Universidade do Minho
Escola de Economia e Gestão

Vanda Noémi Veréb

The effect of fear and the cosmopolitan value system reflected in the travellers' perception of destination image and travel decision-making

August 2020

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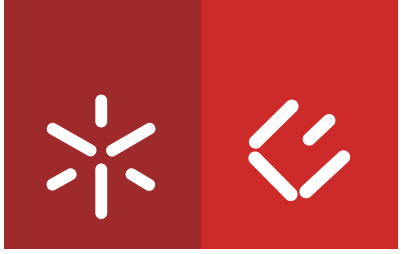

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The effect of fear and the cosmopolitan value system reflected in the travellers' perception of destination image and travel decision-making

Doctoral Thesis in Marketing and Strategy

Conducted under the supervision of:
Professor Helena Nobre
Professor Minoo Farhangmehr

August 2020

DECLARAÇÃO

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I dedicate this PhD project to the memory of my friend, fellow researcher and enthusiastic supporter of this research, Dr. Gisela Alves. She was the one who made me fall in love with the idea of taking this PhD course, she was the one who always cheered me up when I lost motivation, she was the one who offered me endless suggestions and critiques, and she was the one who enthusiastically participated in this research till the last months of her life.

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Last, by not at all least, I am whole-heartedly grateful for my family and friends whose support might have been unseen, but essential to get me to this day.

STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration.

I further declare that I have fully acknowledged the Code of Ethical Conduct of the University of Minho.

TITLE AND ABSTRACT

The effect fear and the cosmopolitan value system reflected in the travellers' perception of destination image and travel decision-making

Fear has the power to exaggerate risk perception and impair rational thinking and moral decision-making. Previous studies demonstrated that fear, while increasing apprehension, can facilitate racism and xenophobia. The socially amplified public fear may have particularly devastating consequences to the tourism industry. Fear can make geographically and culturally distant places intimidating and restrain the willingness to travel all together.

The main aim of this research is to better understand the nature of irrational public fear and find ways to address it in order to reduce the harm it causes. As the biggest damage, as seen in this research as well, is not the direct destruction the disaster causes, but the indirect harm the irrationally exaggerated risk perception triggers by damaging destination image and restraining travellers when the actual risks are marginal. This research analysed public fear in two different settings: terrorism and infectious diseases. This allowed to increase the reliability of the findings. First, the research focused on a man-made disaster, terrorism. Later, it confirmed the results in a case of natural disaster created by a novel infectious disease, COVID-19. While they are very different types of risks, the root of the fear, unpredictability, uncontrollability and potential lethality, as well as the reaction to the fear, irrationally exaggerated self-protection and outgroup xenophobia, are the same.

By applying grounded theory approach and conducting 140 interviews with a highly diverse multinational sample across the five continents, the research concluded that cosmopolitanism is an antidote for both type of irrational fears. Through an inherent value orientation of openness, a conscious mind-set for objectivity, a skillset of cultural and social sensitivity and through the resources a world-wide social and professional network can represent, cosmopolitans tend to have a higher personal resilience that enables them to fight back the evolutionary-coded urge to act out effective (not efficient) fear responses.

Based on this result, the study offers a categorisation of travellers based on their resilience to the fear of terrorism, as well as to COVID-19. It also suggests down-to-earth guidelines on how to engage and encourage travellers and build up an open-minded and culturally sensitive global society, resilient to the irrational influence of fear. Finally, the research suggests that tourism, while the hardest hit target of irrational fear, it also provides an exceptional context to administer the antidote of irrational fear by building up cosmopolitan character through global travels.

Keywords: COVID-19; Cosmopolitanism; Fear; Terrorism; Travellers' Resilience;

TÍTULO E RESUMO

O efeito do medo e do sistema de valores cosmopolita refletido nas perceções dos viajantes da imagem do destino e na tomada de decisão de viagem

O medo tem o poder de exagerar a perceção de risco, prejudicando o juízo racional e a tomada de decisão de ordem moral. Estudos anteriores demonstraram que o medo, ao aumentar o sentimento de apreensão, pode desencadear comportamentos racistas e xenófobos. O medo público, quando exagerado, pode ter consequências particularmente devastadoras para a indústria do turismo. O medo pode tornar intimidantes e levar a uma inibição da vontade de viajar para destinos geográfica e culturalmente distantes.

O principal objetivo desta investigação é compreender de forma aprofundada a natureza do medo público irracional no sentido de encontrar meios de reduzir os efeitos prejudiciais que ele possa causar. O maior dano que o medo pode provocar, e que foi também comprovado nesta investigação, não se prende unicamente com a destruição direta que uma catástrofe possa causar, mas antes com os efeitos negativos indiretos infligidos pela perceção exagerada e irracional de risco na imagem do destino e na restrição dos viajantes quando o risco real é apenas marginal. Esta investigação analisou o medo público sob dois primas: o terrorismo e as doenças infeciosas. Tal permitiu aumentar a fiabilidade dos resultados. Numa primeira fase, focou-se em catástrofes provocadas pelo Homem, mais concretamente, o terrorismo; e, numa fase posterior, confirmaram-se os resultados num contexto de catástrofe natural criada por uma nova doença infeciosa, o COVID-19. Apesar de se tratarem de tipos de risco diferentes, o caminho para o medo – imprevisibilidade, incapacidade de controlar, letalidade potencial, bem como a reação ao medo, autoproteção exagerada e irracional e xenofobia – é o mesmo.

Através da aplicação da *grounded theory* e recolha de 140 entrevistas a uma amostra muito diversa, multinacional, cobrindo os cinco continentes, esta investigação permitiu concluir que o cosmopolitismo é um antídoto para ambos os tipos de medo irracional. A orientação natural para a abertura como valor pessoal, um *mindset* direcionado para a objetividade, um conjunto de apetências que denotam sensibilidade cultural e social e através de um conjunto de recursos que uma rede global de âmbito social e profissional pode representar, os cosmopolitas tendem a ter uma elevada resiliência pessoal que lhes permite contrariar o impulso evolucionário para encenar de forma eficaz (não eficiente) respostas condicionadas pelo medo.

Com base nestes resultados, o estudo oferece uma categorização dos viajantes baseada na sua resiliência face ao medo do terrorismo, bem como do COVID-19. São também apresentadas diretrizes práticas sobre como comprometer e encorajar os viajantes na construção de uma sociedade global, aberta e culturalmente sensível que seja resiliente à influência irracional do medo. Finalmente, a investigação sugere que o turismo, apesar de ser um alvo muito atingido pelo medo irracional, também representa um contexto excecional para administrar o antídoto a esse mesmo medo através do desenvolvimento de um carácter cosmopolita nos viajantes globais.

Palavras-chave: Cosmopolitismo; COVID-19; Medo; Resiliência do Viajante; Terrorismo;

ACADEMIC PAPERS AND CONFERENCES

Publications in peer-reviewed international journals:

Veréb, V., Nobre, H., & Farhangmehr, M. (2018). The fear of terrorism and shift in cosmopolitan values. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, *4*(4), 452–483. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-03-2018-0024

- Scimago SJR (2019): 0.4, Percentile: Q3 in Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management
- Scopus' CiteScore (2019): 2.0, Percentile: 52%, 57/119 in Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management
- Indexed in: Web of Science; Clarivate Analytics (formerly Thomson Reuters)

Veréb, V., Nobre, H., & Farhangmehr, M. (2020). Cosmopolitan tourists: the resilient segment in the face of terrorism. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *33*(September 2019), 100620. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2019.100620

- Scimago SJR (2019): 1.19, Percentile: Q1 in Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management
- Scopus' CiteScore (2019): 5.5, Percentile: 87%, 15/119 in Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management
- Web of Science's Impact Factor (2020): 3.648
- Indexed in: Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI); Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI); Social and Behavioural Sciences; Essential Science Indicators; Web of Science; Clarivate Analytics (formerly Thomson Reuters)

Under review:

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Presentations in international peer-reviewed conferences:

Veréb, V., Nobre, H., & Farhangmehr, M. (2017). Fear of Terrorism and the Cosmopolitan Value System Reflected in the Tourists' Perception of Country Image and Travel Decision. In D. Vrontis, Y. Weber, & E. Tsoukatos (Eds.), *Global and national business theories and practice: bridging the past with the future* (pp. 2387–2389). Rome, Italy: EuroMed Academy of Business. Retrieved from http://euromed2017.com/bop2017.pdf

- Indexed in: Web of Science; Clarivate Analytics (formerly Thomson Reuters)

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Nothing in life is to be feared, it is only to be understood. Now is the time to understand more, so that we may fear less.

— Marie Curie (1867-1934)

PART I

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Current Dynamics in Tourism

Tourism is one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world and considered to be the key driver of social and economic progress through the creation of jobs and enterprises, export revenues and infrastructure development. Moreover, tourism plays an essential role in balancing out trade deficits in both emerging and advanced economies (UNWTO, 2019). The first and central requirement of a healthy tourism industry is not of scenic or cultural attraction but of security (Richter & Waugh, 1986) or, most importantly, the sense of security (Williams & Baláž, 2015). Public fear, caused by man-made disaster or of natural catastrophe, can have a devastating impact on the tourism industry. It is not the direct, but indirect damage through the irrationally increased risk perception, an instinctive response to fear (Ledoux, 2015), that is the most devastating, as it reaches beyond geographical borders and lingers long after the crisis event itself (Karl & Schmude, 2017). Increased risk perception was demonstrated to damage destination image (Perpiña, Camprubí, & Prats, 2017) and restrain the willingness to travel (Sarman, Scagnolari, & Maggi, 2016), in some cases, even ceasing international travels all together (Floyd et al., 2004). For example, concerning man-made disasters, Higgins-Desbiolles (2007) argued when studying the economic impact of past terrorist attacks that "terrorism is a war on tourism" (pp. 330). Concerning natural disasters, Gössling, Scott and Hall (2020) estimated that during the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic over 90% of the world's population were facing some level of international travel restrictions, and as a result, the number of global flights and hotel guest dropped by more than half in March 2020 compared to one year earlier. This thesis aims to analyse the nature of public fear and understand how the level of irrationality in it, a root to panic (Tomes, 2000), can be reduced. Given their substantial impact on tourism, and their ability to sway public behaviour (Thompson et al., 2017), the fear of terrorism and the fear of infectious diseases, particularly, COVID-19, are in the focus of this research.

At a first glance, the difference between the two types of fear stimuli, terrorism and COVID-19, is rather big. Terrorism is an ageless psychological warfare tool aiming to terrorize and seize control by murder (Iyer et al., 2015), while COVID-19 is a novel biological disease infecting and killing based on the law of natural selection (Bavel et al., 2020). In the case of terrorism, it is about (a relatively low) probability (Yang & Nair, 2014), but when it comes to COVID-19, it is about (a relatively high) possibility of contracting the disease (Garfin, Silver, & Holman, 2020). Terrorism is a distant risk for most and the destruction it creates is mainly concentrated locally (Pizam & Smith, 2000). While, COVID-19 is global threat changing the daily lives for the majority of the global population through legally required home confinement and social

distancing (Vinkers et al., 2020). There are substantial differences between the two types of fear, but there are also substantial similarities between them when it comes to the root of the fear and the reactions they produce. An aversive stimulus that provoke public fear rests on three main pillars: uncontrollability, unpredictability and potential lethality (Seligman et al., 1971). Both terrorism threat and the hazard infectious diseases pose score high in all three fundamentals (Clancy, 2012; Murray & Schaller, 2016) creating an alike atmosphere: increased sense of uncertainty (Fuchs & Reichel, 2006; Pappas et al., 2009). Fear stems from uncertainty (Carleton, 2016b). Uncertainty stimulates excessive worry that overestimates both the likelihood and the intensity of the threat (Davey & Levy, 1998), leading to an evolutionary coded and historically reinforced fight or flight response – a physiological reaction that occurs in response to a perceived threat to survival – (Ledoux, 2015). As fear response is led by basic survival instinct, it aims for effective protection (i.e. success at all cost), and it tends to induce irrational self-protective behaviour (Panksepp, Fuchs, & Iacobucci, 2011). Irrationally exaggerated self-protection is dangerous for the community and counterproductive for the individual (Weston, Hauck, & Amlôt, 2018). This applies for both types of risk, terrorism and diseases. For example, Chang et al. (2004) have found that the exaggerated fear of being infected during the 2003 epidemic of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) caused substantial decrease in health care utilization, which irrationally lead to an increase in the number of death of all other conditions. Also, following the 9/11 attacks, most American travellers grew an irrationally strong association between terrorism threat and the Muslim religion and at disproportionally large extent avoided destinations with a high percentage of Muslim population (Araña & León, 2008), while others refused to travel at all and 'cocooned' up (Clancy, 2012). This research is not the first to pair up these two different risk contexts – terrorism threat and the risk of infectious diseases – to analyse risk perception on travel decision-making. Previous studies also contrasted these two risks to better understand the effect that risk perception has on the image of the destination (Avraham, 2016), on the willingness to travel (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009) and on overall decision-making (Thompson et al., 2017). Because, these two risks are considered the most impactful travel risks in tourism literature (Karl & Schmude, 2017).

While terrorism and infectious diseases challenge tourism, cosmopolitanism provides a counterbalance in a risk context as well as objectivity to travel decision-making. 'Cosmopolitanisation' of the global population (Beck & Sznaider, 2006) is another emerging trend, in the last decades, through the growing sophistication of communication technology and affordable aviation rates that supports tourism. Deriving from the Greek word of 'kosmopolites', the term cosmopolitan means citizen of the world, and refers to a deliberate cultural openness (Skrbis, Kendall & Woodward, 2004), and the willingness to explore other

cultures and learn from them (Levy et al., 2007). The key characteristic of cosmopolitans is their openness towards other people and cultures, reflected in their empathy for and their interest in others (Skrbis et al., 2004). A global cosmopolitan mind-set entails the ability to overcome ingrained ethnocentrism and transcend national preconceptions (Doz, Santos & Williamson, 2001). It does not equate locality with superiority, and values personal ability and virtue over national origin (Beechler et al., 2004). Cosmopolitanism, as per its Kantian origins, is viewed as a social ideal striving for a higher global standard than limited local values can offer (Kleingeld, 2006). Cosmopolitans consciously evaluate the alternatives and make a choice to live out cosmopolitan ideals in an everyday setting. Cosmopolitans are "made and not born" (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001, p. 25). They gradually move from a local to a cosmopolitan orientation through their conscious effort (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). The ultimate goal is to obtain a certain social status or cultural capital by acquiring cosmopolitan characteristics (Bourdieu, 1987), a certain toolkit of habits, skills and styles to construct the most promising strategies of actions (Tse, Belk, & Zhou, 1989) in any given situation. Travelling plays a key role in building this cultural capital by breaking free of parochial biases (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). Global travels build and enhance cosmopolitan mind-set (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999) through encouraging the traveller to re-evaluate his local values and enrich him with global principles (Merton, 1957), and thus making global travels an antecedent of cosmopolitanism. While international tourism contributes to the development of a cosmopolitan mind-set (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; 2002), it also fulfils the main cosmopolitan desire to interact with the host country's culture, people and traditions (Alden, Steenkamp, & Batra, 2006). While global travels can be an inspiration for cosmopolitans, travelling is also an expression of the cosmopolitan worldview, thus, playing a crucial role in 'cosmopolitanination' (Beck & Sznaider, 2006).

A global cosmopolitan mind-set also suggests a high cognitive capacity to see the big picture in its all complexity with great objectivity (Levy et al., 2007). It can incorporate geographically distant and culturally diverse approaches in response to local conditions (Maznevski & Lane, 2004). The cosmopolitan mind actively looks for and humbly accepts novel point of views (Riefler, Diamantopoulos, & Siguaw, 2012) in order to enhance itself and its environment with novel solutions that the local settings cannot offer (Maznevski & Lane, 2004). This global cosmopolitan mind-set propels pro-social behaviour (Tse et al., 1989) and suggests a sense of responsibility to act for the good of all (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013). In international management, a global cosmopolitan mind-set was shown to provide a great competitive advantage by bridging structural and cultural holes between local and global (Levy et al., 2019). Based on a study involving the world's largest corporations, the global mind-set is hypothesized (Bartlett & Ghoshal,

1989), later empirically confirmed (Nummela, Saarenketo & Puumalainen, 2004), to lead to greater long-term performance through superior problem solving skills.

A conscious strive for open-mindedness and objectivity that cosmopolitans seem to possess, could counterbalance unconscious irrational fear responses. Deliberate cultural tolerance coupled up with immersion in diverse multicultural environment could refute evolutionary coded outgroup xenophobia. This research aims to verify if the irrational public fear of the global terrorism and pandemic disease, as well as the global issues they create, can be resolved with the same conscious cosmopolitan mind-set that proven to offer superior problem solving in international management.

1.2. Evolution and Design of the Research

This PhD research project consists of three studies. Collectively, these studies aimed to understand the impact of the two opposing trends in tourism, the cosmopolitan desire that propels and the public fear that restrains global travelling. Previous studies demonstrated that both of these single forces have a powerful effect on the willingness to travel. This research, looking for deeper insights, enquires how the two together, their dynamics, shape travellers and through them, the global tourism landscape.

The success of the research design rests on the clarity of the research paradigm. Research paradigm is regarded as the "basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 105) and based on ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions. Ontology is the "form and nature of reality" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 108), epistemology is "the relationship between the reality and the researcher", and methodology is "the techniques used by the researcher to discover that reality" (Sobh & Perry, 2006, pp. 1194). Constructivism, as the most fitting paradigm to this research setting, regards reality as a construct of the human mind. A constructivist research is ontologically relativist, epistemologically subjectivist and transactional. Furthermore, it is hermeneutical and dialectical in its methodological approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). A relativist approach means that "there is no objective truth to be known" (Hugly & Sayward, 1987, pp. 278). The transactional nature means that the truth this research aims to understand arises from interactions and it is the product of these interactions and individuals' thoughts, thus, reality and the truth to be known are constructed (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The subjectivist stand means that this research regards the wold as unknowable and the role of the researcher is to construct an impression of the world as the research participants see it (Ratner, 2002). The hermeneutical and dialectical approach of this research means that individual constructions of reality can be only be elicited through interaction between and among the researcher and the participants, and

these individual constructions are revealed during a dialectical interchange and interpreted using hermeneutical techniques (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The final aim of this constructivist research is to distil a consensual construction of reality that is more complex and detailed than any of the predecessor constructions (including the construction of the researcher).

1.2.1. Study 1

Study 1, an exploratory research, building on the notion that global traveling is the manifestation of cosmopolitanism (Alden et al., 2006), aimed to understand how the cosmopolitan mind-set of international travellers changes due to the fear of terrorism, and how this change affects their worldview, destination perception and travel preferences. This research relied on a phenomenological approach that is argued to be the most suitable to capture the meaning of an aspect of reality (Fournier, 1998; Sandberg, 2000) from various points of views and through different interpretations to gain an in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon and its effect (Marton, 1981). In order to investigate the same phenomenon (terrorism) in a specific context (leisure tourism) along with the feelings it creates (retraining fear) and the implications it brings about (acting instinctively to protect oneself even to the extent of irrationality) from as many different angels as possible, 27 in-depth interviews were conducted with people from highly diverse backgrounds and nationalities. The sample consisted of an extensive number of nationalities (14 in total), notwithstanding the national origin was not the base for the selection process as cosmopolitanism transcends national identity (Merton, 1957). Aiming to understand changes in the cosmopolitan mind-set, the cosmopolitan orientation was used as a selection criterion. The cosmopolitan orientation of the participants was measured as per the latest internationally validated cosmopolitan scale, the C-Cosmo Scale of Riefler et al. (2012). As cosmopolitanism is a highly desired quality (Bourdieu, 1987), its self-admitted stance is prone to respondent bias (Brenner & DeLamater, 2016). Therefore, out of those categorized as cosmopolitan based on the C-Cosmo Scale, only the participants who had a clear value preference for oneness to change over conservation values were selected for an interview. Personal values are deep-seated drives that correspond to personality trait (Parks-Leduc, Feldman, & Bardi, 2015) and predict even unconscious behavioural intensions (Schwartz, 1992, 2005). Dominant openness to change value orientation over conservation values was demonstrated to be linked to cosmopolitans (Cleveland et al., 2011). In this study, personal value orientation was measured according to the value theory and measurement scales of Schwartz (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017). The results pinpointed two groups of travellers, one with moderate and the other with strong cosmopolitan orientation. Travellers with stronger

cosmopolitan conviction, while being keenly aware of the actual risks, seemed to be less prone to act irrationally when facing global terrorism threat. These travellers were able to make an objective risk assessment of terrorism threat and so, it did not affect their travel decisions out of proportion.

1.2.2. Study 2

The second study of this research project aimed to clarify why and how cosmopolitans could keep objective and stay relatively unaffected by global terrorism risk that produced instinctive overreaction in most. Taking a methodological step back and starting with a clean state, this study applied grounded theory approach to build a novel theory that can explain what is behind cosmopolitans' unique risk perception. In order to decipher the cosmopolitan mind-set of travellers, grounded theory was a promising method, as it is specifically appropriate for tourism studies aiming to analyse travellers' values and attitudes (Kachel & Jennings, 2010). Moreover, as grounded theory is not confined to any specific theoretical lens (Holton, 2009), it provided the freedom and faculty to analyse the emerging theory through an interdisciplinary lens and to build on tourism, psychology and marketing literature at the same time.

In a first phase, this study aimed to better understand the position of cosmopolitans in relation to the rest of the traveller types. The empirical research consisted of an initial sample of 24 in-depth interviews were conducted following maximum variation sampling or "commonsense sampling" of grounded theory (Goulding, 2005, pp. 296) to gain an overview of how terrorism threat impacts travellers in general. To ensure a wide representation of different approaches to travelling, each travellers' archetype, as per the classic categorization of Hannerz (1990) and Thompson and Tambyah (1999), was included in this initial sample: locals (minimal willingness to and/or experience in international travelling), international tourists and expatriates. As a result, respondents were assigned to two different groups based on three main emerging attributes: open-mindedness, risk tolerance and social sensitivity. As these attributes are foundational characteristics of cosmopolitanism, the two groups were labelled cosmopolitans and non-cosmopolitans. Moreover, personal resilience theory emerged (e.g., Henderson, Benard, & Sharp-Light, 1999; Zolli & Healy, 2013). Cosmopolitan respondents seemed more resilient in general than non-cosmopolitan respondents based on the notion of personal resilience that posits that highly resilient individuals can maintain their core integrity and usual functioning in the face of highly stressful events and even grow through these adversities. Cosmopolitans respondents, unlike non-cosmopolitan respondents, reported no significant changes in their personal value orientation, neither in their usual travel behaviour due to global terrorism threat.

The second phase of Study 2 focused on cosmopolitans to investigate what makes cosmopolitan travellers more resilient and to detect potential differences within the cosmopolitan (resilient) group. By profiling cosmopolitan travellers, this study also wanted to address a fundamental gap in tourism disaster literature, specifically, to identify the market segments "which are less concerned with potential [travel] risk and may thus react less negatively in troubled times" (Seabra et al., 2013, pp. 503). So, tourism businesses in regions hit by a disaster can rely on them for survival. Additional 25 in-depth interviews were conducted with cosmopolitan travellers. The interviewees were selected based on the strength of their cosmopolitan convictions, measured by the C-Cosmo Scale and through the prominence of their openness to change value orientation as per Value Survey of Schwartz (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017). Interestingly, value orientation turned out to be a more accurate predictor of cosmopolitan behaviour than the C-Cosmo Scale. Findings concluded that not all cosmopolitan travellers are equally resilient. Participants were categorized according to their level of personal resilience judged based on how well they maintained their usual travel attitude and behaviour in the face of terrorism threat. Some were found desperately striving to act objectively and constantly and effortfully fighting back instinctive fear reactions, while others effortlessly and naturally managed to keep their travel habits intact. Yet, others seemed to be thrilled by the prospect of terrorism risk that even propelled them to travel to terrorism-prone destinations as a personal challenge. Answering the study's research questions, this work concluded that cosmopolitan travellers are less prone to be swayed by the irrationally exaggerated fear of the global terrorism threat, because they possess higher personal resilience.

Building on the notion that cosmopolitans are built up through global travels (Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Cannon & Yaprak, 2001) and the study's findings that cosmopolitans tend to be more resilient to act out of proportion to terrorism threat, this second study of the PhD research showed that tourism provides an exceptional context to build up cosmopolitanism and through it, global resilience to the irrationally exaggerated and restraining fear of terrorism.

1.2.3. Study 3

The third study aimed to verify this notion in a different setting and so, extend its reliability to the fear of infectious diseases, particularly COVID-19. The intensity and the motivational strength of fear is very different than the memory of fear (Lench & Levine, 2005). The COVID-19 pandemic, as despairing of a situation as it created, provided the opportunity to study actual public fear of infectious diseases rather than relying on the impaired memory of past health crisis.

Truthfully, the original intention of this third research project was to empirically validate the findings of Study 2 on a cross-cultural sample. Initially, a causal experiment, a pre-test post-test experimental design, was planned to contrast the impact of the fear of terrorism and the cosmopolitan ideals on the willingness to travel. This planned 12-weeks experiment was built on psychological priming techniques and aimed to understand how the fear of terrorism effects travel decision making and how efficient are cosmopolitan attitude building efforts in reversing the potential effect of the terrorism fear on travel decision making. The fear appeal (the prime) in this experiment was the dependent variable to be controlled. However, with the COVID-19 pandemic an uncontrolled fear appeal emerged that could seriously impair the findings. Therefore, this planned study had to be postponed. However, while the pandemic deterred one research path, it provided a new research direction.

Keeping a highly sensitive stance during the research as well as following the ethical guideline of disaster research (Kilpatrick, 2004), the participants were pre-screened based on their vulnerability (Levine, 2004) to ensure no additional stress and/or trauma is placed on the participants because of their participation in the research. As grounded theory approach was found fruitful in the second study, the third study also relied on this method conducting 64 in-depth interviews along with the direct observation of the participants between the time the World Health Organisation declared COVID-19 a pandemic in March until the easing of the lockdown measures across Europe and the US in June. Similarly, to the previous study, this research used maximum variation sampling studying a highly diverse multicultural group of participants who were familiar with 29 national realities and diverse national approaches dealing with the pandemic and its socioeconomical effects. This final study, by building on the previous findings that cosmopolitanism and resilience are interconnected constructs, wanted to further clarify the relationship between them. It concluded that cosmopolitanism is a mean to the end of stronger personal resilience. The effortful cosmopolitan strive for open-mindedness and objectivity through promoting a deliberately conscious mind-set offer ground for a resilient stance against irrationally exaggerated, instinctive fear responses. This deliberately conscious mind-set is the very foundation of personal resilience (Yehuda & Flory, 2007). Furthermore, the cosmopolitan lifestyle by producing a set of intercultural skills and resources, enhances (the sense of) self-efficacy, another strong pillar of personal resilience (Southwick et al., 2014). As originally posited by this research, building up cosmopolitanism can indeed bring about a more open-minded, culturally embracing and risk-tolerant global society that is resilient to be swayed by the irrationality of public fear, be it terrorism or infectious diseases.

Study 3, alike Study 2, also categorized travellers based on their resilience to the instinctive and potentially overestimated fear of COVID-19, which was analysed through self-reported and observed behaviour.

Moreover, it contrasted the two categorizations of travellers' resilience in the case of the fear terrorism and the fear of infectious diseases. They were revealed not to be exactly equal, although the foundation of resilience, the effortful consciousness, seems the same regardless of what the aversive stimulus is. Effortful consciousness supports rational decision making and corrects moral judgement (Kligyte et al., 2013) amidst a fearful atmosphere that triggers instinctive and potentially harmful overreactions. Thus, this final study pinpointed the similarities between two categorizations of travellers' resilience that could be the ground for future research on building up resilience to irrational public fear in general.

