saddam was killed. Recognizing that a turning point had been reached for the Middle East, leaders rallied to consider the consequence of East-West stabilization. Whereas pockets of resistance proclaiming a holy war continued, there was now no looking back.

Although the price had been high for the final resolution, life continued at home, at least at first. Attempts at terrorist retaliation did continue for a while, causing some financial insecurity, but they were without backing, and in this new climate they did not achieve much damage. Global holidays did disappear. We saw a rise of regionalism in which peo-

banks and all my savings. Toward the end of the war, the world started to shake up. First of all, the emerging economies around the world collapsed, then the big one. Wall Street had a melt-down. You couldn't sell your shares fast enough. Nobody wanted them.

Pensions funds collapsed; mortgages were called in. Business-suited executives were jumping off North Bridge as if there was no tomorrow. It was a law of human nature that states that if anything can go wrong, it will—when everything collapses altogether. Budgets couldn't be balanced. There just wasn't enough money in the world.

Five years on, we are still in this situation, although governments and the world are now one big credit card borrowing in the hope of a better future. The world is now a new order, new leaders, new beliefs, and new environment . . . but it is still about survival.

got used to increased security. It became part of the background. There was great prosperity, and we all lived happily ever after.

(continued)

TABLE 1 (continued)

Scenario 1: Global Northern Ireland	Scenario 2: New Dawn	Scenario 3: How the West Was Won	Scenario 4: Into the Valley of Death
<p>small local problem. But this was only the beginning. We then saw Australian troops in Indonesia and British troops in the Caribbean. Where does it end? I remember the day the troops went into Iraq, suddenly all of these Al Qaeda cells appeared overnight. It was as if religious fundamentalism appeared everywhere. Bombs, bomb threats, lots of fear and panic.</p> <p>We have seen the U.S. economy go to the brink of collapse, because it couldn't cope with the snowball effect of doom and gloom. A daily world of "me," "now," "fear," and constantly "looking over your shoulder."</p>	<p>ple traveled more often but to fewer far-away destinations.</p> <p>Governments borrowed substantially, first to support recovery in Israel and Iraq, and then to promote peace in the Middle East. For this, those in employment paid higher taxes and worked longer hours.</p> <p>We even saw many people continue to work into their seventies, because pension funds were unstable. It was now about tough economic decisions to bring resolution to this problem. The UN, led by the United States, became the vehicle for Middle East and world stability.</p>		

TABLE 2
LEVEL 2 SCENARIOS

Implications and New Features of Scenarios	Global Northern Ireland	New Dawn	How the West Was Won
Features of war	<p>Protracted military resistance and urban warfare</p> <p>Significant casualties and collateral damage</p> <p>Major U.S. and UK casualties/political problems with antiwar movement</p> <p>Iraqi people become actively hostile to Britain</p> <p>U.S. loses support of UN</p> <p>Britain, Turkey, or one Gulf ally drops out as U.S. ally</p> <p>Iraq attacks oil facilities with WMD, and there is significant damage</p> <p>Iraq successfully attacks Arab/Turkish bases or cities</p> <p>Iraq attacks Israel with WMD/triggers major responses or has highly lethal effects</p> <p>Serious Israeli intervention and at least a tacit threat to use WMD</p>	<p>Unexpected military resistance in Iraq</p> <p>Low-level civil tensions and clashes in Iraq after the main fighting ends</p> <p>Major covert effort to attack targets in the United States and UK discovered and prevented, or damage limited</p> <p>Moderate civilian deaths but serious collateral damage/negative press reports</p> <p>Iraq attacks oil facilities with limited damage</p> <p>Iraq makes limited or largely ineffective use of WMD against U.S. troops and Israel</p> <p>Limited Israeli intervention and rising political tension in the region</p> <p>Passive Saudi cooperation, and oil production increases but slowly</p>	<p>Major urban fighting is localized to a few areas</p> <p>Limited civilian deaths and little collateral damage</p> <p>No meaningful use of WMD against U.S. troops, Israel, or the region</p> <p>No reduction in oil production/exports by OPEC</p> <p>Saudi Arabia increases oil production</p> <p>No major challenges in allied countries to friendly regional governments</p> <p>No major acts of terrorism in UK, United States, or allied countries</p> <p>No major factional divisions within Iraq</p> <p>No significant damage to oil-producing capacity in Iraq or elsewhere</p>
Scenario story	<p>"Me," "now," "fear," and "Constantly looking over your shoulder" are the features of this scenario</p> <p>Terrorism activity that gets out of control</p> <p>Anti-Americanism</p> <p>Disruption to the transport system, with a major close-down on 1 day</p> <p>Continued heavy decline in the stock markets</p> <p>A couple of insurance companies go bust</p> <p>Sharp increase in unemployment</p> <p>Deflation</p> <p>Troops highly visible</p> <p>Essence of this scenario is containment</p>	<p>A Gulf War with contained terrorism activity</p> <p>Longer lead-in time to war</p> <p>People get tired of the war story</p> <p>Prolonged UN negotiations</p> <p>Continued economic uncertainty drives the market</p> <p>A feeling of "We need to resolve this problem," "Let's get on with it," and "Can we talk about something else?"</p> <p>There is an economic downturn</p> <p>Accelerated trend of "well-being," "safety" and "quality of life"</p> <p>A consensus of new order emerges</p> <p>Essence of this scenario is slow, continuous growth</p>	<p>We win the war!</p> <p>No terrorism activity</p> <p>This scenario is a minor blip</p> <p>Bush and Blair show strong leadership and "take out" the problem</p> <p>A small regional conflict with no terrorism</p> <p>Short-term unemployment in UK resulting in restructuring in the City</p> <p>Confidence returns to the stock market after the conflict</p> <p>Economic growth</p> <p>Essence of this scenario is economic balance</p>