1.3. Thesis Structure

This PhD thesis document consists of five main parts (Table 1). The first part includes the introduction outlining the context and the inspiration of the research, as well as explaining the evolution of the research project along with the expected and realised research goals. The next three parts, part 2, part 3 and part 4, consists of the three studies conducted during this research project. The first two studies are already published, while the third study is submitted to a tourism journal and it is under the review process to be published later this year. Study 1 and study 2 are presented in this thesis document following the same wording and structure as they were published. Study 3 is inserted exactly as per the manuscript submitted. The fifth part of this thesis document explains the overarching conclusions of the research project and provides a summary of the main results, highlights academic and practical contributions as well as lists promising future research avenues. Table 1 provides a visual roadmap of the structure of this thesis document.

Part I	Part II	Part III	Part IV	Part V
Introduction: • Current Dynamics in Tourism • Evolution and Design of the Research • Thesis Structure	Study 1 – The Fear of Terrorism and the Shift in Cosmopolitan Values	Study 2 – Cosmopolitan tourists: The resilient segment in the face of terrorism	Study 3 – Cosmopolitan tourists: The most resilient segment in the face of COVID-19	Conclusions: • Main Results • Academic Contributions • Practical Contributions • Contribution to Global Governance • Future Research Avenues References Appendices

Table 1 – Thesis document structure

PART II

2. Study 1 – The Fear of Terrorism and the Shift in Cosmopolitan Values

2.1. Introduction

Over the last six decades, tourism has experienced continued expansion and diversification to become one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world. In 2016, the tourism sector generated up to US$ 1.4 trillion being considered a key driver of social and economic progress through the creation of jobs and enterprises, export revenues and infrastructure development (UNWTO, 2017). The central requirement for the economic and social health of the tourism industry, nowadays, is not of scenic or cultural attractions, but of political stability (Richter & Waugh, 1986) and security (Clancy, 2012). The last years' surge of terrorist attacks, in particular in Europe (Europol, 2017), brought significant short and long term consequences for the tourism industry as a whole, (e.g. Araña & León, 2008; Liu & Pratt 2017; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006). This reality pressures for the need to recognize and deal with the changes that a terrorism context brings for the tourism industry.

One of the most significant changes in the leisure tourism is a consequence of the shift in consumer values of global travellers (Dwyer et al., 2009) moulded by two conflicting forces. First, safety and personal well-being is the highest ranking concern for international tourists (Dwyer et al., 2008), due to the constant and unpredictable threat of terrorism, potentially lethal insecurity (Clancy, 2012), and an emerging xenophobic movement called 'new racism' connecting fear to race (Koskela, 2010). This fear restrains the willingness to travel (Floyd et al., 2004; Popcorn, 1992) and explore other cultures with an open mind (Araña & León, 2008; Milman & Pizam, 1995) shifting value orientation towards values that are more self-enhancing even at the expense of others (Konty et al., 2004). Second, the acceleration of global economies and societies offered room to emergent cosmopolitan values (Cleveland et al., 2011). Cosmopolitan values consist of open-mindedness (Skrbis et al., 2004), embracing of cultural diversity (Caldwell et al., 2006; Featherstone, 2002), appreciation of novelty (Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2009) and high risk tolerance, the willing to take risks in exploring the world (Riefler et al., 2012) and to be shaped by it (Levy et al., 2007) through travelling (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). There is substantial literature listing the changes in values, motivations and expectations of tourists (e.g. Dwyer et al., 2008). However, there is a lack of research regarding how these changes in values cooperate to shape consumer profile and travel preferences (Dwyer et al., 2009) or destination perception (Hsu & Huang, 2016; Souiden et al., 2017). Hence, this study aims to investigate how international tourists' cosmopolitan values change due to the restraining fear of terrorism, and how this change affects their worldview, destination perception and travel preferences.

Besides the importance given in the academic literature to individual values in shaping destination image and willingness to travel (Hsu & Huang, 2016), the clarification on their role and dynamics as facilitators of destination image still lacks comprehensive research (Souiden et al., 2017). The validity of this study is sustained on the evident notion of cosmopolitanism (Beck & Sznaider, 2006), as the most fearless and open-minded travellers are restrained by the global and constant threat of terrorism, so certainly all others, more security-concerned, will experience similar or even more intense feeling, turning the findings indicative for the entire traveller population. The study's main relevance lies in the long-term implication that if the tourism industry indeed experiences a shift in travellers' values due to the increased risk perception of terrorism, this shift, as any change in values, is relatively permanent strongly impacts behaviour (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017), thus entailing long-term consequences for the entire industry.

2.2. Theoretical Background

2.2.1. Universal Human Values

Individual values are a set of universal criteria used to evaluate alternatives and to guide final action (Feather, 1988, 1992; Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973; Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 1992, 2006; Williams, 1968). In the same way personal values are considered the foundation in the process of destination image building (Hsu & Huang, 2016; Pike, 2012; Young, 1999; Woodside & Lysonski, 1989) and in the forming of an intention to travel (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Kim & Chen, 2015). For example, Pike (2012) has found that travellers who uphold the value of security travel mostly with the aim to refresh, relax and recharge and evaluate destinations' attributes a well as form a destination image through the lenses of security. This study contends that if these lenses of security (values) are changed, the destination image and the intentions to visit that destination may change, too.

Building on the pioneering research of Rokeach (1973), Schwartz (1992) proposed a theory and structure of personal values, which quickly became the dominant theory in the field (Roccas & Sagiv 2017). The value theory (Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 2006) defines ten universal values (power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security) according to the motivation that underlies each of them, and describes a dynamic relationship between them along two orthogonal value dimensions (self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence and openness to change vs. conservation) (Figure 1). The more important a value is to a person, the more he/she is motivated to act on it (Davidov et al., 2008). The closer any two values are in either direction around the circle, the more similar behaviours they will guide. Accordingly, the more distant they are in the circle, the more antagonistic

behaviours they will induce (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017). The main features of human values are, besides motivating actions, that they are universal across cultures (Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 2006) as recent cross-cultural studies have validated (Davidov et al., 2008; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), and relatively stable over time (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011), as well as across different situations (Rokeach, 1973). Once individual values are formed they stay fairly constant over the course of a lifetime (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004) as several longitude studies demonstrated (Milfont et al., 2016; Vecchione et al., 2016). Personal values are at the very core of one's identity, and even if one wished to change them, it would be a difficult and unlikely undertaking (Roccas et al., 2014).

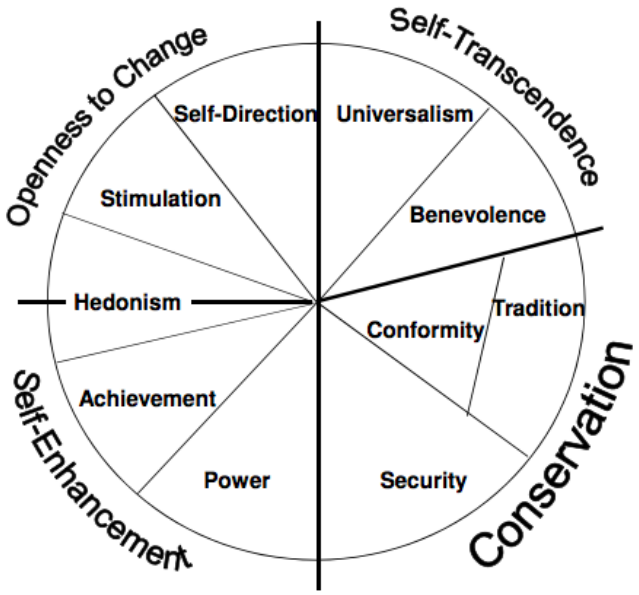

Figure 1 – Value theory and structure of Schwartz
Source: (Schwartz, 1992; Roccas & Sagiv, 2017)

2.2.1.1. Changes in human values and behaviour

Values can change sometimes, however (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017). Major life events can influence values, as people tend to adapt their values according to their changing circumstances by upgrading the importance of the values they can readily attain and downgrade the importance the others difficult to achieve, e.g., becoming a parent (Schwartz, 2005). Values can change both through effortful and spontaneous means (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Bardi et al., (2014) found that different life transitions, like migration, education or vocational change, *spontaneously* lead to strengthening of situation appropriate values. Likewise, major terrorist incidents (or simply the remote threat of it) can induce changes in values from self-transcendence

to self-enhancement (Konty et al., 2004), as well as temporarily able to raise the importance of security values, and more permanently capable of lowering the importance of stimulation values even long after the incident (Verkasalo et al., 2006). As values are cognitive structures (Feather, 1992; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992), one can deliberately and *effortfully* change the level of importance attached to certain values. For example, cosmopolitan values can be reinforced by a deliberate effort of travelling and keeping an open mind to acquire more cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1987). Openness to change can also be consciously enhanced and security values effortfully repressed, if the circumstances require, just as the increase in openness to change values after the fall of the communist regime in the Czech Republic, due to the need for attitude change in the post-communist work environments (Danis et al., 2011). The conscious effort of downgrading the importance of values that cannot be pursued is not applicable for all values (Schwartz, 2005). In the case of some values, like security values, which are based on Maslow's (1968) deficit needs, the inability to fulfil them would not cause their abandonment but on the contrary, it would lead to an increase in their importance (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997), as seen in the sky-rocketing security concerns after the 9/11 attacks (Verkasalo et al., 2006), and after the bombing at the London underground in 2005 (Goodwin & Gaines, 2009).

During a shift in the importance of values, the circular structure of values and their dynamic relationship is stable (Schwartz, 1992, 2005). If one value is decreasing in importance the opposing value will automatically increase in its ability to lead behaviour (Schwartz 2005). Opposing values can be both upheld, but one has to prevail over the other in any given situation to drive behaviour (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011; Schwartz, 2005). Building on this notion, higher concern for security values does trigger a drop in the opposing stimulation values, and it has also been demonstrated in terrorism related settings (Konty et al., 2004; Verkasalo et al., 2006). However, an individual can satisfy his/her need for stimulation in other ways, as Popcorn (1992) suggested that global travellers might find their craving for traveling in other ways in the face of terrorism, like travelling locally, visiting different ethnic restaurants, or possibly “cocooning”. One of the objectives of the current study is to understand how a potential value change due to the fear of terrorism is manifested among travellers.

2.2.2. Cosmopolitan Values of Global Travellers

Hannerz (1990) was the first to draw similarities between cosmopolitanism and tourism (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001). Tourists are similar to cosmopolitans in their love to travel and experience new ways of life (Hannerz, 1990). Thompson and Tambyah (1999) also point out that tourists, just as cosmopolitans,

consciously look for diversity and personal challenge as travel motivation, which makes them an excellent example of cosmopolitans. More recent studies further provide empirical evidence that the main motivation for tourists is an out-of-ordinary cosmopolitan experience, like adventure seeking (Buckley, 2012), personal challenge (Caber & Albayrak, 2016) and cultural novelty (Chiang et al., 2015). International travelling contributes to the development of a cosmopolitan orientation (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999) and it also fulfils the main cosmopolitan desire to interact with the host country's culture, people and traditions (Alden et al., 2006). While global travel is an antecedent of cosmopolitanism, travelling is also an expression of the cosmopolitan worldview. Hence, this study contends that the concepts of global travels and cosmopolitanism are intertwined and so investigating the changing cosmopolitan values of international tourists can be used as an indicator for all travellers.

Previous consumer behaviour research showed a strong cross-cultural link between cosmopolitan characteristics and their individual values (Cleveland et al., 2011). The key value of cosmopolitans is their *openness towards other people and cultures*, where this openness reflects their empathy and their interest in others (Skrbis et al., 2004). Despite the inherent interest in other cultures, in-depth cultural knowledge is not a necessary trait for cosmopolitans (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001); it is their willingness to engage with other cultures (Hannerz, 1990) and to learn from them (Levy et al., 2007) that makes cosmopolitans distinct. Another key value of cosmopolitan orientation is the *respect and appreciation of diversity* in the world (Featherstone, 2002). Rather than uniformity, cosmopolitans embrace cultural diversity (Caldwell et al., 2006) and are characterized by a search for contrasts (Hannerz, 1990). Based on openness and positive disposition towards diversity, Riefler et al. (2012) suggest that cosmopolitan consumers are *willing to take risks* in exploring the world, different products and experiences. These authors also found that cosmopolitan consumers tend to be more innovative and *receptive to novelty*. A cosmopolitan orientation also manifests itself in a *conscious consumption of foreign products and services, places, experiences* originating from other cultures than their own (Caldwell et al., 2006). Cosmopolitans have a higher tendency to consume international media, foreign books, music and movies (Beck, 2002), ethnic food (Martens & Warde, 1999) and other cultural commodities (Fine & Boon, 2007; Regev, 2007), and also, as argued above, *to travel* (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999).

The drivers of global travellers and the values of cosmopolitans overlap. The value dimension of 'openness to change' (Figure 1) reflects the nature of cosmopolitans (Cleveland et al., 2011; Riefler et al., 2012) as well as the drive of global travellers (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999), as willingly embracing diversity entails being open to change. Individual values of this value dimension also reiterate the cosmopolitan characteristics of global travellers: self-direction motivates global travellers to explore different places and

peoples (Levy et al., 2007; Skrbis et al., 2004); stimulation drives them to search for novelty even in the face of risk (Riefler et al., 2012); and their hedonism aims for excitement and pleasure seeking in travelling (Buckley, 2012; Caber & Albayrak, 2016). The value dimension of 'self-enhancement' (Figure 1) motivates them for self-enrichment (Arnould & Price, 1993), personal growth (Caber & Albayrak, 2016) and building a diverse cultural capital through travelling (Bourdieu, 1987). Their power value aims to enhance their prestige and social status by a worldly outlook in the eyes of one's peers through travelling (Belk, 1998; Morris, 1988). The characteristics of global travellers and cosmopolitans are also evident in the value dimension of 'self-transcendence' (see Figure 1). Universalism value of travellers is displayed in their tolerance, appreciation and understanding of others (Merton, 1957; Skrbis et al., 2004) in line with cosmopolitans' openness towards other people and cultures (Riefler et al., 2012). Cosmopolitanism is negatively related to the values of tradition, conformity and security (Cleveland et al., 2011; Riefler et al., 2012), which provides ground for the assumption that global travellers with cosmopolitan characteristics will not be particularly hindered by tourism risks, like terrorism.

Most previous studies conceptualized and studied cosmopolitanism as a stable orientation rather than a context specific state (Cole et al., 2005; Riefler et al., 2012), or argued for a gradual transition in cosmopolitan orientation (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999) but without solid empirical validation. The current study by analysing a possible value shift in cosmopolitan orientation addresses this gap in the cosmopolitan literature and strives to answer if a "major shock" (like a terrorist attack or a fear of it) "can dampen cosmopolitan orientation" (Riefler et al., 2012, p. 300).

2.2.3. The Value of (in)Security of Global Travellers

The most recent global statistics show that the number and scope of terrorist incidents have been declining globally (US Department of State, 2017). However, due to the heavy media coverage of the most current attacks and the public policies related to 'war on terror' (Fekete, 2004), the public atmosphere is fearful (CNBC, 2017; The Independent, 2018) and hatred-filled against all who are different (The HuffingtonPost, 2018; Reuters, 2017; Time, 2018), increasing the sense of (in)security in the society. The importance of the perception of (in)security also stands for tourism (Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992), as "perceptions of political stability and safety are a prerequisite for tourist visitation" (Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996, p.117). The perception of the individual tourists rather than the actual level of security shapes tourism demand and destination image (Sarman et al., 2016), as tourists make destination choices based on their *perception* of risk (Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992), rather than the *actual* risk at the destination (Fuchs & Reichel, 2006b;

Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Risk perception, therefore, has a direct impact on destination preference and willingness to travel (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b). High risk perception encourages the decision to avoid a destination (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a), sometimes can even lead to avoid international travels all together (Floyd et al., 2004), and devastate to the local tourism industry (Goodrich, 2002). Even tourists that consciously seek thrills by aiming for risky destinations prefer minor risk within a "protected bubble" (Belhassen et al., 2014).

Tourists' risk perception is influenced by several individual factors, as risk perception, being a psychological concept, is anchored in the individual person and his/her characteristics (Karl & Schmude, 2017; Ritchie et al., 2017). Hence, risk perception is found to be shaped by personality (Lepp & Gibson, 2008; Morakabati & Kapuściński, 2016; Zuckerman, 1971) and even self-confidence (Valencia & Crouch, 2008), country of origin (Kozak et al., 2007; Seabra et al., 2013; Wolff & Larsen, 2014), familiarity of the travel destination (Morakabati, 2013; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Seabra et al., 2013), previous travel experience (Fuchs & Reichel, 2011; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a,b; Valencia & Crouch, 2008), as well as sociodemographic characteristics, like age (Kozak et al., 2007) and gender (Azim, 2010; Qi et al., 2009), but more directly family and marital status (Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992) as well as educational background (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b). Risk perception is also shaped by numerous environmental factors, because it is interlinked with the environment (Karl & Schmude, 2017), so influenced by culture, politics and society (Kasperson et al., 1988), as well as news (Altheide, 2006; Kapuscinski, 2014; Kapuściński & Richards, 2016) and political media (Fekete, 2004), the entertainment industry (Korstanje & Tarlow, 2012), the source of travel (risk) information (Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017; Mitchell, 1999) and the extent of the local security measures (Taylor & Toohey, 2005).

Travel risk perception significantly influences destination perception and travel decision (Alvarez & Campo, 2014; Floyd ey al., 2004; Sarman et al., 2016). However, Lepp and Gibson (2008) found that travellers with a dominant sensation-seeking (SS) personality trait (defined as openness to novelty and interest in diversity (Goldberg, 1993) mirroring the essence of cosmopolitanism), while perceiving travel risk just the same way as low sensation seekers, are not particularly affected by travel risk and their risk perception does not influence their destination perception or travel decision. The current study strives to clarify this contradiction by investigating if cosmopolitan travellers are an exception, and despite of being aware of the risk concerning traveling to a specific destination, are not swayed by it. This research addresses the gap in risk perception literature of "how risk perception as one important determinant of destination choice acts as an influencing factor in the destination choice process" (Karl & Schmude, 2017, p. 137) and in shaping destination perception (Perpiña et al., 2017). The study also inquires whether cosmopolitans can be the

answer for the quest in searching for "market segments can be identified as which are less concerned with potential [travel] risk, and may thus react less negatively in troubled times" (Seabra et al. 2013, p 503).

Academic literature on international travelling identifies several travel risks. Terrorism risk is specifically listed as one of the most impactful one (Karl & Schmude, 2017). It is also argued that terrorism and physical risks that pose a threat to tourists' physical wellbeing or even life are strong determinants of destination preference, in contrast with risk factors related to tourists' emotional wellbeing, such as psychological or social risk (Gray & Wilson, 2009). Jonas et al. (2011) suggest that tourists' perception of health risk is the highest for difficult-to-control environmental components, like terrorism and crime. Sarman et al. (2016) and Kozak et al. (2007) as well found that terrorism has the highest disutility among all risk factors in terms of international travelling, however Sarman et al. (2016) carefully state "that 'risk aversion priorities' towards single hazards is not constant among individuals and this aspect must be assessed in future research" (p.10). Nevertheless, the strong impact of terrorism risk on international travelling can be explained by the inherent relationship between terrorism and tourism, based on the notion that global tourism is the target (Clancy, 2012; Goldman & Neubauer-Shani, 2017), as well as the drive of terrorism (Bianchi, 2006; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006).

2.2.4. Travel Preferences in the Face of Terrorism

It is understandable that when tourists perceive the risk of terrorism, they become more cautious towards their travel plan. Numerous risk reduction strategies are identified in the literature (Fuchs & Reichel, 2011), like searching for more information (Byzalov & Shachar, 2004; Isaac & Velden, 2018; Ritchie et al., 2017); relying more on organic information sources, e.g. friends, independent media, independent travel reviews (Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017; Mitchell, 1999; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b); brand loyalty (Mitchell et al., 2003); looking for recommendations in the (social) reference group (Tan, 1999); requiring warranty strategies (Tan, 1999); travel insurance (Mitchell & Vassos, 1997); preferences for short trips and inexpensive holidays (Fuchs & Reichel, 2006a); preference for governmental guarantees of tourists' personal safety (Law, 2006; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b); transparency of information on related to risk incidents, existence of surveillance or other protection and safety measures (Law, 2006). Unconventional means are also listed as risk reduction strategies, as "careful incremental consumption of tourism products" (Hales & Shams, 1991), plan of multi-destination trips (Tideswell & Faulkner, 1999), or substitution of the destination tied to terrorism risk with another destination (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009). This last strategy of substitution can lead to a regional spillovers or neighbouring effect, where the negative influence on tourism

in one destination is caused by another destination in crisis in the same region (Steiner et al., 2006). For instance in the Mediterranean, where high level of terrorism risk perception can eliminate tourists from the whole region (Drakos & Kutan, 2003). While some countries experience a negative indirect effect, terrorist attacks increase tourism demand in other close-by and low to moderate-risk countries (Saha & Yap, 2014). For example, after 9/11 attacks Hawaii experienced a boom in tourist numbers (Bonham et al., 2006). The same with Dubai that represent a safe regional option for popular tourism destinations destroyed by war, like Lebanon or Syria (Clancy, 2012).

This atmosphere of ever-present danger is also likely to affect where people travel and how people travel. When it comes to where, it may be that people will travel more regionally, where the sensation of otherness is not so strong (Milman & Pizam, 1995; Popcorn, 1992). To support the notion that threats are increasingly associated with certain group of people, Araña and León (2008) found that the 9/11 attacks had long-lasting and substantial effects on the American travellers, who at disproportionally large extent have been avoiding destinations with a high percentage of Muslim population. Regarding how people will travel, Oriol (2004, p. 17) argues due to the general fear of the 9/11 attacks "many tourists prefer a world of fantasy to contact with actual societies", and Clancy (2012) suggests that as global citizens are living their lives in growing isolation and protection, so they will travel in the same manner (see also Yoon & Shafer, 1997). Global tourist will likely to travel with perceptual and/or real barriers, and the major tourist product will be safety and isolation. Tourism providers have already moved in this direction with special offers for free-standing, all-inclusive resorts (e.g., TripAdvisor, 2018) as well as cruise tourism (e.g., Florida-Caribbean Cruise Association, 2018; Statista, 2018). Global citizens are increasingly living their lives segregated and with physical (gated communities) or technological (alarm systems) barriers that insulate them not only from violence but also from perceived threats often associated with the poor or those from different races (Clancy, 2012).

In the aftermath of 9/11, safety and security processes of airports, embassies and public venues were re-examined and additional surveillance systems were installed and related risk management support was increased (Kennedy, Perrottet, & Thomas, 2003). Due to the fear of terrorism people are now more open to accept these rigorous security measures in exchange for their safety (Viscusi & Zeckhauser, 2003) and, as Taylor & Toohey (2005) noted in the case of the 2003 Rugby World Cup, these security measures even somewhat enhanced the attendees' level of enjoyment of the game. However, there is a great debate if and to what extent civil liberties can/should be sacrificed to prevent terrorism (Kaplow & Shavell, 2002). Many argue that civil liberties are guaranteed rights that cannot be compromised, while advocates of risk control claim that as long as any individual is at risk of being killed involuntarily, the risk must be reduced. If civil

liberties were not compromised, the terrorism risk would be enormous. Hence, to fight terrorism risk in an effective way would require to abandon most of the current civil liberties (Viscusi & Zeckhauser, 2003). And thus, fear stands...

2.3. Methodology

2.3.1. Measurement Approach

Most of the tourism studies on destination (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010; Pike, 2002), and travel risk perception (Karl & Schmude, 2017; Verkasalo et al., 2006; Williams & Baláž, 2015) were conducted through quantitative methods. This particular research adopted a qualitative perspective to aid balancing academic literature and to gain novel insights in these domains. The study applied an interpretative approach, known as phenomenography (Marton et al., 1977), an empirical based methodology that captures the meaning of an aspect of reality (Fournier, 1998; Sandberg, 2000) from various points of views and through different interpretations to gain an in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon and its effects (Marton, 1981).

2.3.2. Sample

In order to investigate the same phenomenon (terrorism) in a specific context (leisure tourism) along with the feelings it creates (retraining fear) and the implications it brings about (acting predominantly on conservative values) from as many different angels as possible, 27 in-depth interviews were conducted with people from highly diverse backgrounds and nationalities. Participants were selected based on maximum variation sampling method. The group of participants include 14 countries (Angola, Brazil, Hong Kong (China), Hungary, India, Iran, New Zealand, Portugal, Russia, South Africa, Syria, UK, USA and Vietnam) representing all the five continents, working in the private, public and non-profit sectors including religious institutions. There are employees, entrepreneurs, students and stay-at-home parents in the group. Their age range is between 20's and 60's. The group covers a spectrum of religious values of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and atheism. However, all of the participants have extensive international experience and clear cosmopolitan orientation. Clear cosmopolitan orientation was used as *the* qualifying criterion to participate in the study.

Cosmopolitanism instead of nationality was used as a selection criterion, as cosmopolitan conviction transcends national identity (Merton, 1957). Furthermore, previous "findings support the cross-cultural applicability of a translation of the cosmopolitanism construct" (Cleveland et al., 2011, p. 941).

As "cosmopolitan orientation comprises the disposition towards and experience of tourism, living and working abroad" (Riefler et al. 2012, p. 287) and that expatriates represent an archetypal cosmopolitan population (Skrbis et al., 2004), an expatriate community, living in the city of Porto (Northern Region of Portugal), was considered. Expatriate people freely choose an expatriate lifestyle, which is already a strong evidence for their cosmopolitan openness towards and interest in foreign cultures. Besides, only those respondents who scored above average on the C-COSMO scale of Riefler et al. (2012) were interviewed.

Portugal, as the country of analysis, was considered based on its lowest attributed terrorism risk (US Department of State, 2018; GDT, 2018), and its prevailing perception among international travellers as a safe destination (Seabra et al., 2014; Wolff & Larsen, 2016). In this way, neither the security-concerned, nor the thrill-seekers are excluded from the examined traveller population. Focusing on a destination perceived as risky would reduce or possibly eliminate the highly risk-sensitive travellers, thus compromising the research results (Wolff & Larsen, 2016).

2.3.3. Sampling Procedures and Instruments

The C-COSMO scale measures cosmopolitan orientation through three dimensions: open-mindedness, diversity appreciation, and consumption transcending borders (including international travels). Riefler et al. (2012) developed the C-COSMO scale refining and integrating previous cosmopolitan scales (Cannon et al., 1994; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2009), grouping people into four distinct groups based on the strength of their cosmopolitan orientation. Cosmopolitans are considered to be those who score higher than the middle of a 7-point scale. The highest scoring group is categorized as pure cosmopolitans, expressing a high level of cosmopolitanism and low level of local attachment. The local cosmopolitans, the next group, are highly cosmopolitan while have a high level of appreciation for the locality. The ones scoring just above the middle score were qualified as moderately detached consumers (equally attached to both their cosmopolitan and local lifestyles but neither of them over dominating their consumption choices). The last category, scoring below the middle score, the alienated consumers, are considered non-cosmopolitan consumers. These categories also correspond to the existing classifications in the literature (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Cannon & Yaprak, 2002): local and global cosmopolitans (in line with local and pure

cosmopolitans), global parochials (close to moderately detached consumers) and local parochials (who cannot be considered cosmopolitan just as the alienated consumers).

All of the study participants obtained a score above 3.5 (out of 7) proving their clear cosmopolitan preference. Most (63%) of the participants scored above 5.5, qualifying either as pure cosmopolitans (Riefler et al., 2012), expressing high level of cosmopolitanism with low level of local attachment, or as local cosmopolitan (Cannon & Yaprak, 2002; Riefler et al., 2012), highly cosmopolitan while having a high level of appreciation for the locality. The rest of the participants (37%) were categorized as moderately attached cosmopolitan consumers, being equally attached to both their cosmopolitan and local lifestyles. This group with moderately strong cosmopolitan orientation was considered as a control group in the analysis of the influence of strong cosmopolitan values on travel risk perceptions.

Cosmopolitanism as a highly desired quality (Bourdieu, 1987) is prone to respondent bias (Brenner & DeLamater, 2016). Therefore, the participants were selected based on (1) their evident cosmopolitan-traveller lifestyle, (2) an indicative score of the cosmopolitan-orientation scale (Riefler et al., 2012), (3) a clear value preference for oneness to change over conservation values (Schwartz, 1992).

Values preference and their dynamic change was collected through self-reported questionnaires, based on the notion that values are cognitive structures (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992) and therefore, people are aware of their own values (Roccas et al., 2014) and any changes in them (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011; Schwartz, 2005). The participants were asked to fill the short value questionnaire (SVQ) of Schwartz (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005) to gain an objective and detailed picture of their value pretences. All participants showed preference for openness-to-change in comparison to conservation value dimensions, in line with previous studies linking cosmopolitan values and personal characteristics (Cleveland et al., 2011). This also suggests further evidence of the participants' cosmopolitan orientation and suitability for the study.

Bias can be expected when people talk about their own value shift regarding being less open-minded and more fearful (Karl & Schmude, 2017; Roccas & Sagiv, 2017). In-depth interviews, in contrast with questionnaires, can prevent this (Brenner & DeLamater, 2016) as they allow for a series of probing questions to clarify respondent perceptions and opinions. Phenomenology, in particular, entails that participants talk freely about their own evaluation, feelings and opinion regarding a phenomenon, so personal narratives can validate or discredit the initial reports about personal values.

2.3.4. Data Collection and Analysis

The in-depth interview scripts focused on three main research questions:

(1) How personal values change due to the fear of terrorism?

(2) How does this potential change affect day-to-day life including traveling?

(3) How does this potential change affect destination perception?

Participants were asked unstructured, context specific and clarifying questions to guide the flow of the conversation, but keeping the free flow of their personal narratives, as followed by phenomenological methodology. The conversations were transcribed and if deemed necessary further clarified with the interviewees.

The finalised scripts were analysed first in the traditional way: reading trough the scripts and categorizing each sentence. The initial categories of analysis resembled the research questions that guided the interviews. Further categories and subcategories showed up from the analysis of the personal narratives (Figure 2). The coded scripts were then organised into strongly or moderately cosmopolitan groups, based on the cosmopolitan score of the interviewees, as measured by the C-COSMO scale (Riefler et al., 2012). Each group of scrips was analysed separately. This analysis consisted of reviewing the phenomenological relationships detected between the created categories and assigning causal and linear or horizontal connections. Phenomenological analyses assisted us to draw hypotheses of cause and effect relations around the phenomenon and create subcategories for a deeper understanding of each pattern detected. Common patterns in both groups were detected and compared between them. The variations between those patterns were heighted and contrasted to reveal the most persistent differences between strongly and moderately cosmopolitan groups. Further literature was reviewed for each unusual pattern found in the data to find support of its validity. The small sample size was taken into consideration and the infrequent themes were discarded when opposing literature was found, in order to ensure integrity of the phenomenographic results (Marton, 1981). Notwithstanding, if a pattern was recurrent, even in view of opposing or contradictory related literature, the theme was considered and discussion on which ‘side of the debate’ the current study found evidence for was offered. During the interviews all possible means (e.g. probing questions, re-phrasing and summarizing the information shared) were used to ensure that the interviewees stated explicitly what they meant. Special attention was also given to their language barriers, personality or cultural traditions that can impact their message.

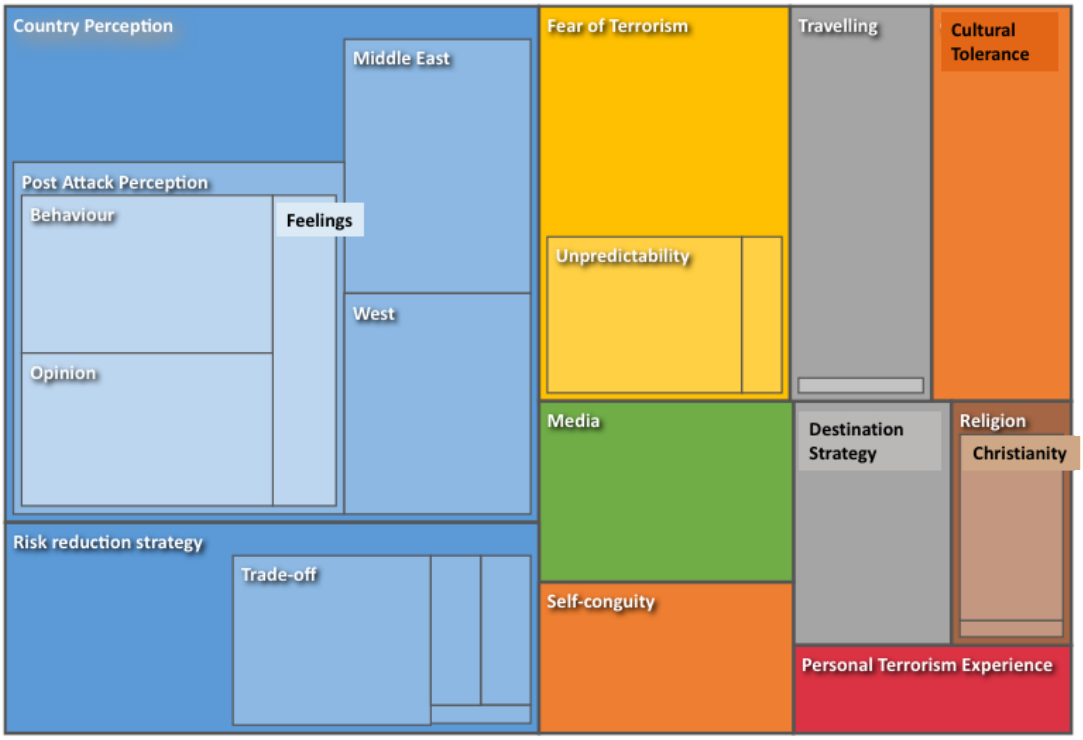

Figure 2 – Treemap of categories (nodes) highlighting the frequency and hierarchy of each theme

Afterwards, the data was reanalysed through NVivo (version 12.0) software to gain possible novel insights through the use of different types of data analysis techniques. First, each transcript was assigned the appropriate attributes, like strong or moderate cosmopolitan orientation, and to the appropriate cases, like countries and age group. Second, the labels, that were created during the initial manual analysis of the transcripts, were assigned to each sentence/paragraph in the software as nodes. Then, based on labels (nodes) cross-referencing, categories were created. Finally, horizontal, vertical and causal phenomenological relationships between the categories were re-established through the software (Saldana, 2016), hence increasing the validity and reliability of the qualitative results (Zapata-Sepúlveda et al., 2012).

Word frequency query was performed on each transcript to validate the main categories referred by the interviewee and point to new themes. The same query was run for each group of cosmopolitans and for the overall sample as well. This analysis provided a great insight into what was in the heart of the discussion: people. It also produced a great visual representation of the themes found in the overall dataset (Figure 3). Text search was performed to further investigate the context of the most frequently used words and phrases, and directly validate the recurring common patterns of each interview, the groups and the overall dataset. In line with the nature of cosmopolitanism, the words “fear” and “concern” was used much less than the words “travel”, “see”, “know”, “feel” and “think” (Figure 3; Table 2). Semantic analysis was performed on the most frequently used words to get a deeper understanding of the information conveyed by

the respondents. For example, the word “people” (or “people”, “peoples”) was mentioned the most often by the respondents highlighting the main focus of interviews. “People” were most of the times paired with verbs of “see”, “know”, “observe”, “meet”, “accept”, “love” and “respect” demonstrating the cosmopolitan mind-set of the respondents when talking about “different people” and “other people”. However, “kill”, “judge”, “manipulate” and “fear” was also frequently mentioned along with the word “people” when talking about terrorism. The word “terrorism” was frequently used in the context of “fear of terrorism”, “terrorism risk”, “victim of terrorism” and “target of terrorism”. “Terrorist” was usually used as “terrorist attack” and the word “random” and “potential” was frequently observed together with this expression, also pointing to one of the main patterns of the study, the belief that terrorism is random and can happen at any time in any place. Interestingly but not unexpectedly, the word “fear” was mostly used by the moderately cosmopolitan group, while the respondents with stronger cosmopolitan orientation mostly used “concern” along with “terrorism”, and they mentioned “fear” in a negative sense, like “don’t fear” or “won’t fear”.

A coding query was next performed in the overall dataset to display the interlinking categories. This test also implied which links are more common in each of the groups and provided several novel insights. For example, it demonstrated that the majority of the Christian participants (regardless of the strength of cosmopolitan orientation) mentioned faith in God as a way to their peace of mind in the face of the terrorism. Matrix coding provided a great assistance in comparing the strong and moderate cosmopolitan groups with regards to all mentioned patterns (categories) and highlighted the extent to which these categories were discussed in each group, like the impact of media was discussed in close to equal length/times in both groups, but the importance of self-congruity when choosing a destination was more of an issue for the moderately cosmopolitan group.

Figure 3 – Words used most often during the interviews representing the main themes of the study

Order of Frequency	Word	Count	Weighted Percentage
1.	people	309	1.99%
2.	terrorism	264	1.70%
3.	travel	208	1.34%
4.	country	198	1.28%
5.	terrorist	193	1.25%
6.	think	191	1.23%
7.	attack	182	1.17%
8.	different	144	0.93%
9.	feel	122	0.79%
10.	place	111	0.72%
11.	see	109	0.70%
12.	know	108	0.70%
13.	change	89	0.57%
14.	security	73	0.47%
15.	fear	69	0.45%

Table 2 – The most frequently mentioned words by descending order

2.4. Results and Discussion

Terrorism is seen by most of the participants as a constant risk that can happen in any place (in any country, city and area) and at any time (at high-profile events or a weekday at a grocery store). While, most of them did not feel that they represented a target for terrorism, they were aware that they could be a victim of it. There was a difference in the understanding of terrorism depending where the interviewee came from, which is understandable, as there is no agreed upon definition of the term terrorism, neither among different governments or legal systems, not even in the academia (e.g. Clancy, 2012; Weinberg et al., 2010). Travelers coming from the Middle East and Asia took terrorism more personally and viewed its definition more broadly. They described it as *any* practice that violates human rights and creates fear, including current prosecutions they personally face. While travellers from the West had a more detached view on terrorism associating it only to international travelling and supposing that it is not likely to happen in their own country or directed personally at them, except by accident. This result might be explained by the bias that "home is always safer regardless where it is" (Wolff & Larsen, 2016).

2.4.1. More security conscious travelling

Fear is essentially an emotion that has the ability to transform into behaviours that could lead to avoid situations or launch into defence mechanisms that may even disregard reality (Öhman, 2008). Existing literature found that the fear of terrorism affects travel behaviour and could lead to avoiding destinations (Floyd et al., 2004; Isaac & Velden, 2018; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b) or to preference for travelling in isolation to keep away from the destination's actual reality (Clancy, 2012), even opting for fantasy vacations (Oriol, 2004). The fear of terrorism also seems to make travellers more prone to use travel risk avoidance strategies (e.g. Fuchs & Reichel, 2011) up to the point of accepting sacrificing civil liberties for security (Viscusi & Zeckhauser, 2003). In line with both psychological and tourism literature, findings indicate that people tend to adopt a more cautious travel style when facing terrorism, which is more prominent in the group of moderately cosmopolitan travellers and less obvious among the travellers with the stronger cosmopolitan orientation (Table 3).

Strong Cosmopolitan Orientation	Moderate Cosmopolitan Orientation
"I always loved travelling. I know rationally that terrorism is a threat and I am going to be more careful, but it wouldn't stop me. I would still go everywhere. It is the explorer or the adventurer in me." *– a British primary school teacher in her 20's*	"The fear of terrorism definitely changes the way I travel. I prefer countries considered less propitious to terrorist attacks. For example, I wouldn't feel safe travelling around in the Middle East. I'm not willing to take that [terrorism] risk. I like to take risks in certain personal and professional aspects, but not in this case." *– a Portuguese PhD student in his 20's*

Table 3 – Strong vs. moderate cosmopolitan opinions on the restraining effect of terrorism risk

2.4.2. More hesitant to discover new destinations

The cosmopolitan values of novelty-seeking and diversity appreciation usually have a significant positive impact on the desire to explore culturally different destinations, and destinations that deemed riskier. It seems, however, that the fear of terrorism heightened the sense of risk awareness among all participants. It generally manifested in preference for a relaxing rather than a thrill-seeking or culturally challenging holidays. Travellers with strong cosmopolitan orientation reported to be more aware of the travel risk now than before, and majority of them opted for less boundary breaking but still stimulating holidays. All the moderately cosmopolitan participants reported that their main aim is to rest and relax when on holidays and showed little interest in destinations where the cultural values were inconveniently different, and the safety and security standards were worrisome.

This finding reflects the notion of self-congruity in tourism motivation domain. If the perceived image of the destination does not match the traveller's self-concept, the traveller is less likely to choose it (Beerli et al., 2007; Chon, 1992). Self-congruity might also be the reason behind the open-mindedness of the highly cosmopolitan travellers, as they are able to match their self-concept with a wider variety of cultures (Alden et al., 2006) because they are not attached to a single locality (Merton, 1957) but view themselves as the citizens of the world (Featherstone, 2002). Further building on self-congruity, majority of the interviewed travellers implied that they would avoid visiting a destination where they do not support the political system or agree with the cultural values. However, in the case of highly popular destinations this effect was not so strong. For example, the desire to visit Dubai despite of cultural differences and security concerns of the region was shown to be strong among the participants, just as in the case of the US as demonstrated in previous studies (Stepchenkova & Shichkova, 2017). Clancy (2012) and van Niekerk & Pizam (2015) also argue that multidimensional destinations are less affected by the negative effect of terrorism risk perception (Table 4).

Strong Cosmopolitan Orientation	Moderate Cosmopolitan Orientation
"I would visit all different places, if only there is a specific recommendation against it from the Russian Foreign Ministry or the US or British Ministries." *– a Russian non-profit consultant in her 30's*	"I wouldn't visit the Middle East… because it is Muslim, because it is culturally different, and maybe because I just feel uncomfortable…. As far as spending my own social relaxing time, I probably wouldn't relax too much in the Middle East. I don't share the values of Saudi Arabia, of Dubai or of Qatar, so why would I go there?" *– a British headmaster his 40's*

Table 4 – Strong vs. moderate cosmopolitan opinions on choosing a holiday destination

2.4.3. Higher importance of risk reduction strategies

Terrorism was regarded as unpredictable and difficult to prepare for. Nevertheless, some risk reduction strategies represented a common pattern in the interviews. The main strategy to reduce terrorism risk was to avoid high-risk destinations, as established by previous studies (e.g., Isaac & Velden, 2018; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). However, the definition of high-risk destination was different between the participants with strong and moderate cosmopolitan orientation. Travellers with strong cosmopolitan orientation classified a destination as high-risk predominantly based on official travel advisories, like the Travel Advisory of the U.S. Department of State, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UK Government or the Global Terrorism Database and personal experience. While travellers with moderate cosmopolitan orientation relied more on the public perception of the destination and general media communication, both about general safety and terrorism risk. Active war zones, political instability (Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996) and destinations with repeated terrorist incidents (Liu & Pratt, 2017), in line with previous studies (e.g., Isaac & Velden, 2018), were commonly highlighted as high-risk destination to avoid. Avoidance strategy was also the most generally preferred when travelling with family, especially with young children to both less safe and less culturally similar destinations, where guarding and caring for children are less convenient. The same practice was found by other studies, too (Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992). Not fully avoiding but postponing the visit to a certain destination was also commonly referred especially after recent terrorist attacks at the destination.

Travel information search, established as an important risk reduction strategy (e.g., Fuchs & Reichel, 2004; Isaac & Velden, 2018; Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b) was the second most mentioned strategy to reduce and discern terrorism risk among both types of participants. They mentioned to look for two types of information to reduce travel risk: cultural information to be comfortable with local values and customs, and security information to be able to follow necessary safety precautions. The former echoes the cosmopolitan drive to get to know different cultures and learn from them (Skrbis et al., 2004),

and the latter is a way to reduce travel risk (Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017). The most reliable information sources the participants listed were: personal experience with the destination, friends and family who had personal experience with the destination and independent travellers' reviews – also referred to as 'organic sources' by previous studies (e.g. Fuchs & Reichel 2006a; Kim & Chen, 2015; Seabra et al., 2014). Official travel advisories were also considered as highly reliable source of travel information by the participants.

Another terrorism risk reduction strategy mentioned by several interviewees with strong cosmopolitan orientation and travel experience at high-risk destinations was to blend in into the local culture or at least not to stand out, like respecting the restrictions of the local dress code, staying in local hotels and eating in local restaurants, which are less targeted by terrorists. This idea seems reasonable in light of the argument that Western travellers seem to be more targeted by terrorist (Bianchi, 2006; Clancy, 2012). Previous studies also found that "adjusting respectfully to the local and cultural conditions" is one of the top three most effective preventive measures (Isaac & Velden, 2018, p. 15).

Participants with moderate cosmopolitan orientation reported a strong preference to "keep on the beaten tourist track", like choosing a travel destination with acceptable safety and convenience standards, relying on tour operators to help organise the trip in higher-risk or unfamiliar destinations, not wondering off to explore risky neighbourhoods or events that are not recommended for tourists, as well as keeping more isolated from local matters. These precautions point to a current trend in international travels of travelling in isolation from the reality of the destination (e.g. Clancy, 2012; Oriol, 2004) to avoid both the local insecurities and inconveniences.

Some of the more security conscious interviewees said to feel safer with police presence at the airports, crowded events and tourist attractions, in line with previous studies reporting that some guests felt that security measures contributed to enjoying the event more (Taylor & Toohey, 2005). However, if targeted by intrusive search and hindered by extra waiting time the trade-off feels more burdensome, just as was demonstrated by Viscusi and Zeckhauser (2003).

The extreme of security measures is to trade off civil liberties for safety. Basic security measures, as demonstrated in other studies considered an effective risk reduction strategy (Law, 2006), were welcomed or at least tolerated by all participants. They accepted the additional inconveniencies for the higher good of the society. But, the extensive security procedures at the airports and the invasive information provision for the immigration authorities that seemed unnecessary were protested against. The strength of cosmopolitan orientation alone does not clearly separate travellers who embrace the full extent of security measures and the ones who draw a clear limit. This issue might point beyond the love for travelling, as while basic security

measures are effective ways to reduce travel related risks (Law, 2006), a more comprehensive trade-off is touching on ideological differences, like Benjamin Franklin said, "Those who would give up essential Liberty, to purchase a little temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety.".

2.4.4. More restrained towards different people

While cultural tolerance and appreciation of diversity are the most important distinctive values of cosmopolitans, they are the most affected by the heightened sense of risk perception insecurity. There is substantial literature in tourism discussing the grievous effect of linking fear (e.g. Clancy, 2012; Koskela, 2010) and specifically the fear of terrorism to race (e.g. Araña & León, 2008; Fekete, 2004; Seabra et al., 2013). In line with this, travellers with moderate cosmopolitan ordination seemed more reserved and suspicious towards people who had a different cultural or national/ethnic background, thus having less interest and confidence in visiting their countries. Travellers with strong cosmopolitan orientation showed less restraints and more curiosity, which was also demonstrated in their willingness to explore different cultures. This clear difference in behaviour between the strong and moderately cosmopolitan group supports the validity of the cosmopolitan dimensions of Riefler et al. (2012) used for categorising cosmopolitans: open-mindedness, diversity appreciation and border-transcending consumption, like foreign travels (Table 5).

Strong Cosmopolitan Orientation	Moderate Cosmopolitan Orientation
"When I was in Turkey, I stayed at a Kurdish family. They were very nice people, but Turkish people treated them as terrorists... They are treated as terrorist by the people we treat as terrorists." *– a Brazilian writer in his 30's*	"I feel a bit suspicious or mistrustful and reserved regarding strangers; and if the stranger also has a different cultural background than what you are familiar with, this feeling of apprehensiveness amplifies. And on top of that, if you also hear from the media that they are typically the people who could initiate a terrorist attack then your negative feelings towards them will grow even stronger." *– a Hungarian marketing manager in her 30's*

Table 5 – Strong vs. moderate cosmopolitan orientation opinions on cultural tolerance

2.4.5. Factors influencing terrorism risk perception

Some situational and personal factors were found to enhance cosmopolitans' all-embracing nature, while, some other factors seemed to escalate travellers' fear of terrorism. First, participants with extensive

international experience (including extensive international travelling, expatriate lifestyle as well as multicultural origins and upbringing) shared the practice of rigorously fighting back prejudices and consciously keeping an open mind judging only by character. Relying on substantial personal experience with different destinations and cultures, as opposed only to information from the media or friends, assist travellers in building their judgement on more diverse information and striping it free from prejudice (Wolff & Larsen, 2016). Expatriates in both groups of the study reported that living in another country shaped their character and influenced their personal values to be more open-minded. This premise was also found by previous studies that change in circumstances and personal life cycle initiate changes in values (e.g. Bardi et al., 2014; Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 2005). Expatriate experience did not necessarily push the participants to adopt foreign views and practices, but as they suggested it helped them to understand different worldviews and learn how to live and deal with such views, even if they did not agree with them. And this is the essence of cosmopolitan cultural tolerance (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Featherstone, 2002; Skrbis et al., 2004; Riefler et al., 2012).

Second, Christian values, built on the main commandment to love (Mark 12:28-31; Matthew 22:36-40), seemed to shape significantly the attitude of the Christian travellers. Even if the initial emotional reaction to strangers is fear and reservation, their resolute attitude is marked by love. This mindful attitude resembles the conscious approach of cosmopolitans who are aware of their own biases and effortfully strive to overcome it (Skrbis et al., 2004). The Christian interviewees of the sample, regardless of the strength of their cosmopolitan orientation and thus their level of initial sentiments, reported to *act* with less reservation towards people with different cultural and religious background. This tendency for prosocial behaviour of people who believe in God was previously demonstrated both in and outgroup settings (Ahmed, 2009; Preston & Ritter, 2013). Religious values were also found to affect risk perception (He et al., 2013), besides influencing judgement and attitude (Poria et al., 2003). Christians in the sample reported that they did not feel particularly anxious about terrorism or any other travel risk during a trip. It contradicts previous findings suggesting that religious travellers perceived more risk than nonreligious travellers (He et al., 2013). The reason for the contradicting finding could be that He et al. (2013) used self-reported questionnaires when sampling religious travellers. Previous studies demonstrated that when people are prompted to declare their believes during direct measurement, they are prone to respondent bias (Brenner & DeLamater, 2016). As opposed to He et al. (2013), the Christian sample of the current study are active members of a Christian congregation. Also, while the previous study used questionnaires, the current study followed a qualitative metrology with in-depth interviews where the actual religious conviction and belief of a person can be more accurately judges.

Third, travellers interviewed for this study, who personally experienced terrorism either by being on site or by being in close proximity to feel the immediate impact of an attack, reported to be more aware of the risk of terrorism but less frightened by it. Preceding personal experience with terrorism was found to fuel the fear of terrorism (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). However, other studies, in line with the current findings, demonstrated reduced sensitivity to terrorism risk due to previous personal experience (Yechiam et al., 2005).

Fourth, participants in the current study who came from a war-torn country, faced political prosecution or experienced similar insecurities reported to be more security concerned in general, be it when travelling or in any other area of their lives. Maslow's (1968) theory on deficiency needs could explain this finding. The seeming contradiction regarding risk perception between people who personally experienced terrorism and people who experienced other security issues might be rooted in the notion of value change (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). For people who experience a single security incident or repeated ones in a short period of time, the environmental cue that activates value change and subsequent behaviour is accessible only for a short time, so its effect is short-lived. While for people who experience insecurity for decades the permanent environmental cues leave a lasting impact on personal values and character.

Fifth, the effect of the media in creating a xenophobic atmosphere (Fekete, 2004) and amplifying the fear of terrorism (Altheide, 2006; Kapuściński & Richards, 2016; Seabra et al., 2007) is already well-established. Current findings strongly support this position. The media's influence is substantial in shaping the overall image of a destinations and the public approach to its local culture (Avraham, 2015; Beerli & Martín, 2004). The media is also greatly contributes to cultural predispositions, especially in the case of the travellers with less personal memory to compensate for the mainstream influence (Wolff & Larsen, 2016). The participants with stronger cosmopolitan conviction seemed more aware of their potentially overrated terrorism risk perception, and this led them to consciously look for objective information to counterbalance their bias. While, the interviewees with moderate cosmopolitan orientation seemed more affected by the fearful public atmosphere reinforced by the mainstream media (Table 6).

Strong Cosmopolitan Orientation	Moderate Cosmopolitan Orientation
"The media doesn't affect me that much. I am conscious of its nature and its effect, so I try to think through rationally what I hear. But it does still influence my perception about terrorism even if a bit, regardless of how rational my approach is." *– a Portuguese management consultant in his 30's*	"By listening to the local news, I feel a bit uneasy to visit some places and have contact with different people. You can't help but being affected by what you hear. If you hear the same message from the media over and over again, you will start fearing some things and people." *– a Hungarian small business owner in his 30's*

Table 6 – Strong vs. moderate cosmopolitan opinions on the effect of media in influencing terrorism risk perception

2.4.6. Overall value shift due to the fear of terrorism

As demonstrated above, in the face of terrorism even cosmopolitan travellers were found to be reasonably more cautious when travelling and more restrained to embrace the full extent of cultural diversity. As value change manifests in changing behaviour (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz, 2005; Roccas et al., 2017; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011), we could rightly speculate that an overall value shift, to prefer security values over stimulation values, occurred. According to the theory of value change, personal value preference is relatively stable, however it can experience a shift due to environmental cues (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Environmental cue triggers one value to decrease in importance and the opposing value to automatically increase in its ability to lead behaviour (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017). Opposing values, like stimulation values and security values can be both upheld, but one has to prevail over the other in a given situation, like travelling, to drive decision and behaviour (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011; Schwartz, 2005). The higher concern for security values due to terrorism risk does trigger a drop in the opposing stimulation values (e.g. Konty et al., 2004; Verkasalo et al., 2006). The main aim of the current study was to find out how cosmopolitan travellers, whose drive for stimulation is essential, are affected by these opposing values when travelling. Popcorn (1992) suggested that global travellers might find different outlets for their inherent desire for travelling when facing terrorism, like travelling locally, visiting different ethnic restaurants, or possibly "cocooning". The current study found that higher concern for security triggers value shift among cosmopolitan travellers. It was demonstrated that this value shift does not stop cosmopolitans from international travelling, but it prompts them to adopt a more restrained and selective approach in choosing a destination and in their style of travelling. So, cosmopolitans still satisfy their craving for stimulation by traveling, but they travel differently.