(continued)

TABLE 2 (continued)

Implications and New Features of Scenarios	Global Northern Ireland	New Dawn	How the West Was Won
Impact on overall tourism markets	<p>4% decline in tourism trips in 2003, with a 4.5% decline in 2004; recovery does not begin until 2005</p> <p>15% decline in business tourism</p> <p>Scotland threatened as a safe tourism destination</p> <p>Certain tourism resorts in Scotland don't see any tourists in 2003</p> <p>Major disruption to international tourism as people stay at home or travel locally</p> <p>Marketing activity focuses on visiting friends and relatives</p> <p>Collapse of the travel agency market as the Internet becomes stronger</p> <p>Tourism entrenches for 2003 and 2004 as safety drives consumer choice</p> <p>Moderate substitution effect between international and domestic tourism</p> <p>Well-being, heritage, culture, and freedom brands do well in this scenario</p> <p>Experiences and friendship are very important</p> <p>Experience becomes even more important</p> <p>Value, safety, and service quality become hygiene factors in consumer choice</p>	<p>3% decline in overall tourism trips</p> <p>Decline in average spending</p> <p>Substantial decline in long-haul tourism</p> <p>Short-haul European tourism is static</p> <p>Increase in domestic tourism</p> <p>Scotland is a safe destination</p> <p>The cancellation of the Edinburgh military tattoo has major implications on international tourism</p> <p>Recovery not until 2004</p>	<p>0.5% decline in overall tourism trips</p> <p>Overseas tourism is down</p> <p>Business tourism is down</p> <p>UK tourism grows</p> <p>Scotland is a safe destination</p> <p>Full recovery in late 2003</p> <p>A relatively normal year</p>
Impact on European markets	<p>International hubs become the focus for disruption</p> <p>Security costs become prohibitive in the short-haul European travel market</p> <p>Further consolidation in the airline sector, with many national carriers going bust</p> <p>Propensity to travel still there, but Scotland suffers due to the lack of direct air links</p>	<p>Some fall-off in 2003, with a leveling out in 2004</p> <p>A budget carrier goes bust</p> <p>International airports seen as unsafe</p> <p>Major holiday decisions put off in 2003</p> <p>Increase in land-based travel</p> <p>Direct air links are of benefit</p> <p>Middle-income German market stagnates</p> <p>Increase in car rather than train travel</p>	<p>Exchange rates are favorable for Scottish tourism; we only see moderate decline</p> <p>Sharp recovery in 2004</p> <p>Sharp recovery in short-haul, 1 to 3 night holiday trips</p> <p>Nonessential business trips curtailed</p>