One of the most powerful environmental cue that keeps security values in the fore front of the mind and subsequently influence behaviour (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011) is the media. In the midst of the fear-inducing media communication about the terrorist incidents (Fekete, 2004; Kapuściński & Richards, 2016) that affect international travel routes and target tourists, terrorism has been linked to global travelling (Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006). When people think about international travelling, terrorism as an inescapable cue comes to mind (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016). This increases risk estimates (Fischhoff et al., 2005; Seabra et al., 2014) and changes travel behaviour to be more reserved (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b) and even selective (Floyd et al., 2004). Behavioural change due to the fear of terrorism as an environmental stimulus is evident in both previous and the current study. However, as opposed to mainstream literature on terrorism risk perception (e.g., Araña & León, 2008, Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b; Woodside & Lysonski, 1989) the current study found that this restraining effect of the fear of terrorism is not universal. A fiercer concern for security is seen among moderately cosmopolitan travellers. Travellers with strong cosmopolitan orientation, while aware of and affected by the heightened terrorism risk, are shown to be less concerned with terrorism and less inclined to a radical behavioural change (Table 7). This finding mirrors other studies pinpointing the risk averse nature of high sensation seeking travellers (Lepp & Gibson, 2008), one of the main characteristics of cosmopolitans (Riefler et al., 2012).

Strong Cosmopolitan Orientation	**Moderate Cosmopolitan Orientation**
"I am well aware of terrorism, but if you allow the fear of terrorism to influence you and stop you from traveling, to stop you from feeling free, then surely you have achieved the objective of the terrorists. The terrorist will not put fear into my life... Obviously, I will be more cautious, but it will not stop me from travelling." *– a British non-profit worker in her 50's*	"Probably, this fearful atmosphere has affected me to be more conservative. However, I may not be more conservative as a result, but more zealous about my views, and the fear of terrorism just happened to fuel it even more... I am more careful planning my trips now. And, if it takes me too much research, security checks and insurance, I wouldn't go." *– an Angolan stay-at-home-mother in her 40's*

Table 7 - Strong vs. moderate cosmopolitan opinions on and value preference in the face of terrorism risk

The results imply evidence for shifting value preference in the cosmopolitan sample, which is expected to be "not risk averse or susceptible to normative influences" (Riefler et al., 2012, p. 299). Therefore, it could be speculated, that the same value shift (more security concerned) and a subsequent change in behaviour (more reserved and selective) is also applicable with an even greater extent for travellers with less strong original value preference for openness and diversity appreciation, covering the rest of the travelling population.

2.4.7. Summary

This exploratory study aimed to gain a better understanding of how travellers are affected by the ever-present fear of terrorism. Open-minded and diversity-embracing cosmopolitans were used as a proxy of global travellers in order to investigate how the drive for travelling is shaped by the fear of terrorism. The fear of terrorism was indeed present among the interviewed global travellers, who showed, as a direct impact, an increased concern for security. According to Maslow's (1968) rule, the fundamental need for security would gain importance if threatened (as now due to the fear of terrorism). This security concern seems to affect travel preferences and cultural openness. Global travellers appear to be more restrained with people who are different, more apprehensive to discover places that have significantly different local values and lower safety standards, more cautious when travelling, and more open to use risk reduction strategies up to the point of trading civil liberties for security. Figure 4 encompasses the main findings of this exploratory study.

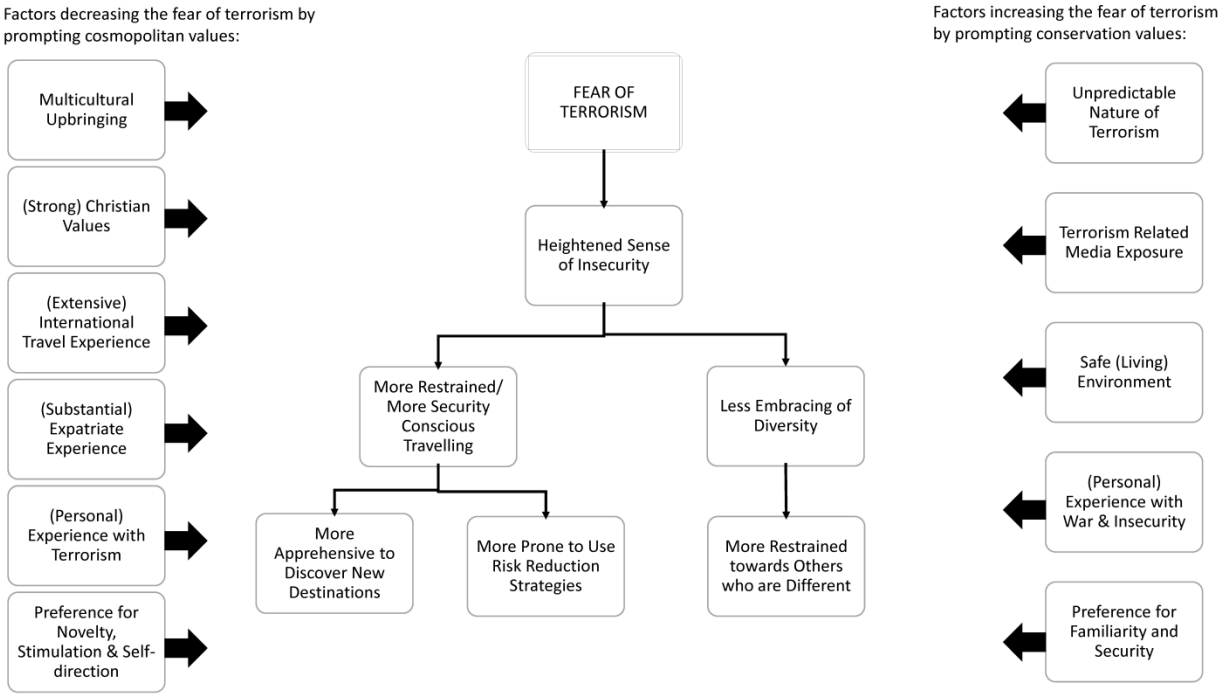

Figure 4 – The effect of the fear of terrorism in travelling and its repressing and amplifying actors

Besides listing the main behavioural changes of global travellers due to the fear of terrorism, the main contribution of the current study is to indicate that travellers with strong cosmopolitan orientation, while apparently aware of the potential terrorism risks, are less affected by them than travellers with moderate cosmopolitan orientation. As opposed to the main stream literature that states that risk perception and its

retraining effect regarding to willingness to travel are significant and universal (e.g. Alvarez & Campo, 2014; Floyd ey al., 2004; Sarman et al., 2016), the current findings are in line the results of Lepp and Gibson (2008). These authors pinpoint a particular type of traveller with high sensation seeking traits (similar to the novelty and diversity seeking cosmopolitans), who, while clearly aware of the risk of travelling, seems to be more tolerant to it and less prone to behavioural changes as a result of it.

2.5. Study Implications

2.5.1. Practical Implications

The current study focuses on cosmopolitan travellers. Their *importance for city tourism* lies in their characteristics and travel motivation. Riefler et al. (2012, p. 300) have characterized cosmopolitans "to be relatively young and internationally experienced, and to reside in urban areas". Besides being mostly city residents, cosmopolitans' travel interest also focuses more on the cultural heritage of a destination that is mostly concentrated in urban areas. This fulfils their cosmopolitan desire to experience other cultures and learn about and from them (Alden et al. 2006; Skrbis et al., 2004). In line with previous findings, majority of the participants in the current study also showed a strong preference for destinations known for their cultural and historical peculiarities as opposed to destinations only with great natural scenery. This suggests that cosmopolitan travellers are an important consumer segment for the city tourism industry.

According to previous profiling studies, *cosmopolitans* are relatively young, well-travelled and highly-educated, speaking international languages, mainly city-residents, highly risk tolerant and even thrill-seekers, open-minded, and prefer personalised experience (Bianchi, 2006; Buckley, 2012; Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Caldwell et al., 2006; Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2009; Riefler et al., 2012; Kendall et al., 2009). Tourism practitioners could consider these specific consumer attributes of cosmopolitans when segmenting and targeting their market, as majority of global travellers have strong cosmopolitan orientation (e.g., Cannon & Yaprak, 2001, 2002; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999; Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2009; Riefler et al., 2012). Marketing massages can emphasize the aspects that are more appealing to this market segment, like authenticity (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010), ethnicity and culture (Grier, Brumbaugh, & Thornton, 2006), as well as exotic aspects (Holt, 1998). This market segment is also highly appreciative of novelty, and particularly receptive to innovativeness, either as a company strategy, a marketing message, medium of communication and the product/service itself (Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2009). The findings of the current study point beyond the traditional country-based segmentation strategies, cosmopolitanism calls for well-informed and elaborate tactics. For example, American travellers do not visit Iran, but the

cosmopolitan participants of the study were more restrained by their American passport than by their cultural biases or safety concerns. Syrians feel concerned to travel around in the Middle East, not because they do not think that it is safe in general, but because it is not safe for those who oppose the local regime. Indian Christians feel restrained travelling across the states of their own country expecting religious prosecution. These could be indicative for tour operators to focus their marketing efforts wisely, distinguishing who is their target and carefully profile 'problematic groups' as they might need extra support in order to travel, not because their interest is lacking, but their circumstances.

Personal values of openness to new experiences do not diminish among cosmopolitan travellers. However, a more reserved and selective approach in travelling and traces of cultural and racial prejudice were apparent in the sample due to the current fearful atmosphere. Tourism practitioners, therefore, could strive to counterbalance the fearful environmental cues by prompting cosmopolitan values. They could remind global travellers of their open-mindedness and diversity appreciation, as well as the benefits of building a diverse cultural capital through their foreign experiences. "[S]uch a prime will "remind" the person that the value in question is important for him/her, consequently increasing the likelihood of acting on that value." (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017, p. 31). Regarding how to *prompt travellers' cosmopolitan values*, managers can rely on the practical examples of previous studies proving several prompting techniques. For example, explicit priming (Amit et al., 2010; Ariely et al., 2009; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011; Maio et al., 2009), consistency maintenance (Arieli et al., 2014; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011), deliberate self-persuasion (Arieli et al., 2014; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011), identification (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011), adaptation (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011), self-confrontation (Maio et al., 2009) and increasing the desirability of values-related emotions (Tamir et al., 2016).

In the face of heightened sense of terrorism risk awareness (e.g. Konty et al., 2004; Verkasalo et al., 2006) reassuring tourists about existence of *safety measures* yield great benefits for the destination as well as the particular tourism business (van Niekerk & Pizam, 2015). As argued by previous studies, this represents a competitive advantage for a tourism destination when travellers compare multiple alternatives (Huan & Beaman, 2003; Seabra et al., 2014). However, "an appropriate balance in the extent of overt safety measures so as not to exceed the acceptable safety threshold of tourists" is shown to be essential (Rittichainuwat 2013, p. 199). Keeping an appropriate balance first, in the security communication by not creating the impression that a security incident is usual and expected, and second, in the deployment of security measures by not causing unnecessary inconvenience for the travellers, is critical. In the case of airport screening, Viscusi and Zeckhauser (2003) confirmed that travellers are in general willing to trade off some civil liberties for safety, especially when there is significant efficiency gain in it, like reduced waiting

time. This finding was consistent with the result of the current study that the strongly security concerned travellers of the sample felt safer and more reassured by the extensive security measures. However, the more free-spirited travellers aimed to avoid them, and this highlights the vital importance of an appropriate balance in security measures.

Faced with *a terrorist attack*, it is the control over the situation and over our life that we lose. This loss of control amplifies fear, sometimes even to an irrational level. Anything that can help to regain control can help to manage fear (Lewis et al., 2008). For example, it was highlighted by the participants that knowing more about the circumstances of a terrorist attack can provide some peace of mind over the situation, as well as discernment for future travels. Destination risk perception literature shows that it is not the magnitude, but the frequency of terrorist attacks that impacts the most the perception of a destination (Pizam & Smith, 2000), so providing information about the terrorist attack and highlighting its isolated nature (if it is the case) can help travellers to regain their trust in the destination's safety. Security concerned travellers in the current study suggested that it is reassuring to read reports on recovery progress after an incident regarding both reinstated security standards and local mood of the destination. Destinations that have a better safety perception, recover faster from the negative association of a terrorist attack (Goodrich, 2002; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b; Woodside & Lysonski, 1989). Interviews also confirmed this notion. Participants referred that they tend to believe that in countries with established safety systems everything would go back to normal the day after the attack. Destinations should strive to build a stronger image of safety over time through intensive destination marketing tools (van Niekerk & Pizam, 2015), more specifically, relying on organic information sources, like independent traveller reviews, social media and word of mouth recommendations of friends and family, rather marketing campaigns that people tend to trust less (Tasci et al. 2007; Beerli & Martín 2004; Kim & Chen 2015; Fuchs & Reichel 2006a). Not only destinations that experience terrorism but the ones that are associated with terrorism due to their geographical location or prejudiced cultural values can also benefit highly from a unified fact-based *communication strategy* including all tourism stakeholders (Seabra et al., 2014; Sönmez, 1998; van Niekerk & Pizam, 2015). It can diminish the effect of the subjective prejudices and the actual circumstantial damage. Previous studies have shown that including all destination stakeholders in building an overall destination image can create a more innovative and demand-driven image fitting for ongoing challenges (Warren & Dinnie, 2017). A unified communication strategy about security measures and crisis management procedures that are in place can reassure the potential travellers and build their confidence in the destination's ability to protect its visitors. Such unified

communication programmes could be best centrally led and coordinated, and as Rittichainuwat and Chakraborty (2012) suggest, these government initiatives are justified based on net returns for a country.

Governments can coordinate and offer safety training including crisis management education to hoteliers and ensure the security of public areas (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2012). Crisis management planning and the development of survival strategies are also an important practical matter (van Niekerk & Pizam, 2015). It is already actively practiced in international chain hotels more prone to natural disasters, but destinations in general would benefit of its widespread use. Government support in providing freely accessible guidelines are crucial for the local medium and small hotels in both crisis management and survival strategy planning (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2012). Travellers in the sample also suggested that they followed how the governments dealt with the crises, as it could provide them with useful insights on how capable and efficient the country was, thus leading to the assumption of how reliably it cares for its tourists. Policy makers should make sure that the official communication channels are accessible, and their content is accurate regarding travel risks, furthermore in line with global and governmental travel advisories, that was consistently referred in the interviews as reliable source to discern the actual terrorism risk.

2.5.2. Academic Implications

The study progresses cosmopolitan literature. First, the study provides further evidence that cosmopolitanism should be studied as a progressive and context specific rather than a stable orientation supporting the original notion of Cannon and Yaprak (2002, p.31) that "cosmopolitans are made and not born". Second, the study answers Riefler et al. (2012, p. 300) "whether major shocks", like terrorism, or the fear of it, "can dampen a cosmopolitan orientation while fuelling ethnocentric tendencies" by suggesting that cosmopolitan orientation is affected by the fear of terrorism. Third, the study implies, based on its cosmopolitan sample, that cosmopolitan values, like openness to change, self-enhancement and universalism (Figure 1) (Schwartz, 1992) appears to be a more accurate predictor of cosmopolitan behaviour than nationality or even sociodemographic characteristics when it comes to international travelling.

This research also advances risk perception literature. First, it contributes to the understanding of "how risk perception as one important determinant of destination choice acts as an influencing factor in the destination choice process" (Karl & Schmude, 2017, p. 137) by listing the main behavioural changes of global travellers due to the fear of terrorism, such as: the heightened sense of security, security conscious travelling, restraint towards people of different backgrounds, apprehensiveness to discover new

destinations, use of risk reduction strategies and tolerance of security measures when travelling (Figure 4). Second, opposing to the main stream literature that states that risk perception and its retraining effect regarding to willingness to travel are significant and universal (e.g. Alvarez & Campo, 2014; Floyd ey al., 2004; Sarman et al., 2016), the results suggest that travellers with strong cosmopolitan orientation are less affected by terrorism risk than travellers with moderate cosmopolitan orientation, while equally aware of the potential risks. Third, this paper attempts provide an option in the search for "market segments can be identified as which are less concerned with potential [travel] risk, and may thus react less negatively in troubled times" (Seabra et al. 2013, p. 503) by pointing to the strongly cosmopolitan travellers and their less radical behavioural change in the face of terrorism.

This study deepens tourism literature by providing a better understanding how travellers' values are changing due to current fear of terrorism versus the emerging cosmopolitan mind-set, and how this internal struggle shapes tourist profiles, travel preferences (Dwyer et al., 2009) and destination perception (Hsu & Huang, 2016; Souiden et al., 2017). Global travellers were long theorised to change their values of open-mindedness and cultural tolerance in the face of terrorism (e.g., Popcorn, 1992). While, change is certainly happening, based on the reports of the current sample, it appears not to be as straightforward and universal as predicted.

2.6. Limitations and Avenues for Future Research

This study aimed to analyse the fear of terrorism and its effects from as many angels as possible through the interpretations of a highly diverse interviewee group. But due to this very diversity that constitutes the essence of a phenomenology (Sandberg, 2000), full saturation of new information would be challenging to reach (Guest et al., 2006; Ryan & Bernard, 2006). This is the main limitation of this research. However, communicative validity (on-going dialogue in which alternative knowledge claims are debated throughout the research process (Kvale, 1989)), and reliability as interpretative awareness (acknowledging that the researchers cannot escape from their interpretations, but must explicitly deal with them throughout the research process (Sandbergh, 1997) was strived for.

The study could not directly compare value preferences before and after the surfacing of the fear of terrorism, but it could pinpoint the types of behavioural changes that result from it. Future studies can further investigate the validity and extent of these behavioural changes through quantitative means. They could investigate if people indeed travel less to culturally different destinations, if they indeed travel with more security requirements, and if they indeed have less contact with culturally different people now than

before, when terrorism showed up less in the forefront of the news and our minds, for example, before the 9/11 attacks or the 1972 Munich Olympic Games.

This study examined the view of a cosmopolitan group with extensive international experience disregarding sociodemographic categories. The influence of personal characteristics and experiences on risk perception and travel preference are acknowledged (e.g. Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a), and their influence is evident in the current study (e.g. expatriate lifestyle, personal experience with terrorism, Christian believes, etc.). Hence, further research could clarify how the specific sociodemographic categories, like country of origin, country of residence, type of international experience, educational background, specific religious values and profession influence the perception of terrorism risk when travelling and relating to others from different cultures. Future research could also investigate the effect of terrorism on a strongly conservative group who upholds the values of conservation against the values of openness to change (Schwartz, 1992). Finally, further validation of findings through quantitative methodology to achieve study generalizability is recommended.

2.7. Conclusions

The exploratory findings of this study indicate that the cosmopolitan values of cultural tolerance and appreciation freedom are not immune of the current restraining fear of terrorism. An overall value shift, from openness to change towards conservation values, is apparent among the travellers of the sample due to the growing awareness of terrorism risk. However, its extent depends on the original strength of the cosmopolitan orientation, as well as on personal and situational factors that can further enhanced or repressed this change. The most important situational factors that balance out the restraining effect of terrorism are the international expatriate and travel experience, furthermore personal religious values encouraging an all-embracing attitude. The strongest opposing factor that heightens the sense of risk perception is the tone and intensity of the media communication reporting about the ever-present risk of terrorism and its implications.

The study clarifies a doubt in the cosmopolitan literature (Riefler et al., 2012), and demonstrates that cosmopolitan orientation should not be considered as a stable position, like previous studies did, but rather an adaptable tendency. First, because cosmopolitanism as a set of convictions on open mindedness, diversity appreciation and novelty seeking is enhanced over time when exposed to further personal experience (Cannon & Yaprak, 2002; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Second, because the strength of this conviction is rooted in personal values that can shift in the face of the environmental cues (Bardi et al.

2014; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011), just as demonstrated in the current study. In line with previous studies arguing that travellers' psychological attributes contribute more significantly to traveller profiles than situational or sociodemographic features (Ritchie et al., 2017), the exploratory findings suggest that the traveller profile of cosmopolitans are best build on individual characteristics, like personal values rather than nationality or sociodemographic features. The personal value preferences of cosmopolitans were found to be a stronger predictor of their travel preferences than their nationality or sociodemographic characteristics. So, cosmopolitan values can be a more accurate, therefore a more successful, method for tourism marketing segmentation, as well as for academic research.

This analysis also advances destination image literature by shedding light on how the dynamic interaction of values act as a facilitator in destination perception (Souiden et al., 2017). The relevance of the study is rooted in the clear cosmopolitan notion (Beck & Sznaider, 2006) that if the most open-minded and tolerant part of the society has become more reserved and distrustful of diversity due to the ever-present risk of terrorism, so has the rest of the society. In this sense, the greatest challenge for both industry managers and policy makers is to proactively coordinate a unified communication strategy that can help clear cultural and security-related biases and encourage people to see and experience the reality for themselves, as "now is time to understand more, so that we may fear less" (Marie Curie).

PART III

3. STUDY 2 – COSMOPOLITAN TOURISTS: THE RESILIENT SEGMENT IN THE FACE OF TERRORISM

3.1. Introduction

Terrorism risk is the most potent travel risk (Karl & Schmude, 2017) with the highest disutility in international travelling (Sarman et al., 2016; Kozak et al., 2007). Terrorism risk influences how travellers' perceive destinations by making geographically and culturally distant places intimidating (Araña & León, 2008; Perpiña et al., 2017). Terrorism risk prevents people from travelling even if they are interested in a destination (Alvarez & Campo, 2014; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Beyond terrorism risk of specific destinations, the biggest weapon of terrorism against tourism is the overall uncertainty and fear (Czinkota et al., 2010; Iyer et al., 2015) created based on the impression that terrorist attacks can happen anytime and anywhere. The unpredictability and potential global reach of terrorism has the power to restrain the willingness to travel all together (Floyd et al., 2004) and to create a devastating impact for the whole tourism industry (Goodrich, 2002). Despite of the significant potential and actual effect of terrorism on tourism and the increasing amount of research studies (Schuurman, 2018), disaster management literature predominantly focuses on the short-term impact of terrorism and addresses it with reactive response and crisis management strategies (Liu & Pratt, 2017; Seabra et al., 2014). The long-term impact and proactive strategy planning to build resilient tourism destinations in the face of terrorism are rarely discussed (Cahyanto & Pennington-Gray, 2017; Prayag, 2018).

One of the potential long-term impact of the fear of terrorism is rooted in its ability to distort the personal values of open-mindedness, novelty seeking and diversity appreciation (Konty et al., 2004; Veréb et al., 2018). These values are the essential qualities of travellers (Hannerz, 1990; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). When these values are blocked by the general fear of terrorism, travellers will act less on their desire for stimulation and excitement and more on their need for security (Veréb et al., 2018). They will become more restrained to explore (Alvarez & Campo, 2014) and even unwilling to travel (Floyd et al., 2004). Personal values are unlikely and difficult to change (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017), however, once a shift in value orientation occurred, its behavioural effect is long-lasting (Bardi et al., 2014; Schwartz, 2005). The prevailing fear of terrorism restraining open-mindedness and willingness to travel, therefore could have significant long-term consequences for the entire tourism industry.

The willingness to travel is rooted in the perception of security rather than the actual level of security (Chon, 1990; Sarman et al., 2016). Thus, the perception of security and stability of a destination and travelling, in general, is the foundation for tourism resilience in the face of terrorism. This study aims to gain a better understanding on how the fear of terrorism affects destination perception and how the image

of safety and stability, the long-established prerequisites of tourists' visitation (Richter & Waugh, 1986), can be restored in the mind of global travellers. The sociocultural aspect of destination resilience, cultural norms, personal values, perceptions and attitudes towards tourism and travelling (Calgaro et al., 2014), has received little attention in tourism studies (Tyrrell & Johnston, 2008). While (tourism) community resilience has gained interest among academics lately (e.g., Becken, 2013; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011), travellers' resilience, despite of being crucial in tourism resilience dynamics (Tyrrell & Johnston, 2008), has not yet been explored (Prayag, 2018). Gaining a better understanding on what makes travellers resistant toward the effects of the prevailing fear of terrorism would help practitioners in how to strengthen travellers' resilience towards security concerns. Ultimately, this knowledge could contribute to build a resilient global society, the foundation of enduring and global tourism resilience in the face of terrorism. Following a grounded theory design, the research is based on personal resilience literature (Egeland et al., 1993; Henderson et al., 1999) and universal approaches from clinical psychology domain to build up resilience (e.g., Garcia-Dia et al., 2013; Rees et al., 2015). The study strives to offer directions to tourism managers on how to implement strategies to create resilience at both local and global levels in the tourism industry.

As tourism is a dynamic, interrelated system (Nelson et al., 2007), it is crucial to study it from all angels in to order to get the true understanding of what constitutes its resilience and how it is formed (Pechlaner & Volgger, 2015). Hence, this study aims to investigate the resilience concept in tourism from the following suggested angels (Hartman, 2018): 'resilience to what', 'resilience of what 'and 'resilience of whom'. The aim is to interpret what resilience means in the eyes of the travellers (of whom) towards destinations (of what) in the face of terrorism (to what). The below research questions guided the study (table 8).

	Resilient to what…	**Resilient of what…**	**Resilient of whom…**
Research questions	In the face of the ever-present and unpredictable *risk of terrorism*…	…how does *destination perception*…	…of *travellers* change?
	In the face of the ever-present and unpredictable *risk of terrorism*…	…how does *destination choice*…	…of *travellers* change?
	In the face of the ever-present and unpredictable *risk of terrorism*…	…how can destination marketers reassure *the perception of safety and stability*…	…of *travellers*?

Table 8 – Research questions of the study

3.2. Theoretical Background: Resilience in tourism

3.2.1. Destination resilience rooted in destination image

There is a long-standing debate over the exact definition of resilience (Brown & Williams, 2015; Derissen et al., 2011). But one thing is generally accepted that it is good to be resilient (Davoudi & Porter, 2012). The latest research on tourism resilience describes resilience as the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance without collapsing, and to re-organize itself to maintain structures and functions, while allows change and further development (Innerhofer et al., 2018). Moreover, it views change as a positive transformation that assists the whole system to emerge even stronger after the disturbances (Hall et al., 2017).

Destination image perception plays an essential role in travel intention and decision (e.g., Bigne et al., 2001; Chen & Chen, 2010;). Some studies go that far to propose that the ultimate satisfaction with the travel experience is mainly determined by the original perception of it (Vogt & Andereck, 2003). This suggests that destination resilience is embedded in the image of the destination (Cahyanto & Pennington-Gray, 2017; Innerhofer et al., 2018). The conceptualization of destination image (DI) differs in the literature. However, it broadly refers to a set of holistic impressions, emotional thoughts, beliefs and prejudices regarding a destination constructed from diverse sources of information (Kim & Chen, 2015; Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009; Souiden et al., 2017). DI is generally defined, based on attitude theory (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), as consisting of cognitive, affective and conative components (Kim & Chen, 2015; Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009). Cognitive component includes tourists' beliefs about a particular destination; affective component describes the destination's emotional value to the traveller; and conative component captures the tourists' behavioural intentions with regards to the destination (Tasci et al., 2007). As a relative and dynamic concept (Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010), DI is swayed by various personal characteristics of the traveller (Gallarza et al., 2002). Besides socio-demographic factors, such as gender, age, level of education, social class, and country of origin (Andersen et al., 2017), personal motivation and value orientation (Hsu & Huang, 2016) also strongly influence how travellers' perceive a destination. Country norms and travellers' subjective norms (values) in relation to each other likewise have a potent impact on destination perception and travel intention and decision (Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009).

3.2.2. Travellers' resilience rooted in travellers' values

Individual resilience or psychological resilience, the capacity to appropriately function despite of high risk, stress or trauma (Egeland et al., 1993). As worded more recently, individual resilience is the capacity of a person to maintain his/her core integrity and hold on to his\her original values in the face of changed circumstances (Zolli & Healy, 2013). Phycological resilience is a debated construct (Rees et al., 2015). According to the classic view of the psychological resilience discussion, resilience is determined by a dominant personality trait (Block & Block, 1980), or the corresponding personal values (Parks-Leduc et al., 2015). In line with recent views, Ungar (2003) argues that resilience is not an individual quality, but instead a quality of the interaction between individuals and their environments, the way individuals react to their changing circumstances shows their innate resilience. Phycological resilience is also influenced by many inter and intrapersonal as well as environmental factors, like personal capacities and characteristics and situational factors as per social, cultural and political structures (Rees et al., 2015). The roots of individual resilience can be plentiful and their interactions are dynamic (Garcia-Dia et al., 2013), but all the definitions agree on the manifestation of individual resilience: to *retain one's core value*s *and to continue to act on them* in the face of adversity.