Impact on UK markets	<p>4% decline in tourism trips in 2003, with a 4.5% decline in 2004; recovery does not begin until 2005</p> <p>15% decline in business tourism</p> <p>Scotland threatened as a safe tourism destination</p> <p>Certain tourism resorts in Scotland don't see any tourists in 2003</p> <p>Major disruption to international tourism as people stay at home or travel locally</p> <p>Marketing activity focuses on visiting friends and relatives</p> <p>Collapse of the travel agency market as the Internet becomes stronger</p> <p>Tourism entrenches for 2003 and 2004 as safety drives consumer choice</p> <p>Moderate substitution effect between international and domestic tourism</p> <p>Well-being, heritage, culture, and freedom brands do well in this scenario</p> <p>Experiences and friendship are very important</p> <p>Experience becomes even more important</p> <p>Value, safety, and service quality become hygiene factors in consumer choice</p>	<p>Short-break market is robust but static</p> <p>Rural breaks continue to increase</p> <p>Luxury and business tourism sectors see substantial turnaround due to the end of consumerism</p> <p>Budget accommodation is still robust and growing</p> <p>Focus on "keep it simple" and "not over the top"</p> <p>Well-being and freedom holidays emerge as Scotland's strength</p> <p>Family market remains strong</p> <p>Scottish tourism rises to the challenge of new order; VisitScotland facilitates a dialogue of consensus</p>	<p>Fall-off in outbound travel to nations perceived as being at risk, especially those in North America</p> <p>Low-density cities such as Stirling, Bath, and Edinburgh favored</p> <p>Rural breaks and self-catering demand rises</p> <p>Increase in young families holidaying in Scotland</p>
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TABLE 3
FORECASTED VISITOR NUMBERS

Visitor Numbers (millions)		Scenario											
		No War			How the West Was Won			New Dawn			Global Northern Ireland		
		2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005
UK	Holiday	12.20	12.70	12.90	12.10	12.70	12.90	11.90	12.50	12.90	11.80	12.20	12.80
	Business	2.60	2.70	2.80	2.60	2.70	2.80	2.50	2.60	2.70	2.45	2.43	2.62
Overseas	Holiday	0.81	0.85	0.88	0.81	0.85	0.88	0.77	0.82	0.86	0.73	0.79	0.85
	Business	0.24	0.26	0.27	0.24	0.26	0.27	0.22	0.25	0.27	0.20	0.23	0.26

TABLE 4
DIFFERENCE FOR FORECASTED VISITOR NUMBERS

Visitor Numbers' Difference from Baseline (%)		How the West Was Won			New Dawn			Global Northern Ireland		
		2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005
UK	Holiday	-0.4	0.2	0.2	-1.7	-1.0	-0.1	-3.2	-3.5	-0.4
	Business	-0.2	1.6	0.9	-3.1	-4.0	-2.5	-6.3	-9.7	-5.6
Overseas	Holiday	-0.6	-0.2	0.1	-4.8	-3.6	-2.0	-9.5	-7.2	-4.1
	Business	-1.2	0.0	1.0	-7.6	-5.4	-2.6	-15.1	-10.7	-5.1

Oxford Economics Forecasting (2003) concluded that a short decisive war might not be too bad for Scottish tourism, with some offsetting positive effects in all of the scenarios. The tendency of domestic holiday makers to visit Scotland would be hit by weaker income and confidence, with suggestions that UK residents' tendency to take trips abroad in 2003 would be dampened.

responsibility for coordinating the activity as actioned by JAG. This committee acted as a unified voice for the industry that was able to bring about considered responses before, during, and after the war. Considered responses were extremely useful in communicating accurate and effective information to industry rather than many of the doom-and-gloom messages that appeared in the press.