The main characteristics of personal values is that they lead behaviour (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 1992; 2006). The stronger a value conviction is the more resistant the behaviour it drives (Schwartz, 2005). Personal values are considered essential when it comes to destination perception (Hsu & Huang, 2016; Pike, 2012) and decision to travel (Kim & Chen, 2015). They are relatively stable (Roccas et al., 2014), but they could modify due to major changes in circumstances (Bardi et al., 2014; Schwartz, 2005). Terrorism or the threat of it was proven to be such a major change (Konty et al., 2004; Verkasalo et al., 2006). The prevailing fear has the ability to shift personal value orientation from open-mindedness, diversity appreciation and cultural tolerance towards self-preservation (Konty et al., 2004; Veréb et al., 2018; Verkasalo et al., 2006), to distort destination image perception (Pike, 2012) and to restrict the willingness to travel (Floyd et al., 2004; Sonmez & Graefe, 1998a). Being a resilient traveller to fear of terrorism means to hold on to ones' own convictions of open-mindedness when forming an opinion about a destination, and to strive for objective travel decisions despite of prevailing social prejudges about different cultures and countries.

Open-mindedness (Skrbis et al., 2004), embracing of diversity (Caldwell et al., 2006) and cultural tolerance (Featherstone, 2002) are referred to as cosmopolitan values (Cleveland et al., 2011; Warf, 2015), along with appreciation of novelty (Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2009), high-risk tolerance (Riefler et

al., 2012), curiosity and willingness to learn from others (Levy et al., 2007) and, above of all, the love for travelling (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Cosmopolitan values appear to be relatively resistant to the fear of terrorism (Veréb et al., 2018). Hence, this study aims to get an in-depth understanding of how the resistance of open-minded values can be used to build tourism resilience.

3.3. Research Methods

This study adopted a qualitative approach, a promising but less explored route in the domain of tourism research (Tsiotsou & Ratten, 2010). A "qualitative sense may provide tourism researchers and practitioners with improved means to conceptualize trade-offs implicit in tourism resilience [...], and a means to incorporate a guiding structure to an area of debate often characterized by a lack of theoretical, conceptual and practical clarity" (Tyrrell & Johnston 2008, pp. 23). To address this gap in tourism resilience domain, this research was carried out following the principles of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Goulding, 2005). This method is recommended for investigating the actualities in the real world (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) through the eyes of those who partake in it (Glaser, 1978). Grounded theory is also highlighted as an auspicious and innovative method for tourism studies, especially those aiming to decipher travellers' values (Kachel & Jennings, 2010). Moreover, as grounded theory is not confined to any specific theoretical lens (Holton, 2009), it provides the freedom and faculty for this study to discuss the emerging theory in an interdisciplinary setting and to draw conclusions from tourism, psychology and marketing literature at the same time. This study opted for using in-depth interviews, the most established method for data collection in grounded theory (Goulding, 2005). In total, 49 in-depth interviews were conducted during the two phases of the study. They covered a great diversity of demographics and nationalities in order to analyse the changes in travelling and safety perceptions in the face of terrorism *in the global society*.

3.3.1. Exploratory phase: research objective, method and preliminary results

The first, exploratory phase aimed to gain an overall understanding of the impact of terrorism threat. To ensure a wide overview maximum variation sampling or "commonsense sampling" of grounded theory (Goulding, 2005, pp. 296) was applied. 24 participants were selected, representing a great variety of nationalities of all five continents, a wide age-range from late teens till early 70's, a selection of the main religious groups (Christianity, Islam, Buddhism) and an array of different social status and professional

background from the private, public and non-profit sectors including religious institutions. To ensure a wide representation of different approaches to travelling each travellers' archetype as per the classic categorization of Hannerz (1990) and Thompson and Tambyah (1999) was included in this initial sample: locals (minimal willingness to and/or experience in international travelling), international tourists and expatriates.

Based on the personal narratives of the initial sample, two groups seemed to form. The two groups showed opposing positions regarding three main attitudes of international travelling: cultural openness (table 9), willingness to take risks in exploring (table 10) and appreciation of novelty and diversity (table 11). These characteristics are both the prerequisites of global traveling as well as the consequence of it. Global travels require bias-free curiosity to explore (Skrbis et al., 2004), adventurous nature to take risks in leaving one's comfort zone (Riefler et al., 2012) and a humble open-mind to learn from others (Levy et al., 2007). Also, global travels build and enhance cosmopolitan mind-set (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Featherstone, 2002) through encouraging the travellers to re-evaluate their local biases and develop global principles (Merton, 1957). Profiling studies highlight these topographies as the main attributes of cosmopolitans (e.g., Caldwell et al., 2006, Riefler et al., 2012). Thus, the first group was labelled cosmopolitan (containing 13 respondents), and the second group non-cosmopolitan (containing 11 respondents) regarding orientation and interest.

Non-cosmopolitan disposition	"I feel a bit suspicious and reserved regarding strangers; and if the stranger also has a different cultural background, this feeling of apprehensiveness amplifies. And on top of that, if you also hear from the media that they are typically the people who could initiate a terrorist attack then your negative feelings towards them will grow even stronger." *– Hungarian small business owner*
Cosmopolitan disposition	"When I was in Turkey, I stayed at a Kurdish family. They were very nice people, but Turkish people treated them as terrorists [...] They are treated as terrorist by the people we treat as terrorists." *– Brazilian writer*

Table 9 – Examples of opposing dispositions on cultural openness between cosmopolitan and non-cosmopolitan respondents

Non-cosmopolitan disposition	"The fear of terrorism definitely changes the way I travel. I prefer countries considered less propitious to terrorist attacks. For example, I wouldn't feel safe travelling around in the Middle East. I'm not willing to take that [terrorism] risk. I like to take risks in certain personal and professional aspects, but not in this case." *– Portuguese PhD student*
Cosmopolitan disposition	"Obviously, I am concerned about terrorism. But do I live in fear of terrorism? No. We lived in South Africa during the Apartheid. We lived there when terrorists attacked, and bombs exploded. And even then, we never really lived in panic. We didn't stop doing what we were doing because of that. We became careful, but we were not obsessed with the idea of terrorism. [...] Today, I still freely travel around." *– South African Christian pastor*

Table 10 – Examples of opposing dispositions on risk tolerance between cosmopolitan and non-cosmopolitan respondents

Non-cosmopolitan disposition	"I see travelling to another country as visiting someone's house. When I am travelling, I always have in my mind that I have to respect their culture, I need to respect the way they live, I can't impose myself. When you are at someone's house, you have to comply with his rules. If there is someone, and I don't like the way he lives, I will not stay in his house. If I know that the local rules would leave me uncomfortable, it is not a place for holidays." *– Angolan lawyer*
Cosmopolitan disposition	"I always loved travelling. I know rationally that terrorism is a threat and I am going to be more careful, but it wouldn't stop me. I would still go everywhere. It is the explorer or the adventurer in me." *– British primary school teacher*

Table 11 – Examples of opposing dispositions on novelty seeking and diversity appreciation between cosmopolitan and non-cosmopolitan respondents

The word frequency scores (figures 5-6), generated by the NVivo Pro 11.0 qualitative data analysis software, showed that the non-cosmopolitan narratives focused more on the topic of terrorism, and used more the word fear, security and precautions compared to the cosmopolitan scripts. The cosmopolitan narratives centred mostly on people and travel stories and referred more frequently to being open than the non-cosmopolitan script. Both groups showed to be equally aware of the current terrorism risk (figures 5-6), but cosmopolitans seemed to keep their open-minded attitude towards others as well as their enthusiasm for travelling (tables 9-11). Cosmopolitan respondents seemed less affected by the restraining fear of terrorism and appeared to be able to keep their original value orientation (cosmopolitanism) intact,

or in other words, their core integrity, in the face of advertises, like terrorism threat. Based on the notion that psychological resilience is the capacity of a persona to hold on to one's original values and attitudes in challenging circumstances (Garcia-Dia et al., 2013; Henderson et al., 1999; Zolli & Healy, 2013), these travellers can be classified as resilient. Besides their internal integrity, the individual resilience of these travellers was explicitly demonstrated in their ongoing conscious strive to keep open-mind and objectivity as a foundation of their destination perception and travel decisions. Enduring challenges with a (mostly) unaffected functioning, like an intact willingness to travel, is another mark of psychological resilience (Ungar, 2003).

Figure 5 – Word cloud of non-cosmopolitan interview scripts

Figure 6 – Word cloud of cosmopolitan interview scripts

3.3.2. Second phase: research objective, method and data analysis

The second phase of the study aimed to better understand what makes cosmopolitan travellers more resilient. Building on the notion of theoretical sampling of grounded theory, as to refine the sampling approach throughout the research (Goulding, 2005), this phase of the research focused only on the cosmopolitan (resilient) travellers. In order to increase the initial cosmopolitan sample, further 25 people with strong cosmopolitan conviction were interviewed. The strength of the cosmopolitan orientation was assessed by the C-Cosmo Scale of Riefler et al. (2012) (appendix 2). This is the most recent cosmopolitan scale incorporating all previous scales (Cannon et al., 1994; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2009), and used as a foundation in both local (e.g., Terasaki & Perkins, 2017) and transnational research (e.g., Levy et al., 2019). Only the travellers who scored above the median of the 7-point C-Cosmo Scale and so, categorized as cosmopolitan by Riefler et al. (2012), qualified for the interview. The participants of the first phase of the study were also inquired on the C-Cosmo Scale. Based on their results, they were grouped into cosmopolitan and non-cosmopolitan groups. In most of the cases, the individual scores in the C-Cosmo Scale confirmed the respondents' qualitative narratives. The results of the C-Cosmo Scale gave a fair picture of their well-meaning intention towards and interest in cosmopolitanism, however it did not accurately fall in line with their reported behaviour. To eliminate a potential respondent bias regarding a highly desired social quality as cosmopolitanism (Bourdieu, 1987), and to gain a better understanding of the actual drivers of their behaviour, the respondents were also asked to fill Schwartz' Short Value Questionnaire (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005; Schwartz, 1992) (appendix 1). Personal values orient the way of thinking and lead behaviour (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 2006). The application of the Schwartz' Value Questionnaire enabled a more objective judgement of the respondents' level of cosmopolitanism. The results of Value Questionnaire were analysed in line with previous studies, in which 'openness to experience' value dimension represents the most important driving factor of cosmopolitan characteristics, like diversity appreciation, cultural tolerance and open-mindedness (Caldwell et al., 2006; Jiang et al., 2015; Veréb et al., 2018). This 'openness to experience' value dimension consists of values, like stimulation and self-direction and opposes values in the circular value structure (Schwartz, 1992), like security and conformity (appendix 2).

The recruitment of the second phase's participants relied on a snowball sampling method by recommendation of the previous respondents. This approach allowed maintaining the global scheme of the sample and of the research. Global focus was a crucial requirement of the study, as cosmopolitanism does not link to a single nationality, race or location but embraces globalism (Merton, 1957), by transcending national boundaries (Cleveland et al., 2011). Global focus also allowed addressing one of the

main issues of a big part of grounded theory studies that usually, they are limited to a context specific stage rather than further developed to a general level (Goulding, 2005). A broad and diversified approach in sampling is suggested to increase the ability of generalization of the constructed theory to various other settings and populations (Morse, 1994).

In total, including both phases of the study, 49 people were interviewed. Data collection stopped, when reaching relative data saturation, where no further major themes of information were revealed with subsequent interviews. Full theoretical saturation, where "no additional data are being found whereby the [researcher] can further develop properties of the category" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp.61), could not be reached due to the wide variety of the respondents. However, inductive thematic saturation was achieved (Saunders et al., 2018), where "additional data do not lead to any new emergent themes" (Given 2016, pp.135), and when "the necessary similarities and contrasts required by the emerging theory" (Dey, 1999, pp.30) are reached. So, the interviews stopped, when "given the theory, [...] we had sufficient data to illustrate it" (Starks & Trinidad, 2007, pp.1375).

The overall sample of the respondents, including both phases of the study, represented 23 countries and included multiple nationalities: Angola, Australia, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong (China), Hungary, India, Iran, Israel, New Zealand, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Serbia, South Africa, South Korea, Syria, the UK, the USA and Vietnam. Moreover, this sample contained all economic sectors (private, public, non-profit and religious), major world religions (Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism) and also agnosticism and atheism; and showed a relatively equal gender distribution (male - 49%, female - 51%) and a wide range of occupations.

Based on the content analysis of the interview scripts, the results of the C-Cosmo Scale (Reifler et al., 2012) and Schwartz's Short Value Questionnaire (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005; Schwartz, 1992), the respondents were initially grouped into two main groups: cosmopolitans and non-cosmopolitans. The cosmopolitan respondents were further categorised into four sub-groups depending on their level of resilience to terrorism: striving for resilience, naturally resilient, advocates and thrill-seekers. Besides the suggestive questionnaire results, the level of (travellers') resilience was assessed based on personal resilience theory (Ungar, 2003; Zolli & Healy, 2013), more specifically, how the prevailing fear of terrorism affected value orientation and travel behaviour. The respondents' value system, beliefs and attitudes were re-evaluated and validated based on their personal history. The more diverse life experience they had, providing evidence for their untouched personal values and unchanged travel behaviour in the face of the current surge in terrorist activities, the more resilience they were regarded. The more extensive real-life

evidence they recalled supporting shifting perception, attitude and behaviour from open-mindedness, risk tolerance, diversity and novelty appreciation towards security and conformity the least resilient they were considered.

The transcribed interviews were analysed, first, following the procedures of open coding, reading through the scripts and categorizing each sentence, and then of axial coding, relating categories with subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Finally, selective coding was applied to explain causal relationships between categories, and the dynamic interrelationships of categories formed the basis for theory construction (Spiggle, 1994). The method of constant comparison was followed through the coping process (Goulding, 2005) and the scripts were subsequently compared with each other and coded additionally, if needed, in order to ensure the use of the same code book in the transcript analysis. According to the concept of theoretical sensitivity (Barney & Holton, 2004), first, the emerging categories from data analysis were compared with existing theories in order to access their relevance for both tourism literature and practice. Second, possible fit between the emerging categories with existing concepts were checked. Finally, the potential extensions of the current academic literature from data analysis were assessed. The last stage of the theory development process consisted of the refinement of the core categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) that (re)arranged all the concepts and offered an overall explanation of the phenomenon under study. Additionally, the transcripts and the codes were reanalysed using NVivo Pro (version 11.0) software to gain possible novel insights by using a different data analysis technique and to support the visual presentation of the findings.

3.4. Overall Results and Discussion: Profiling travellers' resilience

All of the respondents reported to be aware of the global terrorism risk and acknowledged that they could be a victim of a terrorist attack. They all stated that the information on terrorism in the various media, like news on TV and in newspapers, online blogs and discussions, social media, and when watching documentaries or reading biographies and other non-fiction books, even when talking to friends, left them with a sense of uneasiness (at the very least) regarding terrorism. This general statement, in line with previous literature, confirms that the global threat of terrorism – a terrorist attack can happen anytime and anywhere – induces an overall feeling of fear (uneasiness) (e.g., Czinkota et al. 2010; Iyer et al., 2015). Fear caused an increased awareness of the need of security and an increased concern for security among all respondents. Maslow's (1968) hierarchy of needs theory already established that security, as one of the most fundamental needs, gains importance if threatened. While the fear of terrorism was overall present

among the respondents, the research highlighted that it did not produce the same reaction in every traveller group. Some travellers seemed profoundly restrained by it. Some others appeared more resilient to it and only acknowledged it. There were also a few who even thrived on it.

The prevailing fear of terrorism tinted the overall destination image perception and the entire destination choice process. For example, all respondents in the highly resilient groups, admitted that, however they do not avoid destination due to potential terrorist attacks, they are, too more cautious and attentive when travelling due to the general fearful atmosphere. This general negativity bias, fuelled by the fact that terrorism can happen anywhere and anytime, confirms the widespread restraining effect of terrorism among all travellers, suggested by previous studies (Konty et al., 2004; Veréb et al., 2018). But, unlike previous studies, this research revealed that this fear produced different reactions at each level of resilience (in each group). Table 12 summarises the findings on how fear seemed to impact each components of DI perception (cognition, affect, connotation and decision) in the different groups. For example, the destination choice of non-cosmopolitan travellers is restrained by the fear of terrorism, while the destination choice of thrill-seekers appears to be spurred on by terrorism risk. Furthermore, the overflow displays how strongly the travellers feel about their views on (the effects of) terrorism, and how they use this conviction. For example, advocates aim to transform others to better cope with the challenges of terrorism, and thrill-seekers aim to build themselves up by overcoming it.

	Destination Belief (Cognition)	Destination/ Cultural Emotions (Affect)	Travel Intention (Conation)	Destination Choice (Decision)	Overflow
Non-resilient	-	-	-	-	x
Striving for resilience	x	-	-	-	x
Naturally resilient	x	x	x	-	x
Advocate	x	x	x	-	outward
Thrill-seeker	x	x	x	+	inward

'-' restraining influence; '+' encouraging influence; 'x' low to no significant influence

Table 12 – DI perception and destination choice formation at different levels of resilience to terrorism threat

3.4.1. Non-resilient (non-cosmopolitan) group

Majority of the respondents of the non-resilient (non-cosmopolitan) group scored less than average on the C-Cosmo Scale suggesting a modest cosmopolitan conviction. The results of the Short Value Questionnaire implied that these respondents valued more security, tradition and conformity over new experiences, stimulation and self-direction. Their personal narratives (sustained through probing questions) also reflected that their main travel motivation was comfort and main travel concern was safety. The non-resilient (non-cosmopolitan) respondents seem to prefer relaxing holidays and familiar destinations, as opposed to most resilient travellers (cosmopolitan respondents) who enjoy more discovering a culturally different destination or a challenging landscape during holidays (table 11). These narratives confirm the results of Jiang et al. (2015) and Pike (2012) who found that personal values influence travel motivation. They argue that people seeking novelty and diversity, as cosmopolitans, prefer experience-centred holidays, and people, who value security and conformity, as non-cosmopolitans, choose more relaxing holidays. These findings also echo the literature on self-congruity (Beerli et al., 2007; Chon, 1990). Travellers chose destinations more in line with their self-image. For example, non-resilient (non-cosmopolitan) respondents said they were not interested in travelling to far-away destinations (both culturally and geographically), while most resilient (cosmopolitan) respondents did not find similar and close-by destinations challenging and different enough to stir their interest (table 13).

Non-resilient	"I am not very interested in very different cultures, and very far places. I like familiar places and where I need to spend less time to get there and less hassle to get around. [...] I want to know my country and my region first, before I would be interested to go out my way and go somewhere very far and very different." *– Hungarian small business owner*
Naturally resilient	"I don't like crowded and touristy places, where you can't even take a picture without a bunch of other people also showing up on your photo. [...] I love my country, but when I get a chance to travel, I like to discover the hidden treasures of a new place. I love to immerse myself in a new country to the level that I can feel, even if for a couple of days, that I am not just a tourist, I am one of them, I am part of that culture. I like to try the local dishes at a small restaurant far from the tourist routes. I like to learn the local customs. I love to see unusual architecture that are not even mentioned in the travel guides." *– Serbian regional retail manager*

Table 13 – Contrast between non-resilient and naturally resilient respondents with regards to novelty seeking and diversity appreciation

Non-resilient respondents favoured travelling in high protection, potentially in isolation, for example, selecting resort holidays. Travelling in isolation to keep away from potential risks and unfamiliarity of a destination is one of the ways travellers act in the face of terrorism (Clancy, 2012). Moreover, this group frequently reported not only to accept rigorous, possibly uncomfortable, security measures during travelling and at a holiday destination, but to welcome them as a reassurance of security (table 14); just as found by other studies (Taylor & Toohey, 2005; Viscusi & Zeckhauser, 2003).

Non-resilient	"Originally, I was afraid to go to Paris and visit the Eifel Tower. But when I saw that huge line waiting to be checked by the security officers, I felt safer, and we decided to go up." *– South Korean master's student (arts)*
Non-resilient	"I don't mind the so-called 'invasion of privacy', even if it is uncomfortable. It is a reasonable price to pay for security when I travel." *– Portuguese university professor*

Table 14 – Examples of non-resilient disposition toward security measures

Non-resilient respondents referred that they followed closely and trusted fully the information in the media, which seemed to make them more sensitive to the mood of the ongoing media news (table 15). Accordingly, recent research found that the media has the ability to magnify the fear of terrorism (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016; Walters et al., 2016) and to increase the public perception of travel risk (Schroeder et al., 2018). Non-resilient respondents were able to recall majority of the vivid imagery of the terrorism news. The more vivid, emotionally gripping images of the harm of terrorism, the more impactful and memorable they were found (Sunstein, 2007), as well as the more devastating their long-term impact on tourism demand and destination image were (Brown, 2015).

Non-resilient	"Even if I hear about people shooting around or driving a van into the crowd, I don't think immediately it was a terrorist attack. However, if the media says it was terrorism and we should be concerned, I believe they did their research, and I accept it." *– South African retired administrator*
Non-resilient	"I cannot help it. You hear the same message over and over again, and then you just believe it in the end. [...] You start fearing some things and people." *– Hungarian marketing manager*

Table 15 – Examples of the influence of the media on non-cosmopolitan respondents

Non-resilient respondents reported to have changed their overall opinion about a destination after a terrorist attack, they re-evaluated its safety status and its ability to care for travellers. Their destination

perception became emotionally tainted after a terrorist attack. Non-resilient respondents admitted that they felt frightened and this fear quenched their interest in the destination; they did not find the place attractive any more (table 16). Fear, depending on its intensity, has the power to transform into behaviours that lead to avoid situations or to launch into defence mechanisms that may even disregard reality (Ohman, 2008). Avoiding destinations is the most common terrorism risk reduction strategy for tourists (Isaac & Velden, 2018; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Moreover, Karl et al. (2015) found that destinations that are perceived to have high terrorism risk are usually rejected at the very first stage of the decision choice processes.

Non-resilient	"My opinion would definitely change about the place or even about the country, because of what happened [terrorist attack]. It is an emotional response, I don't think so, we can detach from that experience." *– Portuguese mobile engineer*
Non-resilient	"I didn't feel comfortable travelling through Turkey after the terrorist attack at the Istanbul airport. I preferred to pay more and fly longer when I went home to South Africa just to avoid the stop-over in Turkey. There are some countries I would love to visit, but I will not visit them because of terrorism. Turkey is one of them." *– South African retired administrator*

Table 16 – Examples of non-resilient feelings and attitude towards terrorism-affected destinations

Non-resilient respondents also reported that they disregard the countries and regions where the terrorist came from, regardless if they were religion-driven jihadist from Syria, economically and socially motivated minority groups in Russia or far-right political extremist in Sweden. This could be a sign of cultural bias prompted by the negative incidental feelings following terrorism news (Cain et al., 2012). This could also be explained by intertwined image of a country and its products (and people), where the image of one reflects on the other (van Ittersum et al., 2003). For example, most of the non-resilient respondents confessed that they feel apprehensive towards strangers, particularly towards people with Middle East origin, as they are pictured as terrorists in the popular media (table 17, table 18/a). Fekete (2004) too, demonstrated the ability of the media to create a xenophobic atmosphere.

Non-resilient	"The people that are terrorists call themselves Muslims. [...] I never not wanted them to have as a friend, it just hasn't happened that way. It would take longer for me to trust them than just a regular person who is either not religious or a Christian. I think I would be more weary of them." *– British headmaster*
Non-resilient	"I view other cultures, countries and religions in a different light due to the current risk of terrorism. With the influence of the several types of media, mainly the Arabic countries seem more risky and unstable, and the people unreliable." *– German operations manager*

Table 17 – Examples of cultural bias owing to the fear of terrorism among the non-resilient respondents

Building on the notion that change in behaviour indicates change in personal values (Bardi et al., 2014; Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 2005), this group appears to have experienced a shift in the importance of their values. Their personal values seem to have shifted from open-mindedness to conformity, from self-transcendence to self-preservation due to the fear of terrorism (table 18), regardless of their nationality, gender or age. This value shift affected respondents' overall opinion of destinations (cognition), their feelings about other cultures (affect), their willingness to travel (conation) as well as their final destination choice (decision) – that is, each component of destination image perception (Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009; Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010). They could not keep their personal values nor their travel decision-making process intact in the face of terrorism threat. According to the extent of the supporting literature, this segment seems to represent the average traveller. Based on the findings of this research, they seem to be the least resistant to the restraining fear of terrorism.

Non-resilient	"I believe that the environment in which we are definitely influences the way we view the world and the way we look at international travelling. [...] Unfortunately, I also look in a different way to certain countries, such as Syria and Saudi Arabia [due to terrorism]. When I pass by a person and it is possible to identify his religion as Muslim, the first word that comes to my mind is 'terrorist'." *– Portuguese master's student (economics)*
Non-resilient	"You do change because of this atmosphere. But it is normal. You become more apprehensive, more suspicious, more attentive. You just have to be." *– Indian pharmacist*
Non-resilient	"I am in general very fearful when it comes to travelling. The fear of terrorism didn't change my views or this feature of mine, it has just amplified them." *– Hungarian marketing manager*

Table 18 – Examples implying the shift in personal values towards conformity and security among the non-resilient respondents

3.4.2. Striving for resilience group

The narratives of the respondents in the resilient (cosmopolitan) groups clearly reflected the general characteristics of cosmopolitans, however, with different degrees of intensity and levels of awareness. The respondents in the striving for resilience group acquired a high score in each cosmopolitan dimension of the C-Cosmo Scale confirming their cultural tolerance, open-minded attitude and interest in foreign travelling. Yet, their value orientation as per the Short Value Questionnaire backed up by their personal narratives pointed to a security-concerned travel style towards destinations and people with different cultural and/or religious background. The main difference between the non-resilient and striving for resilience respondents is, however they all seem to act in the same way, that the respondents in the striving group were able to recognize bias in their behaviour, and irrationality in their fearful attitude. Moreover, they said that they consciously and effortfully strive to correct it (table 19).

Striving for resilience	"The general feeling of negativity influences me, too. I tend to rely on stereotypes, especially initially when I don't have much knowledge or experience with regards to people or places. But I consciously strive to keep an open mind. [...] You shouldn't judge a whole country based on the action of some its people." *– New Zealander nurse*
Non-resilient	The fear of terrorism is common. It is normal to be afraid of something you cannot control. [...] When I pass by a person and it is possible to identify his religion as Muslim, the first word that comes to my mind is 'terrorist'." *– Portuguese master's student (economics)*

Table 19 – Contrast between striving respondents who reject and non-resilient respondents who accept fear and cultural bias as inevitable

Striving respondents also referred that they did not lose interest in a destination, and kept a positive opinion about its people, culture, and landscape after a terrorist attack, but they would not consider visiting it in the future. This attitude shows that their fear prompted by a recent terrorist attack was so overwhelming that it changed their overall safety evaluation of the destination, even if their desire to see it did not change fundamentally (table 20). Emotions overplaying the cognitive risk assessment and driving the actual behaviour was demonstrated in risk perception literature (Finucane, 2012; Loewenstein et al., 2001). It was also established that when forming an overall perception about a destination, and emotions are not in accordance with the cognitive beliefs about a destination, emotions will drive the attitude towards the destination (Alvarez & Campo, 2014; Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009). Emotions play an important role in destination choice as they represent a common currency in judgments and decisions, allowing people to

easily compare good and bad feelings about a destination rather than trying to analyse a complex situational context and disparate logical reasons (Cabanac, 1992; Pfister & Böhm, 2008).

Striving for resilience	"My friend was in Paris at the time of a terrorist attack. She was waiting in line to get to a concert when a guy started shooting around. She didn't get hurt, but she didn't want to come back to Paris again with me. She said all these amazing things about Paris. She got me all excited about travelling there. But, she just refused to go back again. So, I postponed my trip a bit, too." *– South Korean master's student (architecture)*
Striving for resilience	"I don't think so I would change my opinion about the country itself [after a terrorist attack]. The terrorist attack is not their fault. Terrorist attack can happen anywhere. [...] But, maybe, I wouldn't travel to that country for some time." *– Hungarian retired nurse*

Table 20 – Examples of emotions (i.e. fear) overriding conscious strive to objectively judge travel risk among the respondents of the striving for resilience group

Striving respondents admitted that they felt overwhelmingly fear when hearing about terrorism, as opposed to the other resilient groups saying that they felt angry seeing the senseless destruction (table 21). Lerner and Keltner (2001) demonstrated that anger evokes more optimistic beliefs about terrorism risk, whereas fear evokes greater pessimism about risks. This could explain that the fear striving respondents felt stopped them from visiting a terrorism-affected destination, while anger did not have restraining effect on the willingness to travel within the highly resilient groups.

Striving for resilience	"People base their opinion on past events, also regarding holiday destinations. If there was a terrorist attack before, they would be more fearful about going there. I would too change my overall opinion about a holiday destination that recently had an attack. I would think that it is less safe. I would try to avoid it. [...] I am very much afraid of terrorism, too." *– Iranian PhD student*
Advocate	"If you allow the fear of terrorism to influence you and stop you from traveling, to stop you from doing what you want to do, then surely you have achieved the objective of the terrorist to stop you from feeling free. I will not be afraid, because then I am helping them achieving their objectives. No, I will not do that! There was an attack in Manchester, in the Arena. It is my town. And the feeling in the town was like 'we will not give in to this'. There was not a feeling of fear but of coming together in revolt, standing strong. [...] I feel empathy or support, and sadness after a terrorist attack. Also anger that I feel towards the terrorists." *– British non-profit worker*

Table 21 – Contrast between fear and anger as emotional response to terrorism at different levels of resilience

While striving respondents seemed to be overwhelmed by the fear to travel to places that they perceived dangerous, closer to home, they fought to keep an open mind towards people of different national and religious backgrounds. They carefully reminded themselves of the irrationality of their subjective fear in view of objective statistics and strived to correct their initial, biased perception and behaviour (table 22). This conscious approach resembles cognitive behavioural therapy (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013) and bias modification treatment (Hakamata et al., 2010) in clinical psychology aiming to recognize and change harmful thought patterns and build personal resilience (Garcia-Dia et al., 2013; Rees et al., 2015). Striving resilient respondents also reported to build mental scenarios of contingency in a risky situation, like in exposure therapy (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013), to increase their impression of preparedness and reduce their impression of uncertainty. They also did extra research and looked for independent media sources to learn truthful information behind media news. Travel information search was established as the leading risk reduction strategy in terrorism risk literature (Isaac & Velden, 2018; Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017).

Striving for resilience	"On my way home, I saw a man at the bus stop. He was wearing ethnic clothes, and he looked shabby and dirty. I put him instructively into a category. I stepped further away from him. Then a beggar passed by. He didn't ask for money, but this man offered him some change. Later, he also held the bus door open to another man with lots of bags. I grew such a respect for this man. So, I don't want to rely on my instinctive prejudges. I want to learn to know better and to act better." *– German physiotherapist*
Striving for resilience	"The fear of terrorism makes me a bit more concerned when it comes to different people. For example, we were at the train in Paris and I saw people talking in a different language and very loud, it made me a little bit more attentive, and also uncomfortable. But I reminded myself that we have to be accepting, not everyone is evil who is different." *– Brazilian stay-at-home mother*
Striving for resilience	"I wouldn't feel comfortable visiting Muslim countries, or travelling to the Middle East. I know that the statistical probability of a terrorist attack is lower in Dubai than in London. It is indeed irrational. The reason could be that I don't know much about the Arab world and the Middle East, and the information I have is rather controversial and makes me feel uncomfortable. If I were about to go, I would research about the place. I would read about their history, their local customs and the current issues they are facing. I would also be more prepared regarding the real terrorism risk." *– Hungarian secretary*

Table 22 – Examples of the conscious strive to keep an open mind and unbiased attitude among the respondents of the striving for resilience group

Cannon and Yaprak (2001, pp. 25) argue that cosmopolitans are "made and not born", and they gradually move from local-mindedness to a cosmopolitan orientation through their conscious effort (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Individual resilience is also an acquired quality building up either spontaneously as a result of various life experiences (Rees et al., 2015) or through conscious effort (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013). So, this group of respondents can be considered cosmopolitan (resilient), they are cosmopolitan (resilient) in the making.

3.4.3. Naturally resilient group

The next cosmopolitan group (the next level of resilience) represents the travellers with naturally flowing cosmopolitan tendencies. The naturally resilient group acquired a high overall score on the C-Cosmo Scale and their value orientation as well as their personal narratives reflected their open-minded, risk-tolerant and all-embracing nature. The naturally resilient respondents predominantly reported to have a multicultural upbringing, and/or live an expatriate lifestyle with extensive international travel experience (table 23). International experience (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999) and multicultural background (Featherstone, 2002) were found to facilitate a cosmopolitanism mind-set. These experiences were also shown to enrich personal character (Caldwell et al., 2006; Levy et al., 2007) and support personal resilience through building flexibility (Ungar, 2003).

Naturally resilient	"I grew up in a really mixed culture. If you were a racist at all, you wouldn't have any friends. Travelling and living in different countries have also shaped us. So, our view is different than native people from America. We are more open to people and the way they do things." *– American missionary*
Naturally resilient	"Living abroad did shape me. I had a chance to experience big cities where you can find people from all over the world. This experience made me a more tolerant person, more open minded, curious about other cultures. I also judge less people by their appearance, be it race or social class." *– Portuguese college professor*

Table 23 – Examples of character-shaping background in the naturally resilient group

Naturally resilient respondents also displayed a great curiosity to discover unknown places and cultures, not only to see them, but to immerse themselves in them and learn from them (table 9/b, table 13/b). This cultural curiosity is the typical characteristic of cosmopolitans (Alden et al., 2006; Levy et al., 2007). Hall (1997) argues that racial knowledge and cultural tolerance is formed through personal contact with

'others', which assist to mark the 'other' as the 'normal'. These respondents seem to have extensive and highly multi-cultural social network. They seem comfortable in multiple cultural environments and move between cultural boundaries with ease. In-depth knowledge about other cultures is not a necessary trait of cosmopolitans (Riefler et al., 2012), it is their inherent interest and willingness to become engaged with other cultures that makes cosmopolitans distinctive (Hannerz, 1990). However, these respondents appeared to possess both the knowledge of other cultures and the inherent interest to learn more. Their behaviour implies a core cosmopolitan identity, not only some of the cosmopolitan characteristics (Kendall et al., 2009). Their cosmopolitan identity seems to have paved the way for the naturally resilient respondents to relate to others who are different and to dare to travel freely even in the presence of terrorism risk (table 24).

Naturally resilient	"I come from a multicultural country, I don't feel intimidated by the cultural difference or other religions, we live side by side in Russia. I evaluate people more based on their individual character. [...] Terrorism is threat everywhere, but I travel anyway. The threat is not from Muslim people, the threat is from crazy people, the extremists of far right or far left, the radical American or European." *– Russian government consultant*
Naturally resilient	"When I think about terrorism as a reoccurring issue in some countries, like Syria or Afghanistan, I would still choose to travel to those countries. The real chances to be killed by a terrorist attack is very slim compared to, for example, crime. And supposing that most terrorist are Muslim, if a Muslim person has set near me right now, I would have a conversation with him, and most probably we would end up being friends in an hour." *– Canadian-Greek chef*

Table 24 – The naturally flowing cosmopolitan disposition of naturally resilient travellers in relating to people and to the world around them

Naturally resilient respondents also acknowledged the media's inevitable influence, but they were able to recognize and compensate for the exaggerated media tendencies. They could see the bigger picture and place terrorism threat in an accurate context and associate it with realistic statistical probabilities (table 25). They purposefully built strategies to avoid or at least, reduce the media's fear-provoking impact, like (1) keeping in mind the tendency of news media to exaggerate; (2) relying only on independent media sources; (3) carefully limiting the topics of incoming news, for example, through automated RSS feeds; (4) carefully limiting the sensationalist details of incoming news, for example, screening only the titles of the news but not reading the whole article; and in some cases, (5) radically limiting media exposure. This

attitude to acknowledge an unwanted influence and control the effect of an environmental stressor is an essential quality of resilient individuals (Glantz & Johnson, 1999).

Naturally resilient	"I don't trust the media regarding information about the countries. I believe that the media sometimes exaggerates regarding what is happening on the ground. However, the media could be a good indication on what the real risks could be. [...] It [media] does contribute to my overall decision on to go or not to go. But it is not the only source I listen to and make my decision on. [...] Also, when you are frequently travelling to some relatively unsafe countries, you can do a much better risk analysis that any company can do themselves." *– French auditor*
Naturally resilient	"We are not afraid of terrorism in Europe, and we are not afraid of guns in America. However, both can happen, they are blown up out of proportion by the media." *– American missionary*

Table 25 – Examples of the view naturally resilient respondents expressed about the media

Naturally resilient respondents did not rely on assumptions when forming destination image or making travel decisions, because they could confidently depend on their personal network and/or their own experience to gain first-hand information about destinations and their crisis-management progress (table 26). It is already established in the marketing literature that during any purchase decision, consumers trust more organic information sources and personal experiences over the schemes of the news and commercials (Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017). Social example was also established to play an important role in leisure activity decision-making, like travelling (Kim et al., 2018; Siegel & Wang, 2019).

Naturally resilient	"I am open-minded and easy going when it comes to travelling, maybe because I know a lot of people travelling to traditionally not very safe places. It is the lifestyle of our friends' circle. I think that the more you are travelling to unsafe places and the more people you know who are travelling to these places, the less afraid you become." *– French finance manager*
Naturally resilient	"In light of the past year terrorist attacks, Turkey might not be the favourite destinations for lot of European and Western people. I don't think this way, because I always travel to Turkey. I saw that it is not unsafe, and there is nothing really happening on the ground, and the incidents were isolated incidents. Maybe because of my previous experience in Syria and Lebanon, where I have seen so much worse, I considered travelling to Istanbul after a terrorist attack safe." *– Syrian non-profit project coordinator*

Table 26 – Examples of the personal experiences and network as a shield to protect from internal bias and external influences

The naturally resilient group displayed a high level of objectivity when forming destination image and a great level of practicality when making travel decisions, showing their personal resilience in the face of circumstantial challenges. Their view of a terrorist-stricken destination and their willingness to travel after a terrorist attack seemed unaffected (table 27).

Naturally resilient	"Terrorist attack does not influence much my country or city image. Terrorism comes outside of the country. Politics influence my opinion more about a country, as it comes within. Terrorism does not change how people live, who people are, what they do. And it is the country's culture I have an opinion about. Terrorism is not part of the country's culture, it is not a permanent part of the city, so it does not alter my picture about the country." *– German high school senior*
Naturally resilient	"I changed my travel plans due to terrorism, but it was not out of fear of terrorism. I was supposed to fly through Brussels after the terrorist attack. I wouldn't have changed my plans due to the attack, but I couldn't fly because the airport was closed. If the airport had been open, I would have flown the day after the attack. [...] If the place is fully functional after an incident, I don't see any reason for special security alert." *– Russian government consultant*

Table 27 – Examples of the personal experiences and network as a shield to protect from internal assumptions and external influences

Naturally resilient respondents appeared to be highly risk tolerant as they ventured to countries that are deemed less safe. In some cases, they even seemed to look for risks by preferring adventure holidays to challenge personal boundaries (table 28). High risk tolerance is an essential quality of global travels and cosmopolitanism (Riefler et al., 2012), as well as the solid foundation of personal resilience (Garcia-Dia et al., 2013; Glantz & Johnson, 1999).

Naturally resilient	"Some people don't understand why I scuba-dive and put myself in risk to be eaten by a shark. But, I am more about seeing what is under the water. The likelihood of a shark coming along, as well as the likelihood of being involved in a terrorist attack, is so slim. As long as I am not stupid about it." *– Australian marketing manager*
Naturally resilient	"Living abroad for a couple of years and travelling extensively to places others wouldn't even consider going definitely changed me and how I see the world. It tends to put things into perspective, even the risk of terrorism. You tend to get to know countries beyond what is said in the media. For example, Sudan has the reputation of being one of the least safe countries in the world, and you find out that it is actually very safe. You put all of these things together, and it shapes you and your views. You will see that terrorism is not a risk that you should be restrained by." *– Portuguese politician*

Table 28 – Examples of the well-justified risk tolerance among naturally resilient respondents

Naturally resilient respondents seem not to be afraid of terrorism, moreover, they do not think they should be. This reaction against fear supports the notion of Kahan (2008), who describes emotions as prompting "a perceptive faculty that is uniquely suited to discerning what stance toward risk best coheres with a person's values" (pp. 744). In other words, terrorism risk and the fear it created activate cosmopolitans' morality, which verifies if fear is a reaction in line with their values, or another stance has to be taken. Naturally resilient respondents naturally choose to refuse fear and keep their open-minded values. They adapted to current global realities, while holding on to their core values. These group of respondents appeared well-aware of the ever-present threat of terrorism, but more than a rationally cautious attitude, they did not alter their travel behaviour. They are not striving to be resilient, they are natural.

3.4.4. Advocate group

The final two groups of cosmopolitans (resilient travellers), advocates and thrill-seekers, are like the naturally resilient respondents, but their cosmopolitan conviction overflows. In the case of thrill-seekers, this overflow appears to be inward aiming the improvement of self. In the case of advocates, the overflow seems to spill outward aiming to build up others (table 29).

Thrill-seeker	"I want to visit every country in the world, and I am almost done with it. [...] I was invited to speak on TV about my experiences, but I don't want people to criticise my way of life. I didn't travel to impress others or to be a media influencer. I did it to prove for myself that I can do it." *– Hungarian flight attendant*
Advocate	"The fact that I am from Syria affects how people relate to me. When I meet people and later on, they get to know that I am from Syria, I see a reaction. It definitely makes me sad. But I always take it, and I make it my personal mission to change the idea people have about the Middle East and Syria. I am participating in lot of workshops and presentations and talking to people to let them hear the voice of my people, and to give the real image of my country, and to give the real picture of what is happening, not what is the popular view on what is happening." *– Syrian PhD student*

Table 29 - Contrast between thrill-seekers and advocates in their drive for 'more'

Respondents in the advocate group displayed a strong cosmopolitan orientation on the C-Cosmo Scale and a strong value preference for openness and self-direction. Their narratives show that they intentionally pursue to transform their environment to the values they themselves uphold. This stance is very similar to brand evangelism (Becerra & Badrinarayanan, 2013) or the construct of brand love (Batra et al., 2012), where consumers so passionately identify themselves with the brand and have such high confidence in it that they become very resistant to switch brands even if circumstances change (Zolli & Healy, 2013), nevertheless, they cannot keep quiet about it (Albert & Merunka, 2013). The respondents of this group are not simply living out resilience in the face of terrorism like naturally resilient respondents, but they also promote a fundamental social change towards global resilience (table 30). During the interviews, these respondents strove to highlight the flows in common thinking and show the dangerous consequences of popular biases. Their through-provoking stand aimed to make their environment re-evaluate their set ways and suggest better solutions. Advocates said that they are always open and ready to share their views with people around them to bring about a better society. The respondents of this group echoed some of the major societal impacts of terrorism beyond fear, most of which also discussed in academic literature, like giving up personal freedom for security (Viscusi & Zeckhauser, 2003); the media's power to promote xenophobia (Fekete, 2004); and contra-effective and fear-provoking security (Rittichainuwat, 2013).

Advocate on cultural biases	"When I hear some prejudice from family and friends, I try to listen, but I also try to make them understand the dangers of seeing the world in black and white only. It grieves me that the people are so judgmental. I understand why, I understand the media has a big influence on them, and I understand they are afraid. But if I can I try to clear out their biases and make them see that not all Muslims are terrorists." *– Romanian-British IT programmer*
Advocate on the fear of terrorism	"I think that the biggest problem is not that terrorism kills people, it is terrible, but the biggest problem is that it creates fear. We give terrorism its power, when we are obsessed with it. This fear is very dangerous, because if we are afraid, we stop acting rationally and wisely. We start acting out of fear. [...] The first step in feeling less fear is to address your own prejudices by putting yourself in the shoes of the others. [...] There are so many people without life purpose and without basic needs met. Terrorist organisations can easily recruit these people and give them a roof and a purpose. For example, see the immigrants. We ignore them, we push them back, but terrorist organisations give them a sense of belonging and purpose. We are feeding the hate that produces this fear, so in this sense, we are breeding terrorism." *– Brazilian writer*
Advocate on security measures	"I don't think so that the solution for terrorism is to accumulate more security measures. We never can be secure enough against people who give their life to take others'. You cannot really prevent terrorism, otherwise the price you pay in terms of the freedom of speech and the freedom of movement becomes just too high. I understand the people's reaction to terrorism, the governments' reaction to terrorism, as lives are being lost. People are angry, and they expect the government to do something about it. But I never felt that striking back with force and having more security is the real solution. It is just an immediate reaction of any government. [...] The really professional terrorism is not affected by these measures, they get out of the 'invasion of privacy of the government' easily. The people who are affected by these measures are the normal people. [...] The real solution is more like how we can, as a society, sort out our differences in other ways than in that extreme way. I know it is difficult, otherwise people have done it already." *– Chinese retired university professor (from Hong Kong)*
Advocate on country image	"I have been in Paris both before and after the terrorist attack. When I returned to Paris after the terrorist attack, I was shocked that the Eifel Tower was so heavily protected. It was very disturbing. Previously I loved walking around in the park at the Eifel Tower. But the last time I was in Paris, I didn't enjoy it much. I went to Paris without thinking about terrorism or being afraid of terrorism. But by seeing all these armed military people there, I got chills. I also felt that I was watched by the armed guards and suspected to be a terrorist. I am still travelling there, but with a different feeling. My overall opinion did change about Paris. It didn't change because there was a terrorist attack. My opinion changed because of the heavy military presence there. It is not romantic. It is not beautiful. It is not Paris anymore." *– Hungarian sales manager*

Table 30 - Thought-provoking views of advocate respondents questioning the status-quo

3.4.5. Thrill-seeker group

Thrill-seeking respondents scored particularly high with regards to the importance of stimulation, self-direction and achievement values, and particularly low on conformity and security, showing a strong drive to explore even at the expense of safety. Thrill-seeking respondents seemed to push their personal boundaries by not only discovering the unknown but by taming the fearful (table 31). They said to consciously look for risk or thrill to be built by overcoming it (table 29/a). The literature refers to them as extreme, dark or adventure tourists, who see danger, disaster and other political strife not as deterrents but as attractions (Buckley, 2012; Buda et al., 2014; Ryan et al., 2005).

Thrill-seeker	"There was a war in Cabinda [a province of Angola] in the early 2000's, and they were recruiting volunteers for peace keeping. I was in my early 20s, and I was one of the first volunteers to apply. It was not so much about social justice, it was about the excitement. It was such a grand experience, I didn't fight, but I got to be in a war zone!" *– British management consultant*
Thrill-seeker	"I knew the risks and inconveniences I would face in Yemen, but I really wanted to go. I wanted to see that country for myself." *– Hungarian flight attendant*

Table 31 - Level of risk tolerance or 'risk-seeking' among the thrill-seeking respondents

Thrill-seekers are not carelessly reckless. The respondents of this group seemed to be very well-informed about the actual travel risks of their chosen destination and well-aware of the potential risk reduction strategies to eliminate or, at least, control risk (table 32). Both tourism and psychology literature demonstrated that thrill-seekers aim to reduce actual risk and increase the level thrill (Buckley, 2012; Yang & Nair, 2014). It shows that they want to experience danger but also be protected (Belhassen et al., 2014). Thrill-seeking respondents enjoyed travelling to places that others deem unsafe and are afraid to visit. They reported to have gone to check out terrorism sites shortly after an incident, resembling dark tourism motivations (Buda et al., 2014; Ryan et al., 2005). Adams (2006) argues that thrill-seekers are drawn to these experiences, because they create class and social distinction from their peers. This is in line with the drive of cosmopolitanism to build up cultural capital and reach a worldly sophistication through travelling with the aim to be set apart (Belk, 1998; Bourdieu, 1987).

Thrill-seeker	"Life threatening situations, like an avalanche or a terrorist attack, are very unlikely. They could happen, but very unlikely. There are risks that you can control, and there are risks that you cannot control. The risks you can control, you should be prepared for, and the risks you cannot control should not stop you. There are a lot of things you can do to avoid unnecessary risk. [...] A hypothetical avalanche does not stop me from climbing the Everest and terrorism risk does not stop me from taking a plane." *– Portuguese architect*
Thrill-seeker	"Regarding my travel preparation, if a country has a reputation of being a terrorist-targeted place, I do a research, even if it is to conclude that it is not the case. If there is a lot of news about that country, I do a bit more research, if for nothing else to eliminate the negative perception I have." *– Portuguese management consultant*

Table 32 - Risk awareness and objective risk evaluation among the thrill-seeking respondents

The thrill-seeking respondents reported to have substantial international experience and feel comfortable in a global arena. Their destination choice was not affected by the general fear of terrorism. Moreover, they said that a terrorist attack would not stop them from travelling to a destination the next day of the attack. Lepp and Gibson (2008) argue that sensation-seeking tourists, while being aware of potential travel risks, are not significantly restrained by them. A recent terrorist attack at a destination did seem, however, to change the overall evaluation and attitude of thrill-seeking respondents as well, but for the better (table 33).

Thrill-seeker	"... In Libya, I stayed in a nice hotel, the whole country was very peaceful, and unlucky me, the prime minister also stayed there, and some group of terrorists tried to attack the hotel with rockets. But it didn't have much impact on me. I understood that it was a one-off event, and the next day the city was working fine as nothing happened. I take that rocket attack as a funny dinners table story from my travelling in Libya. [...] Whether I would go back? Sure. Now, I know what to expect, a beautiful place with fun surprises." *– Portuguese management consultant*
Thrill-seeker	"Syria was a nice place before the war. Now, it became interesting..." *– Hungarian flight attendant*

Table 33 – The 'risk is thrilling' attitude in the case of the thrill-seeking respondents

In line with psychological literature, the findings show that thrill-seekers (high sensation seekers) have a peculiar way to relate to risk (table 34). They tend to perceive the world as less threatening and less likely to lead to negative outcomes compared to low sensation seekers (Franken et al., 1992). The respondents

of the thrill-seeking group said that they regard terrorism as a random and unlikely risk. The fear of terrorism does not seem to discourage them to travel. This confident view and undisturbed behavioural stand provide a solid foundation for their psychological resilience. This group could be the answer for terrorism-troubled destinations (Seabra et al., 2013). They represent, however, a small niece of travellers that not all destinations are able to cater for (Bannett, 2008), even with adventure tourism being on the rise (Doshi & Das, 2018). Based on the findings of this study, thrill-seeking respondents do not tent to revisit destinations, as novelty is part of their thrill. Finally, post terrorism sites are not always the most attractive destinations (Seraphin, 2017), as they are more a memorial than an experiences that provides rush. However, evidence shows that it is rush rather than risk which provides the motivation and fulfilment for adventurers (Buckley, 2012).

Thrill-seeker	"[on the way to Yemen] I didn't feel fear. I felt anticipation and excitement." *– Hungarian flight attendant*
Thrill-seeker	"The only thing I am afraid of is fear itself. I am afraid to be afraid." *– British management consultant*
Thrill-seeker	"It is not fear I feel in these risky situations, it is thrill." *– Portuguese architect*

Table 34 - Peculiar way thrill-seeking respondents view fear

The last two groups of respondents, thrill-seekers and advocates are not necessarily mutually exclusive, because some of the thrill-seeking respondents, while building themselves up, also strived to advance others (table 35).

Thrill-seeker	"I would also go back to the cities where terrorist attack happened. I wouldn't even feel afraid to take my family. In fact, we did travel to Paris for a family vacation some weeks after the attack. We walked around in the city, we used the metro system. It is not that you are putting your children at risk, it is about leading them by example. You show them that the right thing to do is not to give in. You show them that life lived in fear is not life." *– British management consultant*

Table 35 – Overlap between advocate and thrill-seeker groups

3.5. Practical implications: strategies to build up travellers' resilience

Travellers' resilience, just as the cosmopolitan values that bring it about (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Kendall et al., 2009; Warf, 2015), can be built up and strengthened. The ultimate aim of destination marketers

should be to build up resilience to terrorism risk in everybody by creating an overarching image of safety. As the image of safety is a subjective reality (Sarman et al., 2016), it requires a different approach at each levels of resilience in order to address different motivations, constraints and needs for encouragement. Avraham and Ketter (2015) argue that 'one-size-does-not fit-all' when it comes to destination image building especially during troubled times. Building on the transtheoretical model of change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982), and the corresponding social marketing strategies to encourage sustainable behaviour in the wider society (Lee & Kotler, 2011), this study drafts the theme of targeted communication initiatives for each group of resilience.

3.5.1. Communication strategies benefiting the non-resilient group

The non-resilient (non-cosmopolitan) group resembles the pre-contemplating and contemplating stages in the change process. They either do not recognize that their attitude and behaviour is flawed, so they are not concern with change, or they acknowledge their irrational fear of terrorism and biased destination image perception, but they do not see the need to change it. A general awareness campaign on terrorism risk that challenges their irrational view by objective facts and accurate statistical estimates can yield great results in building their resilience (Garcia-Dia et al., 2013; Grupe & Nitschke, 2013). The communication program can also stress the cost of their behaviour, like being grounded (Floyd et al., 2004) and miss out on the spectacles of the world around them (Buckley, 2012), and emphasise the benefits of an attitude change, like improving themselves by gaining diverse cultural capital through travelling (Bourdieu, 1987). Destination campaigns that provocatively contrast facts with prejudice can successfully challenge social biases (Bandura, 2009). This type of communication is best perceived as a nurturing non-profit initiative. As private and public campaigns could be easily dismissed as yet another sales commercial or suspicious political propaganda (Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017).