COMMUNICATIONS

Once war became imminent in January 2003, VisitScotland activated their crisis management and communications strategy to deal with the forthcoming war. At this stage, it was important for the Scottish tourism industry to "buy in" to VisitScotland's scenarios. The importance of the scenarios allowed stakeholders to "make sense" of the pending war, which was perceived to be a wicked problem (Huff 1990; Weick 1995). The scenarios allowed stakeholders to be "comforted," and a "sense of panic" was prevented. At the center of this strategy was a joint action group (JAG) made up of representatives of VisitScotland, the local Area Tourist Board Network, the Scottish Tourism Forum, British Airways, the British Airports Authority, Scottish Enterprise, Scottish Executive, the National Trust of Scotland, the Edinburgh Principal Hoteliers Association, the Scottish Retail Consortium, and other hotel representatives. The purpose of this committee was to confirm and support actions, agree to key messages and use them in all communications, and coordinate Scottish tourism's response to the war in such a way that there was only one principal voice for the industry. The committee undertook a number of activities, including the dissemination of information through their networks and a dedicated Web site via <http://www.ScotExchange.net>. They also began a monitoring process that examined changes in booking patterns, tourist behavior, and business and consumer confidence. The communication team at VisitScotland took

POSTSCRIPT

The Allies did win the ground war in Iraq. Such a result had very close similarities to the *How the West was won* scenario, but terrorism continues. One hundred and fourteen American soldiers died in the war, but 1489 (CNN 2005) have been killed since Bush announced the end of hostilities. In fact, more soldiers have died in police-keeping duties than in the direct action itself. As such, the present situation in Iraq has elements of *New dawn* and *Global Northern Ireland*, in which the war and terrorist activity in Iraq seem never ending. The war has clearly become transnational (Cordesman 2004a, 2004b), and the situation is affecting daily life, for example the Madrid bomb and the alleged chemical bomb plot in London.

Terrorism is a transnational phenomenon that is intrusive into tourism. Countries such as the United States and the UK will impose necessary measures that will affect inbound tourism. For example, the imposition of machine-readable passports, biometrics, and visa requirements will reduce the number of tourists coming from certain countries into the United States. The requirement of all visitors to the United States to have machine-readable passports will affect tourists coming from Spain and Italy, because 95% of passport holders in these countries do not have machine-readable passports (Cary 2004). In 2002, for example, there were 269,520 Spanish tourist trips and 406,160 Italian trips to the United States (Office of Travel and Tourism Industries 2004). Many

TABLE 5
TOURISM SPENDING

Spending (£, in millions)		Scenario											
		No War			How the West Was Won			New Dawn			Global Northern Ireland		
		2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005
UK	Holiday	2,528	2,721	2,855	2,505	2,732	2,866	2,439	2,668	2,851	2,389	2,588	2,827
	Business	688	724	769	687	738	777	668	695	749	646	656	726
Overseas	Holiday	424	460	491	418	460	492	395	437	477	372	418	466
	Business	139	157	167	136	158	169	125	146	162	114	137	157

TABLE 6
TOURISM SPENDING DIFFERENCE FROM BASELINE FORECAST

Spending (£, in millions) Difference from Baseline (%)		How the West Was Won			New Dawn			Global Northern Ireland		
		2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005
UK	Holiday	-0.9	0.4	0.4	-3.5	-1.9	-0.1	-5.5	-4.9	-1.0
	Business	-0.1	1.9	1.1	-2.9	-4.0	-2.6	-6.2	-9.4	-5.6
Overseas	Holiday	-1.3	0.0	0.2	-6.8	-5.0	-2.7	-12.2	-9.0	-5.0
	Business	-1.9	0.5	1.3	-9.8	-6.9	-3.4	-18.0	-12.7	-6.2

of these visitors are high spending and are key markets identified by the Travel Industry Association of America. Foreign tourists spend \$65 billion per year in the United States; however, in 2002, the number of tourist arrivals fell by 15%, the biggest fall since 1983 ("Business versus Bush" 2003). Tourists who require visas into the United States are going to be put off by queues and the bureaucracy involved in trying to get a visa. A visa takes as many as 7 weeks to process for tourists coming from Brazil or South Korea. This time period is detrimental for spur-of-the-moment business travelers who are often required to travel at short notice. The business travel market is one of the most highly lucrative markets in the world, growing for example in Scotland at 9% per annum (VisitScotland 2004). Other measures include increased security procedures at airports, air marshals on transatlantic routes, and higher insurance costs. On top of this, as the world becomes more security conscious, visitors will have to put up with more delays and cancellations due to hoaxes and in-depth searches. All of this means extra barriers to entry for destinations that impose strict regulations for inbound travelers. Although the Allies won the war in the scenario of *How the West was won*, the outcomes in terms of behavior are very much about fear, imposition, restriction, and Big Brother, which is found in the *Global Northern Ireland* scenario.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Ringland (2002) and van der Heijden et al. (2002) observed that there is no point in constructing scenarios if they do not link to policy and strategic actions. Otherwise, they become meaningless and are no more than a "management game" or an "away-day exercise." As the Iraq War was more than a "How the West was won" scenario, it becomes imperative to discuss the longer term policy implications of the scenarios. Failure to do so would mean VisitScotland

falling into a trap of policy failure, which Kerr (2003) noted is ripe in tourism public policy. By asking the question What are the long-term policy implications across all of the scenarios? policy guidelines and strategies can be constructed for future directions.

U.S. market. In 2002 (VisitScotland 2003), the U.S. market represented £238 million, or 29%, of all expenditure by international visitors. The U.S. market is Scotland's biggest overseas market in terms of value and volume. Sustained terrorism and security, however, are having an impact on U.S. citizens' travel behavior (German Marshall Fund of the United States 2002), because Americans are feeling unsafe outside their own country. In particular, they are feeling unwelcome and unwanted by other countries. A series of high-profile campaigns in the press toward Americans and the promotion of anti-Americanism around the world are promoting a feeling of protectionism in the United States. These facts are compounded by only 17% of Americans having passports, and this percentage is shrinking year after year with those who have a propensity to travel to Europe. This trend is compounded further by unfavorable exchange rates, making Scotland an expensive destination in 2004. So, if security is going to be a continuous process of disruption on American travel, we may see long-term decline in this market, particularly from groups who are more sensitive to the perception of terrorism activity.

Policy implication: in the future, Scotland's main overseas market will probably be Europe rather than the United States, because this market is more concerned with short-haul tourism and less reactive to exchange rates.

International hubs. The disruption on major international hubs such as Heathrow and Gatwick will affect Scottish tourism because these hubs are high-profile targets for terrorists, combined with the fact that these hubs will have increased security measures, making it more inconvenient to travel.

Policy implication: it is important for Scotland to develop more direct air routes into Scotland rather than using a hub-and-spoke system.

Displacement. The impact of a major terrorism incident on London would see some displacement to other destinations. During the SARS outbreak in 2002, travel to Australia via the Far East was displaced to countries like South Africa. The lesson here is that people will still travel but will be displaced from perceived unsafe destinations and countries to those that are safe. Scotland has always been seen as a safe destination (Durie 2003) because of its rural landscapes and disassociation from London

Policy implication: Scottish tourism must have a balanced portfolio of markets and destinations. It is important not to overrely on one particular marketing activity in case this is threatened by terrorism activity. Scotland should continue to promote diversity, with its city breaks and rural breaks, to European markets and the Australian market.

International aviation. This is always one of the first consequences of international terrorism. In the future, we will see security taxes being imposed on all travel, more restrictions at airports, more air marshals, longer queues at airports, more delays, and greater time required for check-ins. The consequences of such measures will make travel more expensive, forcing some national and budget carriers out of business.

Policy implication: the Scottish Executive Air Route Development funding should focus on competition on routes and not be at the mercy of one carrier. Competition means sensible prices, by which airlines keep others in check rather than behaving monopolistically. In addition, VisitScotland should have a balanced transport policy that incorporates the car. The car will be seen as the safest and most secure mode of transport.

Oil. The continuous disruption to oil supplies and the political instability of the Middle East as a consequence of the Iraq War have been contributing factors in the recent rise of oil to \$46 (Rifkin 2004). Along with long-term forecasts in which oil production peaks in 2015 and there is no technological substitute, this does not bear well for the tourism industry.