Non-resilient respondents, due to their limited international experience, relied on their country image when judging the safety of a destination. A country's image of safety and stability is predominantly reflected in the country's overall governance (Richter & Waugh, 1986), its stable economy, fair legal system, reliable public safety, adequate foreign representation, transparent media and respect for (not necessarily acceptance of) different cultural and religious values. Realising and communicating the overall qualities of a country lies within the responsibility of government communications. Crisis preparedness is an assumed part of overall stability (Pennington-Gray, 2018; Sönmez et al., 1999), as projecting the image of preparedness decreases the overall perception of risk regarding the destination (van Niekerk & Pizam,

2015). Crisis preparedness cannot be stressed enough, as it was established that crisis managers often forsake the optimal crisis response strategies under the pressure when well-contemplated action plans are not available (Claeys & Coombs, 2019). Continuously updated crisis management action plan, a tourism crisis management task force (Sönmez et al., 1999) detailing the task of each tourism stakeholder (Morakabati et al., 2017) and coordinating regular drills to ensure each person is well-aware and trained to act when crisis hits (Sørensen et al., 2019) is the starting point. An efficient crisis task force should incorporate besides all tourism stakeholders representatives of the local government, travel and tourism industry professionals, community leaders, as well as law enforcement and media agencies (Sönmez et al., 1999). Appointed and trained spokesperson, crisis communication strategy prepared for a variety of disaster scenarios, setting aside easily accessible financial resources for crisis events are also shown as good case practices (Ritchie, 2004). Destination-specific crisis preparedness is to be coordinated by destination management with a long-term view and proactive approach. It is suggested to start with destination risk assessment and continuous planning-revision of the crisis strategies that incorporate learning points from own mistakes and best practices of other destinations (Ritchie, 2004). The proactive approach might not prevent crisis from happening, but it provides destination management with better abilities to recognise it in a timely fashion and implement coping strategies to limit damage. Acting quickly in crisis is vital, especially in crisis communication, as if the crisis team does not address the information demand of the media and the public, someone else will (Coombs, 2015). Moreover, uncoordinated and confusing messages (Avraham, 2015; van Niekerk & Pizam, 2015) as well as sensationalist media covers of the disaster (Kapuściński & Richards, 2016) could severely damage destination image. Destination marketers are in the best position to coordinate a tourism industry-wide communication strategy by setting its theme and by allocating individual tasks. Communication reassuring the safety of a destination after a crisis event is essential, but this obvious strategy should be implemented with caution with regards to terrorism, as if further unpredictable security incidents reoccur, it will exponentially damage the reputation as well as the credibility of the destination (Coombs, 2015).

Social media is considered a trusted information source in judging the potentials and the safety of a destination (Kim et al., 2018), thus it is a powerful tool to build an overall image of crisis preparedness. Reuter and Kaufhold (2018) suggest that a social media plan should be essential element of crisis management strategy for every country regardless of their actual terrorism risk. Social media was found to be the first and most reliable means of communication tourists fall back on during crisis (Barbe et al., 2018). After a crisis event, social media activity of local residents, once reassured about their own security, is able to drive the positive safety perceptions of the destination (Lin et al., 2016).

3.5.2. Communication strategies benefiting the striving for resilience group

Respondents in the striving for resilience group can be placed at the preparation and action-initiation stage of the change model, as they acknowledge their biases and consciously strive to change it. Travellers at this stage should be praised for their effort to keep an open mind and uphold cultural sensitivity even at the face of terrorism and fear inducing media communication. Tour operators and other local tourism business are the best source of this encouragement, as they have access to the travellers' profile through personal contact as actual and/or potential customers. Destination promotion can utilise psychological priming procedures (e.g., Arieli et al., 2014; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011) to activate the values of openness and self-direction of this group and to stir their cultural curiosity and their desire to explore.

Their heightened security concern can be reassured by transparent, fact-based communication about potential destination specific risks (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2012; van Niekerk & Pizam, 2015). Also, by sharing the strategies in place on how the destination is prepared to handle these risks, like contingency plans, emergency and safety procedures, and security measures (Avraham, 2015, 2016; Taylor & Toohey, 2005). Environmental safety signals are reliable indicators that threat will not occur, and relieve individuals from a state of anticipatory anxiety (Lohr et at., 2007), thus visible security measures, like armed security forces, could be reassuring at tourism sights (Taylor & Toohey, 2005). The right balance is essential (Rittichainuwat, 2013), nevertheless. Too much security might communicate the opposite of safety, it can create the impression that a terrorist attack is very likely to happen. Moreover, destination promotion that highlights the benefits that can be gained through taking the risk to visit the destination, was proven to significantly change how risk is perceived (Finucane et al., 2000). Their overall fearful attitude to travelling among striving respondents could be attributed to momentary incidental mood bias (Schwarz & Clore, 1983), created by the fearful public atmosphere. Destination marketers may counterbalance the fearful mood attached to international travels in general or to regions in particular with positively charged communication. Advertising effectiveness was shown to be higher in the case of humorous and warm promotional messages (Pelsmacker et al., 2002) and of ads that elicit happiness (Owolabi, 2009). Humour was also established to play an essential role in coping with difficult and stressful travel situations (Pabel & Pearce, 2015). Negative incidental mood was linked to a more analytical information processing when judging risk (Finucane, 2012). Thus, in a fearful atmosphere, as it is deemed at present due to terrorism, factual information on risk estimates and crisis recovery progress are more promptly processed and thus, it can reach easier and redress more directly irrational fears.

Personal experience with the destination and/or with the region and/or with a culturally similar destination provided the respondents with greater confidence to approach the destination. This notion is well-document in travel research (Beerli & Martin, 2004; Stylidis & Cherifi, 2018). Literature suggests that international events could give the needed push for the hosting destination to increase its awareness (Ritchie & Smith, 1991) and counterbalance the inflated risk perception after a crisis events (Avraham, 2014; Kim & Chen, 2015). Destinations managers have successfully used mega-events to 'be put on the map', like 2002 FIFA World Cup in South Korea (Kim & Morrsion, 2005), 2008 Olympics in Beijing, China (Preuss & Alfs, 2011) and 2012 Eurovision Song Contest in Baku, Azerbaijan (Arnegger & Herz, 2016). Walters and Mair (2012) tested what type of messages are the most effective in fighting security misconceptions of a destination and encouraging to (re)visit. Messages endorsed by well-known and well-associated celebrity figures seemed the most effective, while discount deals were the least likely to stimulate visit. Testimonials from on the-ground tourists and familiarization tours for travel writers were also used successfully to encourage first time visitors' confidence in Jordan (Liu et al., 2016). Furthermore, refocusing attention to safe destination within a troubled country/region was suggested to encourage visits and thus contribute to rebuilding an overall safety image (Avraham & Ketter, 2017). To eliminate cultural apprehension, which was one of the main concerns of the striving respondents, destination marketers can highlight resemblance and common values between their country and the targeted foreign audience (Avraham, 2015). The ultimate aim with regards to the striving group is to make a naturally flowing habit of their current effortful strive for resilience. At this stage of resilience, making the first step easy toward a changed behaviour goes a long way.

3.5.3. Communication strategies benefiting the naturally resilient group

The naturally resilient group resemble a tourist segment that is already sensitive of cultural diversity and lives it out in a lifestyle of permanent global mobility. Destination marketers should design targeted offers that can fulfil their main cosmopolitan desire to interact with the host country's people, to immerse themselves in the local culture and to learn from the local customs (Alden et al., 2006). This group represents the action and maintenance stages in the change process. They could be gently pushed forward in the change process to become active advocates of their value of open-mindedness and of their passion for global discovery. This group has extensive international social network, they could be incentivised by destination marketers and encouraged by local tour operators after their travels to share

their experiences online, and promote destination awareness and safety to their peers (Hays et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2018).

This group assumed recovery and re-established safety of a destination after a terrorist attack when destination promotion appeared again in the media. It was taken as a sign of a functioning tourism industry. Non-organic sources of travel information are not particularly considered reliable regarding the measure of safety (Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017), but the lack of promotional communication of a destination may send a signal that the destination is still deserted (Avraham 2015). Security measures can be reassuring for this group as well (Taylor & Toohey, 2005), however, too lengthy, inconvenient and restricting safety procedures were said to reduce the entertainment value of the destination and damaged the feeling of authenticity this group so craves. The different perception of security measures by different groups support the notion that destination marketers should analyse who their main target consumers are and focus destination marketing and align destination features to them (Kotler et al., 2013).

3.5.4. Communication strategies benefiting the thrill-seeking group

The final two groups of cosmopolitan respondents, the advocates and thrill-seekers, should be reserved at the maintenance stage of the change process by offering them the already proven-to-work tourism packages. The main motivation of thrill-seekers is to be set apart from their tourist peers (Adams, 2006; Belk, 1998; Bourdieu, 1987), so, they can be successfully engaged by an acknowledgement of their global experience and a praise for their courage and personal achievements to confirm their unique status and encourage their free spirit. Building on the narratives of the thrill-seeking respondents, destinations marketers should continue to target them with unique destinations and packages, as organised tours and popular destinations do not seem to interest them. They could be a winning target for troubled destinations, as due to their high risk-tolerance and constant strive for novelty, they are the ones who lead by example and show the rest of the travellers that riskier destinations are already safe, and unknown destinations are worth visiting (Avraham, 2015; Avraham & Ketter, 2017). While most of them do not have the advocates' desire for rectifying social justice and addressing world issues, some of them could be open to share their experiences in travel blogs, online travel communities or even TV shows. The adventure of sensation-seeking travellers have always inspired filmmakers and novel writers, which stirred interest in the featured destination (Kim & Richardson, 2003).

Majority of them are not looking for danger but the sense of danger. So, clear communication of the available safety measures would yield a competitive advantage for a tourism destinations (Huan &

Beaman, 2003; Seabra et al., 2014). The right balance of safety measures for this group is particularly important, as too rigorous and too obvious measures can destroy their sense of thrill. Promotional communication touching on feelings is long-established to be more effective (Kotler et al., 2013). Thus, while the mainstream destination communication should strive to build a robust safety image, campaigns targeting thrill-seekers could use a different tone to highlight aspects of the destination that guarantees an adrenaline rush.

3.5.5. Communication strategies benefiting the advocate group

For travellers, like advocates, gentle reminders and open acknowledgement of their efforts in building others up in resilience may be greatly encouraging. Advocates are influencers, either officially sharing their views with a large audience or quietly leading by example among family and friends, but, nevertheless. They can be a great help for destination marketers not only as fearless travellers (Seabra et al., 2013), but as advocates of resilience in the face of terrorism. Travellers shown to appreciate when engaged and not just talked to and when given the chance to contribute and advocate and not just passively take in (Lu & Stepchenkova, 2015). This seemed particularly true for the advocate group. Building on this, destination marketers could engage influencers to talk about their destination, perhaps support travellers, and compel them to journal their experiences on a travel blog. This type of travellers may be pursued by destination marketers: their personal testimonies can be used in promotional materials, they can publicly endorse a destination or a particular program on social media, or they can even be given destination (brand) ambassador responsibilities (Fisher-Buttinger & Vallaster, 2008). Along with general marketing responsibilities, this group could also be integrated into the crisis communication plan of the destination. Destination marketers could provide them with fact-based destination information and materials on public safety procedures, even crisis recovery progress, to share it in their sphere of influence. This would promote destination awareness, contribute to its overall safety image, nevertheless advance a more open-minded global view on travelling and encourage travellers' resilience. They could also be trained on effective crisis communication skills and included in the regular safety drills of the destination.

Destinations may also support sustainable initiatives or social causes related to the destination, which does not only creates a healthy buzz about the destinations (Dye, 2000), but based on the halo-effect, enhances destination image by linking it to a positive cause (Chernev & Blair, 2015). Favorable pre-crisis reputation was found to act as shield that deflects the potential reputational damage from a crisis (Coombs & Holladay, 2006). Destination marketers may develop the related audio-visual messages and

make it available for share. Uploading promotional material on the destination on video sharing sites and engage (potential)travellers on online forums may yield more returns on investment than using traditional media channels (Romero, 2018). The more factual information travellers have (i.e. the more factual information reaches them), the more balanced out the current fearful atmosphere will be (Iyer et al., 2015).

3.6. Conclusion: study contributions, limitations and future research avenues

Tourism literature predominantly approached destination resilience by suggesting a toolkit of resilience (e.g., Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2012; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a; van Niekerk & Pizam, 2015). This study, while evaluating the most successful resilience building strategies through the eyes of global travellers, points beyond them and adopted a yet unexplored approach in tourism resilience (Prayag, 2018): travellers' resilience. The ultimate aim was to profile a resilient tourist segment, less vulnerable to fear of terrorism and potential travel risk.

Cosmopolitan values of open-mindedness, appreciation of novelty and diversity, risk tolerant curiosity are the main drives of global travellers (Cleveland et al., 2011; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Findings, however, indicated they could shift from open-mindedness and risk tolerance towards conformity and security due to the prevailing fear of terrorism (Konty et al., 2004; Veréb et al., 2018). Moreover, as values lead behaviour (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 1992), travel behaviour was also found to be generally more restrained as a result of the ever-present terrorism threat (Perpiña et al., 2017; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). The current research, while noted that the general fear of terrorism affected every traveller in the study, also found that the reaction this fear produced was not universal as previous studies suggested (e.g., Alvarez & Campo, 2014; Perpiña et al., 2017). Those who said to consciously fight back the irrationality of this fear appeared more able to keep their core cosmopolitan drive and unrestrained travel behaviour. Building on personal resilience theory (Egeland et al., 1993; Garcia-Dia et al., 2013) and using in-depth interviews and probing techniques, travellers were grouped into different levels of resilience: non-resilient, striving for resilience, naturally resilient, thrill seekers and advocates.

A global focus representing a wide array of demographic characteristics and in-depth interviews are useful for building grounded theories about travellers' perceptions and decision making processes (Kachel & Jennings, 2010). They provided a solid foundation for the emerging theories, but further research is recommended. Based on the semantic/content analysis of the travellers' narratives in this research, the following study propositions are developed and would benefit from further validation:

Proposition no. 1: The fear of terrorism, as an additional variable to destination-specific terrorism risk, tints the entire process of destination image perception and destination choice process.

Proposition no. 2: Personal values sway the effects of fear of terrorism and impact destination image perception and destination choice process.

Proposition no. 3: Personal value orientation is determinant in the traveller's resilience formation.

Proposition no. 4: The constructs behind cosmopolitan characteristics, also contribute to travellers' resilience: (1) multi-cultural upbringing; (2) expatriate experience; (3) extensive international travel experience; (4) transnational social network.

The main aim for qualitative studies is to describe the complexity of a phenomenon, but not to quantify it (Goulding, 2005). The profiled groups of travellers were given the same attention and emphasis, but to understand their correct proportion at each destination further research is required. Furthermore, the current study revealed that advocates have a great potential to assist destination marketers in building up global travellers resilient to the fear of terrorism. Future research could evaluate the impact of advocates in strengthening travellers' resilience in specific destinations and regions. Future studies could also focus on thrill-seekers, the archetype of resilient travellers, who thrive on the risk that deters others. Investigating how this transient segment can be continually engaged, offered excitement and entertainment as well as the feeling of rush, not necessarily danger, could be a promising research area in the current turbulent times. Personal experience with terrorism seemed to reduce irrational fear of terrorism in some, and fuel it exponentially in others. Clinical psychology suggests that trauma usually depress personal development (Glantz & Johnson, 1999), however negative events sometimes operate as a catalyst for resilience (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013; Iacoviello & Charney, 2014). Future research could clarify how the trauma of personal experience with terrorism impacts travellers' resilience to the fear of terrorism.

Building on the transtheoretical model of social change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982) and clinical psychology practices to build up individual resilience (e.g., Egeland et al., 1993; Glantz & Johnson, 1999), the study offers guidelines for destination marketers how to strengthen resilience to terrorism for each group with different drives, concerns and ways to be reassured. Cognitive behavioural therapy (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013) and bias modification treatment (Hakamata et al., 2010), among others, aim to challenge the validity of a bias, pinpoint the irrationality of a reaction and demonstrate the benefits of a change. Tourism is in the distinguished position to operationalise this 'treatment' on a global scale. Tourism can fight back irrational fear and overthrow cultural biases by promoting cosmopolitan values, displaying their worth and enabling travellers to embrace it. Cosmopolitan literature argues that the essential cosmopolitan

characteristics of open-mindedness and cultural tolerance can be built up gradually and consciously (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001) through travelling (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Global travels enable people to see the world from a global perspective and not only from their own point of view (Belk, 1998). Global travels provide the opportunity to re-evaluate local biases (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001) and adopt global standards (Merton, 1957) by learning about (Alden et al., 2006) and from others (Levy et al., 2007). Global travels build up a diverse cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1987), a set of inter-cultural skills to confidently handle diverse cultural challenges (Tse et al., 1989). Tourism by promoting cosmopolitan values through travelling (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Levy et al., 2019) can effectively bring about a more open-minded, culturally embracing and risk-tolerant global society, the foundation for enduring and global resilience.

PART IV

4. STUDY 3 – COSMOPOLITAN TOURISTS: THE MOST RESILIENT SEGMENT IN THE FACE OF COVID-19

4.1. Introduction

The headlines are heavy with hourly updates on the spread of corona virus, with every new post pushing further into uncertainty and a heightened sense of fear (Garfin et al., 2020). The fear of unknown is the most fundamental fear with the highest motivational impact (Carleton, 2016a). Rooted in biological survival instinct, when faced with unknown situations, like a novel potentially deadly virus, fear, as a reflex response to unknown environmental stimuli, is activated to evoke the most effective (not efficient) escape behaviours (Ledoux, 2015). Fear of infectious diseases, including the current pandemic, was demonstrated to amplify risk estimate (Thompson et al., 2017) and increase irrational and exaggerated self-protective behaviour (Bavel et al., 2020; Murray & Schaller, 2016). Fear of contagious diseases has the power to impair rational thinking (Taha, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014) and moral decision making (Pappas et al., 2009; Simon, 2020). It can urge conformity (Murray & Schaller, 2012) and aggressively oppose individuality and creative thinking (Wu & Chang, 2012). Moreover, fear of infectious diseases can influence political support of issues that have nothing to do with the original threat of the disease, like immigration policy and minority initiatives (Aaroe, Petersen, & Arceneaux, 2017) or social equality (Inbar et al., 2016), compelling people to act more conservative. Fear of diseases was shown to create out-group xenophobia (Thornhill & Fincher, 2014) and promote stigmatization (Oaten, Stevenson & Case, 2011) alarmingly most of the cases instinctively, consciously unknown to the individual (Hardin & Banaji, 2013). It can restrain freedom and sacrifice individual civil liberties for the safety of the whole society (Bayer, 2007). Not entirely irrationally, however, as infectious diseases were proven to be historically the most lethal threats for the human species (Morens, Folkers, & Fauci, 2008). Hence, exaggerated fear response is not unnatural, nevertheless, it hinders our efforts to live peacefully together and damages our global societies. For example, the fear of infectious diseases prompted attacking ethnic minorities for importing infectious diseases throughout history (Kraut, 2010), and currently, Human Rights Watch (2020) warning as hate crimes increase globally and democracies are curtailed under the excuse of the current pandemic (Vijaya et al., 2020).

While fear can be irrational and exaggerated, psychology literature suggest that it is possible to build up resilience to the overwhelming emotions and irrational behaviours that the fear of the unknown produces (Carleton, 2016b). Resilience domains also encourages research aiming to increase personal resilience against specifically the overwhelming anxiety the fear of the COVID-19 pandemic created (Vinkers et al., 2020). But, building up resilience requires a targeted treatment, as resilience depends on both the nature

of the person as well as his/her specific circumstance (Southwick et al., 2014). Research demonstrated that mass treatments are not efficient and sometimes even counterproductively increase the behaviour that it was mean to build resilience against (Bonanno, Westphal & Mancini, 2011). Previous studies argued that tourism is in an exceptional position to administer a global antidote to the irrational xenophobia and overprotective self-centeredness by stirring cultural curiosity, encouraging open-mindedness, emboldening discoveries of others who are culturally and geographically different, and finally, enabling learning through exposure to the unknown to correct one's own irrationality (Veréb et al., 2018; 2020). By building up these cosmopolitan characteristics in travellers, destination marketers along with policymakers can be crucial to bring about a global society that is more resilient in the face of fear. Extending this line of research, this study aspires to test if this 'personalised mass treatment' to increase resilience to the irrational swaying power of fear of terrorism is suitable in the case of infectious diseases, too. Building character and sturdiness through cosmopolitanism is not a new idea. International experiences provide a learning opportunity to critically examine local biases (Kleingeld, 2006), promoting critical thinking and superior problem solving (Nummela, Saarenketo & Puumalainen, 2004). First-hand cultural experience widens one's perspective to see the world from different point of views (Skrbis et al., 2004), enhancing cultural and social sensitivity, as well as enabling global awareness. Global travels offer a chance to build and maintain an international social network that can act as both a social support net and a professional ladder to build social and economic resources (Levy et al., 2019). Global awareness, social sensitivity, critical thinking, efficient problem-solving, supportive social network and economic resources are strong pillars of personal resilience (Bonanno et al., 2011; Masten, 2014).

By applying grounded theory approach and using in-depth interviews and direct observation, this research aims to understand the role of the cosmopolitan mind-set and (consequent) personal resilience on diminishing irrationality induced by the fear of COVID-19 pandemic and verify the role of tourism in it. Ultimately, the study, inspired on previous research (Veréb et al., 2020), strives to get a better understanding of how the general fear of the unknown, regardless of its triggers, can be addressed to fight back irrational xenophobia and protectionism challenging democracies. In the endeavour, the study pinpoints practical strategies on how to engage and encourage people to travel (again) with the impeding threat of the virus.

4.2. Theoretical Overview

4.2.1. Coronavirus (COVID-19)

The novel virus, now known as the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2), causing a disease called coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19), was first reported in Wuhan, China, on 31st of December 2019. This new respiratory virus got little attention then, but soon after the pathogen proved to be extremely infectious and dangerous resulting in about 3-5% mortality rate. The World Health Organisation declared a global health emergency on 30th January, and on 11th March, a pandemic (WHO, 2020). The socio-economic impact of the pandemic is substantial. Emmanuel Macron, the French President referred to the current situation as war, and Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany admitted that coronavirus is their biggest challenge after World War II. As community transmission increases in most countries, state of emergency is declared. Keeping of home quarantine and social distancing are called for. Schools are closed, restaurants and hotels are locked down, religious services are cancelled, sport events, festivals, conferences and other large societal events, even wedding celebrations are postponed (WHO, 2020). Public transportation is restricted (European Commission, 2020) and most airlines are grounded (IATA, 2020). Businesses are halted and majority of the employees are asked to work from home, while others are furloughed or dismissed. The oil price per barrel dripped negative (Zaremba, 2020). Hate crimes are rising and the general atmosphere of fear is evident (Kandil, 2020). More recently, in June 2020, more and more countries are easing restrictions and stopping the nation-wide lockdowns. But also, as expected when reopening, reporting a surge in new infections and deaths (e.g., Eddy 2020; Higgins-Dunn 2020) On the positive note, due to the low economic activity, there is a drop in air pollution and the ozone layer on the Southern Hemisphere is healing (Banerjee et al., 2020).

Based on mathematical modelling of past health crisis data, Volpert et al. (2020) concluded that societies are vulnerable and unprepared to these types of events, and urged a wide scientific and public discussion. Academic literature in economics and social sciences is building up on the coronavirus pandemic closing up on medical research. However, it is still in its infancy and mainly dealing with the direct and short-term effects of the pandemic. For example, by listing immediate societal challenges (Bavel et al., 2020), discussing the negative impact of the media in amplifying health concerns (Garfin et al., 2020) and the potentially positive role of it by in leading public compliance with health measure (Harper et al., 2020), as well as warning about the negative public health implications of the lockdown measures (Reger, Stanley, & Joiner, 2020). Most studies on the effect of the pandemic use historical data to draw conclusions for the current situation (e.g., Garfin et al., 2020) or rely on quantitative data for a quick estimate and situational

overview (e.g., Volpert et al., 2020; Yang et al., 2020). Infectious diseases domain encourages researchers to study human behaviour during outbreaks based on appropriate, detailed behavioural data (Weston et al., 2018). It explains that although the self-report data is a good initial step, it only assesses behavioural intentions rather than actual behaviour. It argues further that ideally behavioural data should be observed directly within a target population during an infectious disease outbreak in order to ensure that the modelled behaviour is appropriate and relevant for the target population. This study by applying grounded theory approach and relying on in-depth interviews validating intended behaviour through personal history and observed lifestyle during the 3 months of the pandemic provides an in-depth understanding on the social impact of the pandemic.

Tourism studies analysing the implication of COVID-19 are scarce. For example, they compare the effects of the current pandemic with previous epidemics on tourism (Gössling et al., 2020), estimate the impact of the pandemic on global tourism numbers (Yang, Zhang, & Chen, 2020) and report on the changes in China's country image due to the spread of COVID-19 virus (Wen et al., 2020). Few studies in the academic literature venture beyond the effects of the pandemic and offer solutions on how to approach travellers when facing pandemic threat and in the aftermath of the pandemic when we potentially need to learn to live with a new "guest". This research aims to provide practical guidelines for destination managers on how to segment traveller amidst of COVID-19 risk, and which strategies can be used to engage and encourage them to travel again.

4.2.2. Personal Resilience

The general sign of personal resilience is to spring back from and successfully adopt to adversity. Different domains study resilience from different viewpoints and highlight different fundamentals of it. Psychology approaches it as a personal attribute and describes it as a stable trajectory of healthy functioning after an adverse event, a relatively brief period of disequilibrium, but otherwise continued health (Bonanno et al., 2011). Anthropology, pointing beyond resilience as a personal capacity, sees resilience as a process to harness resources to sustain well-being (Panter-Brick & Leckman, 2013). Neuroscience also view resilience as a process but it focuses on the active decision that motivates moving forward, learning from adversity and not succumbing to its negative effects, a conscious choice that must be constantly reconfirmed (Yehuda & Flory, 2007). Developmental studies have a system oriented view of resilience defining it as an outcome of dynamic interactions of a complex system, like an individual or a community, as adapting successfully to disturbances that threaten its viability and development (Masten, 2014).

Overall, determinants of resilience include a host of biological, psychological, social and cultural factors that interact with one another to determine how one responds to stressful experiences (Southwick et al., 2014), as in reality, resilience exists on a continuum that may be present to differing degrees across multiple domains of life (Pietrzak & Southwick, 2011). Thus, resilience can change over time as a function of development and one's interaction with the environment (e.g., Kim-Cohen & Turkewitz, 2012; Masten, 2014).

Resilience scholars highlight the urgent need of augmenting the focus on resilience both at the individual and societal level due to the mounting stress associated with COVID-19, and urge researchers to establish strategies to enhance it (Vinkers et al., 2020). The current study, by analysing personal resilience to the irrational fear the pandemic created, aims to contribute to a better understanding of resilience to irrationality in the face of the fear of infectious diseases. Furthermore, it intends to provide practical guidelines on how to build resilience to irrational fear and its impact both on the individual and society level.

Resilience is also suggested to be the best approach to confront the devastating impacts of disasters, like terrorism or pandemic (Aldunce et al., 2014), as it has a significant explanatory power and, thus, it is able to outline insightful strategies for tourism managers to cope with global disasters (Luthe & Wyss, 2014). While tourism resilience is promising area for research, and have substantial research concerning community resilience (e.g., Becken, 2013) and destination resilience (e.g., Calgaro et al., 2014), individual travellers' resilience, however, important in tourism dynamics (Tyrrell & Johnston, 2008), has not yet been explored (Prayag, 2018). When studying tourism resilience, it is equally important to analyse it from all possible angels – 'resilience to what', 'resilience of what' and 'resilience of whom' –, and investigate what (risks) travellers and destinations are resilient to, which (destination) is resilient and who (traveller) is resilient (Hartman, 2018). This research aims to advance tourism resilience literature, specifically travellers' resilience, by categorizing travellers based on their resilience to the irrational fear reactions to the current pandemic.

4.2.3. Cosmopolitanism

Deriving from the Greek word of *'kosmopolites'*, the term cosmopolitan means citizen of the world, and refers to a deliberate cultural openness (Skrbis et al., 2004), and the willingness to curiously explore other cultures and humbly learn from them (Levy et al., 2007). A global cosmopolitan mind-set entails the ability to overcome ingrained ethnocentrism and transcend national prejudice (Doz et al., 2001). A global mind-

set suggests a high cognitive capacity to see the big picture in its all complexity with great objectivity (Levy et al. 2007). The cosmopolitan mind actively looks for and humbly accepts novel point of views (Riefler et al., 2012) in order to enhance itself and its environment with novel solutions that the local settings cannot offer (Maznevski & Lane, 2004). This global cosmopolitan mind-set propels pro-social behaviour (Tse et al., 1989), and suggests a sense of responsibility to act for the good of all (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013).