Policy implication: travel will become relatively more expensive due to the price of oil and security costs. This will affect all forms of transport, especially air and car travel. Hydrogen technologies for aircraft are in their infancy, so the days of budget travel are limited. Governments will need to develop a green and educated transport policy that is balanced. Governments will promote public transport as an alternative to cars in cities. Many cities will impose high tariffs for bringing cars into their destinations. We will see accelerated developments of alternative energy sources, such as wind farms. In rural locations, this will lead to conflict between residents (not in my backyard) and developers. Electric cars on the remote islands of Scotland will replace the petrol car.

Security measures. Because the UK has always been the United States' main ally and vice versa, the inevitability of a terrorism incident in the UK makes increased security measures certain. Such measures would be a consequence of a

horrible terrorism incident, such as a sarin gas outbreak on the London Underground. This could result in the UK self-imposing travel restrictions for European travelers breaking EU guidelines. We could see Spanish, Italian, or succession states' citizens requiring visas to enter the UK. Such moves (Brown 2003) are driven by protectionism and keeping transnationalism at bay. Such a move would lead to a major split in the EU.

Policy implication: increased security measures will happen, but they must be measured in terms of "degree of disruption." It is the responsibility of the tourism industry lobby to bring influences to ensure that security is balanced with economic activity.

Rail transport. The terrorist bombing in Madrid shows how all forms of public travel are vulnerable to terrorism. The imposition of extra security measures on rail journeys has already been announced by the British Transport Police (Wheeler 2004), with more patrols, random searches, and closed-circuit TV, which eventually could lead to airport-style security at major railway stations.

Policy implications: we will see higher security in railway stations of high population density, in particular London and other major cities of the UK. These restrictions will affect tourists traveling to Scotland but will be minimal for those traveling around Scotland.

Simulation exercise and risk management, and contingency planning. If terrorism is a constantly perceived threat and actual event, it is important for policy makers to be constantly reminded of such events and what they mean for tourism.

Policy implications: policy makers need to (1) develop a communications and contingency plan that deals with events; (b) undertake a risk assessment that maps marketing activity and strategic decisions with perceived threats and actual events, and should segment consumers with risk-aversion behavior by using scenario-planning techniques; and (c) undertake simulation exercises as means of "reminding" themselves of the problems and what actually might happen to avoid an issue-reaction syndrome (Hall 2002; Wilkinson 2000).

CONCLUSIONS

If the lesson is that terrorism is never going to go away and it is going to cause further disruption on tourism, national tourism organizations must not become complacent and forget the problem. Here, the challenge comes in reminding people of the situation, building it into contingency planning, and measuring the risk against marketing plans. The key to this is a commitment to scenario planning and to constantly reminding the organization of the situation. At VisitScotland, they tackle such an approach by using terrorism incidents along with other variables to test their own central scenarios of Scottish tourism. By tackling shocks in this manner, they are able to see the consequences on the whole rather than a partial or blurred picture. VisitScotland has an approach that tests all markets and products, finding out which ones are vulnerable to different shocks. They can also measure such an approach by using computable general

equilibrium and econometrics (Blake and Sinclair 2003) to bring quantification to such scenarios. By using numbers, they have a guide (not an answer) that can drive policy and is used in such a manner that the implications are understood.

If VisitScotland does not engage in scenario planning, it will be drawn into a cycle of issue attention (Hall 2002), in which policy is driven by reaction to the problem rather than by understanding the systemic and holistic impacts of such shocks on tourism. What has emerged at VisitScotland is that the consumer is becoming resilient to shocks, although different markets are affected in different ways. As Hobsbawn (2000) observed, the past will shape the present and future, but those who understand it better will be able to shape their own future.

As the national tourism agency responsible for marketing Scotland as a destination and advising the Scottish Executive (i.e., government) on all matters relating to economic policy in tourism, VisitScotland has set out to use scenario planning as a means to make sense of the future. This case study is just one example of how that is happening. The wider issues and examples of the scenario-planning process, strategy, and policy at VisitScotland can be found in papers by Yeoman (2004a, 2004b), in which scenarios are used to describe the future of options for Scottish tourism, along with policy implications. In addition, a further paper by Yeoman and McMahon-Beattie (2005) describes the scenario-planning process at VisitScotland, incorporating economics, environmental scanning, and scenario construction.

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