Despite the fact that idea of *kosmopolites* has existed for more than two millennia and cosmopolitanism has a substantial body of academic literature, its conceptualisation and measurement is still strongly debated. Traditionally cosmopolitan is viewed as a conscious strive for a higher global standard than limited local values can offer (e.g., Hannerz 1990; Kanter 1995; Strijbis, Teney, and Helbling 2019; Rhinesmith 1992). Refuting the concept of social ideal, some argue that cosmopolitanism is routine practice used by ordinary people to bridge boundaries with people who are different from them (Lamont and Aksartova 2002). Opposing the view that cosmopolitanism is a practice of the common, researchers from international management argue that cosmopolitanism entails high cognitive capabilities (Rhinesmith, 1992) and a refined skillset (Brimm, 2018; Levy et al., 2019). Another line of research suggest that instead of a learnt ability, cosmopolitanism should be understood as natural dispositions that are based on personal values (Caldwell, Blackwell, and Tulloch 2006; Molz 2006) and interconnected personality traits (Parks-Leduc, Feldman, & Bardi, 2015), like openness, risk tolerance, stimulation-seeking or benevolence. Other see cosmopolitanism as a results of circumstantial conditions (Beck 2002; Urry 2000), ranging from international travel to ecological awareness, but succumb at their vastness in systematic exposition (Beck 2002). Furthermore, some argue that these conditions cannot individually and equally define cosmopolitans, for example, some widely travelled people remain hopelessly parochial in their mind-set (Kanter, 1995) and some cosmopolitans are equally proud of their own national origins as well as their status as global citizens (Veréb et al., 2020).

One of the purposes of this research is to contribute to this debate and obtain a better understanding of cosmopolitanism by testing cosmopolitan ideals and way of life in a novel setting, in their fight to overcome the irrational fear of COVID-19. Contending not to be influenced by previous ways of conceptualisations of cosmopolitanism, this research applies grounded theory and aims to view cosmopolitanism as a multifaceted construct, which was suggested to be most appropriate method for studying cosmopolitanism (Pendenza, 2017).

4.3. Methodology

Grounded theory is the research method used to investigate the actualities of the real world (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) through the eyes of those who partake in it (Glaser, 1978). It focuses on how people behave within a specific social context (Goulding 2005). Furthermore, it develops context-based, reaction-interaction oriented description and explanation of the studied social phenomenon (Urquhart, 2013). Hence, grounded theory offered the most suitable approach to gain a thorough understanding of the public attitude and behavioural drives in the face of the current coronavirus pandemic. Furthermore, grounded theory also offers space for multidisciplinary approach (Holton, 2009) that novel theory building can greatly benefit from. It enabled this research to draw on psychology, sociology, international management, marketing and tourism domains.

In-depth interview is the most established method for data collection in grounded theory (Goulding, 2005). Moreover, it is the best way to obtain detailed information about feelings and perceptions, to discover deep-seated drives, like fear, and to discuss freely sensitive topics, like social discrimination (Berg & Lune, 2012). In-depth interview also enabled the study's researchers to address potential respondent bias commonly displayed when discussing deeply personal and socially sensitive issues. In fact, in-depth interviews provided a perfect framework to study personal resilience, because "the most important and effective way to approach resilience is to start with listening to what people have to say about their everyday lives, and find what matters the most for them and how they achieve it against all of odds" (Southwick et al., 2014, pp. 10).

As this research aims to expand the results of the study of Veréb et al. (2020), it applied the same research approach. Thus, all respondents were asked to fill Schwartz' Short Value Survey (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005; Schwartz, 1992) and the questionnaire of C-Cosmo Scale (Riefler et al., 2012) to establish their level of cosmopolitanism. The Value Survey provides a view of the predominant value orientation that could motivate cosmopolitan behaviour (Appendix 1). Scoring high on 'openness to change' value dimension was linked to cosmopolitanism (Cleveland et al., 2011). The C-Cosmo Scale establishes the strength of the self-admitted cosmopolitan interest (Appendix 2). Scoring high on the C-Cosmo Scale indicates strong cosmopolitan conviction. The results of these questionnaires yielded valuable information about sympathizing with cosmopolitan ideals, but they were not accurate in predicting cosmopolitan decisions and behaviour (lifestyle). Therefore, self-admitted attitude, behavioural intensions and personal values were validated by contrasting them to personal history. They were also confirmed by using probing questions and scenario analysis. These techniques during the in-depth interviews allowed

the researchers to distinguish between those who are not cosmopolitan, who simply sympathize with cosmopolitan ideals and those who actually live by them. These techniques also helped the researchers to establish the levels of commitment to cosmopolitanism in this latter category. The respondents' commitment to cosmopolitanism was judged through the authenticity of their cosmopolitan life displaying cosmopolitan characteristics. Besides incorporating the extended cosmopolitan literature regarding cosmopolitan characteristics, this study relied on two main studies when judging cosmopolitan lifestyle. One is the cosmopolitan consumer profile of Riefler et al. (2012), the latest cross-culturally validated cosmopolitan measurement tool (e.g., Sousa, Nobre, & Farhangmehr, 2018, 2019; Terasaki & Perkins, 2017), specifying cosmopolitan dimensions, like diversity appreciation, and the particular cosmopolitan characteristics, like the level of immersion into local culture during foreign travels. The other is the study of Veréb et al. (2018) listing those features of cosmopolitan travellers that support their resilience to irrational fear of terrorism, like expatriate experience and multiple cultural embeddedness. Understanding how much these characteristics were put into practice in the past was a good indication of cosmopolitan commitment regarding the future.

64 in-depth interviews were conducted of a highly diverse sample, including 22 nationalities living in and being familiar with 29 national realities across the five continents. Thus, the research gained insights from Australia, Brazil, Canada, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong (China), Hungary, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, New Zealand, Philippines, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, South-Africa, Syria, UAE, UK, Vietnam and USA including California, Kentucky, New York, Ohio and Texas). The respondents represented the main religious groups, a wide array of social and economic backgrounds, age groups between 19-74, different levels of education and varying professions. Following the previous study, the research extended to both highly cosmopolitan respondents and strictly local minded people with little or no international experience to contrast the difference in their attitude and behaviour in the face of the global pandemic. To obtain a wide overview of the impact the pandemic, respondents were recruited through snowballing method aiming for maximum variation sampling, or a so-called, "commonsense sampling" of grounded theory (Goulding, 2005, pp. 296), and supported by the freedom of theoretical sampling as to readjust, if needed, sampling methods during grounded theory research. A global focus in sampling also allowed addressing one of the main challenges of grounded theory studies that they are limited to a context specific (Goulding, 2005). A broad and diversified approach in sampling is suggested to increase the ability of generalization of the constructed theory to various other settings and populations (Morse, 1994).

The interviews were conducted between March 2020, after the declaration of coronavirus as global pandemic, and June 2020, after most of the American and European Union Member States pulled back from the state of national emergency and due to easing the lockdown measures experienced a new surge in COVID-19 cases. The data collections continued until full theoretical saturation was reached, where no additional themes of information were revealed with additional interviews (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It was particularly important to continue collecting data till full saturation as the situation created by emergence of COVID-19 is highly uncertain and unstable. As per the concept of the different stages of disasters, emotions and risk perception fluctuate, even risk mitigation strategies change as the crisis event progresses (Myers, Zunin, & Zunin, 1990), moreover, due to individual differences in perception and circumstances, the stages can overlap or even restart. For example, at pre-disaster stage people might misjudge how they would react when the disaster hits, as the stress at the impact stage could impair rational decision making. Or the initial panic at the impact stage of the disaster could transform with time into to a calmer but still demanding readjustment stage. Thus, in this highly unstable situation, collecting the full extent of data available is crucial to place the research on a solid foundation. The research covered all the main established stages of the immediate crisis event (Myers et al., 1990). The pre-disaster stage covered the time from the initial announcement of COVID-19, through the rapid spread of the diseases, to the news stream about the strict health and safety measures implemented globally. The pre-disaster environment induced an increased anxiety stemming from uncertainty. The impact stage, when the disaster hit, was perceived by most when the heard-of drastic security measures got implemented in one's own country as well. This stage was accompanied by panic. The next stages seemed high on adrenalin and hope. It was, when people started seeing the positive effect of home confinement in the relatively low death toll compared to the original estimates. It followed by disillusionment and the exhaustively long strain of readjustment. At start, the simply uncomfortable lockdown measures that meant to protect life from the virus, later on, destroyed careers and livelihoods creating another type of crisis and potentially restarting the crisis cycle. The last stage, yet to come in countries, is the recovery to potentially a new normal after easing the world-wide lockdown measures. Hence, the current research provides an overview of the social impact of the pandemic until the present point, when the initial shockwave of the disaster passed and the reconstruction of a new way of life started. Possibly, this present point is at the beginning of an impending global economic crisis and a potential second wave of the COVID-19 infections. To ensure the collected data fully covered the emotional fluctuations of the different stages, the initial interviews were regularly followed up as main changes occurred. The global situation as well as the progress of each countries of the respondents were closely monitored. When change in global or national strategies

addressing the pandemic occurred, the respondents were asked to give a follow-up interview on how the new situation impacted their life. For example, when the national state of emergency was declared and then, when it was reversed, when the lockdown restrictions were eased and then, after the reopening, or when news about a potential second peak of the pandemic appeared.

Furthermore, the respondents were asked to join an online discussion group on COVID-19 to share their personal experiences with the pandemic and encourage each other. The respondents were grouped by country and by age, and most group members knew each other. These groups were originally created as means of social support, however the discussions produced valuable insights for the research project as well. These discussions allowed the researchers to directly observe the respondents' behaviour in a relatively normal social situation without the pressure of the interview. The researchers could contrast the observed behaviour in the online discussions with the behavioural intentions shared during the interviews. The researchers could also monitor the emotional fluctuation and progress of the respondents as they passed through the different stages of the current health disaster. Thus, with the permission of the participants, these discussions also enriched the findings of the study and contributed to correct social bias when talking about fear.

The current pandemic of COVID-19 is officially declared as a global health crisis (WHO, 2020), where everybody is impacted at various extent through global travel restrictions and obligatory lockdown measures, even if not everybody is directly exposed to the virus. Thus, this study kept a highly sensitive stance during the research following the ethical guideline of disaster research (Kilpatrick, 2004). The participants were pre-screened based on their vulnerability (Levine, 2004) to ensure no additional stress and/or trauma is placed on the participants because of their participation in the research. Furthermore, the research was particularly attentive "not just the risk of being harmed physically, socially, or psychologically but also the risk of being wronged-of, being treated in ways that assault one's dignity or one's personhood" (pp. 398). Each respondent was told that they can stop the line of questions or the entire interview at any point if it feels intrusive or uncomfortable. They were given the option even to withdraw their participation and delete their contribution to the research until the date the findings are accepted for publication. None of the participants withdrew from the research. Moreover, the interviewers were able to create such a safe environment that the participants shared richer and more sensitive information than originally asked for or expected, and thus, they contributed to a deeper understanding of the societal impact of COVID-19.

NVivo Pro 12.0 software permitted to codify the collected data. The transcribed interviews and comments were analysed first through open coding, reading through the scripts and establishing major themes. Then, axial coding was applied to create categories and subcategories from the different themes. Finally, selective coding was used to pinpoint the relationships between the categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During the coding process, the scripts and the created categories were constantly compared to each other to ensure that the same code book was used throughout the entire analysis (Goulding, 2005). When needed, additional questions were discussed with the respondents during the follow-up interviews, and the coding of the script was revised. As the last step of the data analysis, based on the identified categories and subcategories and their dynamic relationships, a novel theory emerged offering an overall explanation of the phenomenon under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and possible answers to the main research questions:

1. How did the current pandemic of COVID-19 impacted people on individual and community level?
2. What risk mitigation strategies and resources were used a to overcome fear?
3. How did the fear of the pandemic affect the willingness and preferences to travel (again)?

4.4. Main Results

Veréb et al. (2018, 2020) demonstrated that people with stronger cosmopolitan convictions, while being keenly aware of the actual risk, were less prone to act irrationally when facing global terrorism threat. The main purpose of this study is to test this notion in a different setting and so, increase its reliability. The current research, by expanding on the study of Veréb et al. (2020), aimed to verify that cosmopolitans, due to their greater personal resilience, are less prone to be swayed by irrationality when facing fear, in this case, the fear of the pandemic of a novel infectious disease, COVID-19.

The current findings confirm that cosmopolitans are more resilient to the irrational swaying power of fear of the pandemic. However, it does not mean that cosmopolitism and resilience are interchangeable or that all cosmopolitans are equally resistant to fear appeal. The findings revealed that cosmopolitanism is a progressive path towards resilience. Cosmopolitanism is one of the ways to build up and strengthen personal resilience that consciously suppresses the exaggerated and irrational reaction to fear, be it terrorism or COVID-19. Hence, cosmopolitanism could be, as suggested by Veréb et al. (2020), a way to bring about a more open-minded and culturally tolerant global society that is resilient to the irrational swaying power of fear when facing uncertainties. It is not simply because cosmopolitans seem to be

inherently more resilient, but because cosmopolitans could and tend to build higher resilience through their way of life and so, less likely to behave irrationally in the face of challenges.

Due to the contradictory and highly debated conceptualization of cosmopolitanism, it is essential to start with the study's understanding of cosmopolitanism. Findings of the actual research demonstrated a cosmopolitanism that is based on a conscious decision to live out cosmopolitan ideals of open-mindedness, cultural curiosity and acceptance of diversity by deliberately taking on the risk to personally experience the world around and let oneself be shaped by it. Cosmopolitan ideals are generally attractive, and most people tend to support them. However, out of the supporters only those who consciously decide to act on them and deliberately live by them can be called cosmopolitans. As they, by adopting these ideals beyond simple sympathy and wishful thinking, lead a cosmopolitan lifestyle that shapes their character, where the more refined by experience a character is, the more it will embrace these principles and the more it will live by them. Figure 7 provides a visual representation of this view of cosmopolitanism that the research revealed.

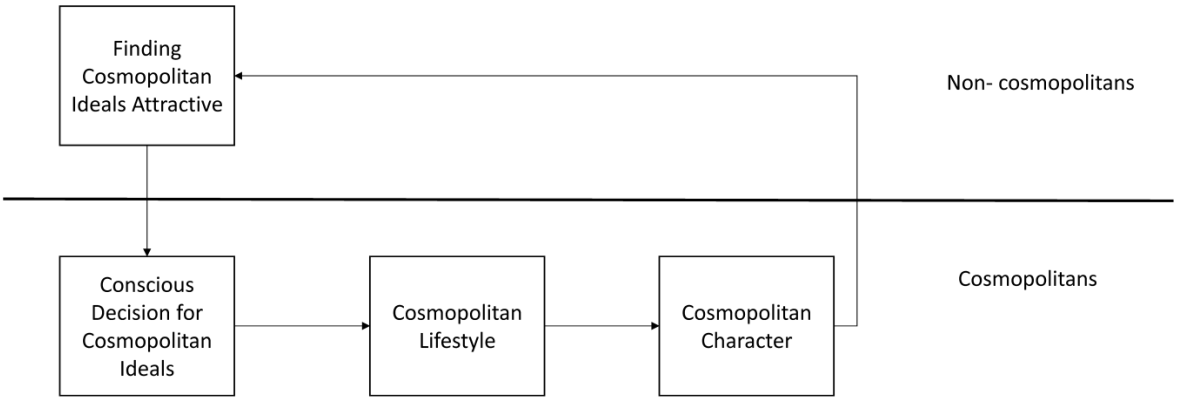

Figure 7 - The conscious progress of cosmopolitanism

Personal resilience "applies to people [who] would involve a reintegration of self that includes a conscious effort to move forward in an insightful integrated positive manner as a result of lessons learned from an adverse experience" (Southwick et al., 2014, pp. 3). Or, as Henderson, Benard and Sharp-Light (1999) suggested, a resilient individual consciously accept life's challenges, embrace them as part of normal life, deliberately adjust life to learn from and grow through the experienced adversities. In line with literature, personal resilience was found by this research to be built up through a conscious effort that brings about a way of life that strengthens (resilient) character. Through synthesising personal resilience literature, Figure 2 displays the conscious structure of personal resilience. The conscious progress of cosmopolitanism (Figure 7) matches the conscious structure to build up personal resilience (Figure 8). Moreover, conscious

cosmopolitanism supports resilience building at every step of the way. Cosmopolitans effortfully embrace the ideals of open-mindedness, cultural tolerance and appreciation of diversity (Skrbis et al., 2004), strive to live these ideals out in the midst of everyday challenges (Ulrich Beck & Sznaider, 2006) and learn from and grow through their challenges (Levy et al., 2007). Resilience, alike cosmopolitanism, rest on a deliberate mind-set and strengthened by the skillset and resources gained through the lifestyle that pursued due to effortfully embracing a resilient way of thinking (Yehuda & Flory, 2007).

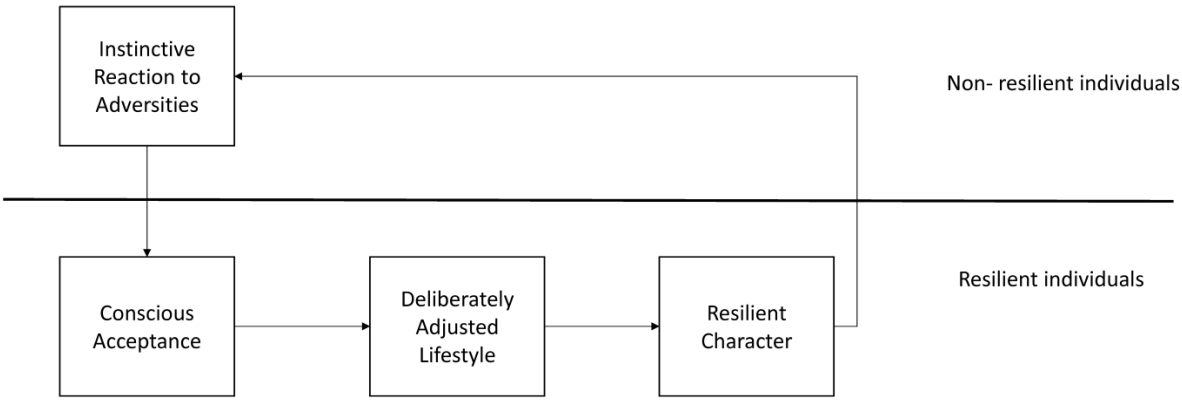

Figure 8 – The conscious structure of personal resilience

Confirming literature, this causal relationship between cosmopolitanism and resilience was also demonstrated in the current research. Respondents with cosmopolitan conviction found to consciously cultivate *a mind-set* of inclusive open-mindedness, acceptance of diversity and realistic risk-tolerance, which seems to have made them accommodate change and accept challenges better. Moreover, they said that sometimes they deliberately sought out change and personal challenge to find fulfilment in diverse (multicultural) experiences. As the result of these diverse international experiences, they acquired *a set of skills*, like foreign language skills, cultural competence, global awareness that helped them to evaluate and compare different local standards and choose the most suitable ones to overcome challenges. Through their first-hand multicultural involvement, they demonstrated to understand different national realities. This insight enabled them to acknowledge and rise above local bias, accept different point of views and strive for objectivity and clarity helping them to correctly address adversities. Through their transnational lifestyle, they managed to build up *a set of resources*, like multicultural social and professional network that they could fall back on when facing difficulties making them more capable of overcoming hardships. Thus, cosmopolitans, through their widened perspective, seemed to able to see the big picture and keep their objectivity needed to resist the urge of panic when encountering difficulties. Through their cosmopolitan lifestyle, they were found to become more equipped to fight and successfully overcome these challenges

and seemed more and more able to resist of feeling terrified and acting irrationally when fear strikes. In other words, cosmopolitans are not more resilient to the automatic and irrational response to fear stimuli because they are inherently more open or committed to a certain set of moral ideals. Rather, they act out resilience, because their ideals they consciously embrace lead them to pursue a certain lifestyle that widens their prospective, equips them with a set of skills and produces a set of resources, which they can use to stand firm in rationality and resist the swaying power of irrational fear when uncertainties arise.

4.5. Detailed Results and Discussions

The level of personal resilience depends on two aspects (Southwick et al., 2014), the internal factors, like psychological makeup of the individual and external factors, like the supportive and hindering environmental circumstances. With regards to the internal factors of personal resilience, the personal values will be discussed as the main drivers of behaviour (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 1992). The corresponding section will highlight the similarities between cosmopolitan values and the value profiles of resilient individuals. With regards to external factors, this study sets to focus on the perceived threat of the pandemic as a hindering circumstance and on the cosmopolitan lifestyle as a supportive circumstance. As hindering environmental circumstance, the potential infection of COVID-19 and the instinctive fear responses it creates will be in the centre of the discussion. First, the roots of this fear, unpredictability, uncontrollability and potential lethality will be explained. Then, the instinctive fear responses, like irrationally exaggerated self-protection, impaired moral thinking, desperate search for information and sense-making and xenophobia will be detailed.

Cosmopolitanism will be discussed as an enabling mind-set, a handy skillset and a reliable set of resources that supported the respondents to counterbalance and even overcome the irrational fear responses created by the fear of COVID-19. The end of the results and discussion section will highlight the practical implications of this research for the tourism industry by categorizing travellers based on their personal resilience and suggesting marketing strategies for destination managers to engage and encourage the different types of travellers in the 'new normal' COVID-19 brought about. Table 36 is a visual roadmap to guide the discussion of the study's findings.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Personal resilience</td></tr>
<tr><td>Internal factors</td><td colspan="3">External factors</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Personal vales of resilience
and
Personal values of cosmopolitanism</td><td>Supportive circumstances: Cosmopolitan lifestyle</td><td rowspan="2">vs.</td><td>Hindering circumstances: Fear of the pandemic</td></tr>
<tr><td>1. Conscious cosmopolitan mindset
2. Cosmopolitan skillset
3. Set of cosmopolitan resources</td><td>Root of fear:
1. Unpredictability
2. Uncontrollability
3. Lethality

Fear responses:
1. Irrationally exaggerated self-protection
2. Impaired moral decision-making
3. Desperate search for information
4. General apprehension and xenophobia</td></tr>
</table>

Table 36 - Visual roadmap for discussing the results

4.5.1. External factors of resilience: fear of the pandemic vs. cosmopolitanism

4.5.1.1. *Aversive stimulus and the root of fear*

An aversive stimulus rests on three main elements that provoke a fear response: unpredictability, uncontrollability and potential lethality (Seligman et al., 1971). The hazard infectious diseases pose scores high in all three fundamentals (Murray & Schaller, 2016; Pappas et al., 2009).

Unpredictability. The novel coronavirus was perceived by the respondents as being all around, in the air we breathe, on everything we might touch, within everybody we might encounter. Moreover, nobody was perceived exempt of this risk. So, the constant and invisible risk of infection kept all respondents without exception constantly alert and cautious. Potential threat creates a highly alert fight or flight response (Panksepp et al., 2011). If the danger is constantly expected from anywhere, the highly alert emotional state becomes chronic and tires out the nervous system creating constant anxiety (Ledoux, 2015). Anxiety, as nervousness, worrying and increased tension defined by the American Psychological Association, describes well the general state of mind of the respondents.

Uncontrollability. As COVID-19 is a novel virus, the respondents, even with medical background, acknowledged that it is difficult to fight the virus relying on the little available information, and the way to

gather further knowledge is by trial and error. Most respondents were actively searching for information on how to protect themselves and their families from the virus and said to have faced with inconsistent and sometimes contradicting information from medical professionals, government officials and news channels reducing even further the sense of control and increasing the level of fear. Fear arises from the lack of situational control (Lerner & Keltner, 2001). The sense of having no control over a risk exaggerates it, even to irrationality (Lewis et al., 2008). The ambiguous information stream further increases the sense of uncontrollability, which in turn, further increases anxiety (Taha et al., 2014).

Potential lethality. The main health concern of the respondents regarding COVID-19 stemmed from the facts that the disease is not known, there is no available cure for it, and even a relatively mild disease when mistreated or left untreated could become life-threatening. Moreover, a potential mass outbreak was feared to create a shortage in available medical care, which could be lethal for even those who otherwise could be saved. Due to the unknown potential of the virus, the respondents were seriously concerned for themselves and/or their loved ones contracting the virus, however the probability of getting seriously sick of it or dying from it is statistically low (WHO, 2020). The irrational phenomenon of probability neglect, the failure to adjust initial risk perception to statistical risk probability, explains why people are sensitive to the possibility of negative events and insensitive to their probabilities (Loewenstein et al., 2001). Probability neglect was detected in case of other infections, potentially lethal diseases, too. The 2014 Ebola outbreak in the United States, despite of its low risk of transmission, caused increased and wide-speared anxiety (Thompson et al., 2017).

Previous literature confirms the validity of increased anxiety as an emotional response to risk and uncertainty in the case of contagious diseases (Murray & Schaller, 2016; Thompson et al., 2017) including the current pandemic (Garfin et al., 2020). Worrying is a form of problem-solving that helps to plan and prepare for a potential negative event. However, unknown risk can stimulate excessive worry that overestimates both the likelihood and the intensity of the threat (Davey & Levy, 1998). Inflated fear is not a new phenomenon, it has been historically related to infectious diseases (Pappas et al., 2009) and even led to "germ panic" several times only in the last century (Tomes, 2000). The next section will highlight the main behavioural responses to this inflated fear.

4.5.1.2. Fear response: instinctive urge to flee vs. conscious strive for objectivity

While all respondents gained an increased concern for safety, some of them were swayed to the extremes by it. These latter respondents seemed to succumb more to seemingly irrational news that they would not

have entertained before, to act in ways they would not have otherwise approved of and to tolerate behaviour that they do not agree with (e.g., Table 37,39).

Fear is an automatic survival response that aims to minimize the impact of danger and maximize the chances of survival, and as such, it could be exaggerated and irrational (Ledoux, 2015; Panksepp et al., 2011). Fear was demonstrated to impair rational thinking and induce less rational behavioural both in the case of terrorism and infectious diseases (Taha et al., 2014). The notion of the behavioural immune system explains this irrationality particularly when facing the risk of contagious diseases (Murray & Schaller, 2016). Behavioural immune system is a motivational system evolved through human evolution as a means of facilitating behavioural prophylaxis, as the first line of defence, against infectious diseases that are proven to be historically the most lethal threats for the human species (Morens et al., 2008). It is "designed" to responds not to the objective risk of infection, but rather to the inferred risk of infection. A false positive error (inferring the presence of infection risk when, in fact, there is no such risk) and a false negative error (inferring the absence of infection risk when, in fact, there is a real risk of infection) while being equally erroneous are unequally costly in terms of survival. Thus, this system is hypersensitive, and its defence responses can be easily triggered by superficial clues or even irrelevant information. This system, when activated, induces a set of unconscious psychological responses that could be crude, exaggerated and illogical.

The behavioural immune system influences social cognition and social behaviour (Murray & Schaller, 2016). Potentially exaggerated fear responses with strong social implications were revealed in this study as well, like irrationally inflated self-protection even at the expense of mental well-being (Table 37), impaired moral decision making and conformism (Table 39), excessive information search and desperate efforts for sense-making (Table 41), and a general distrust and avoidance of all others as potential risk source (Table 43). These protective measures could seem extravagant and unnecessary, but it also highlights the inherent and overpowering human instinct for self-protection (Ledoux, 2015; Murray & Schaller, 2016) and the instinctive need for control to reduce risk and increase safety as well as to make sense of adverse circumstances (Lewis et al., 2008). Only those who could take control over this overpowering instinct through an effortful discernment (Table 38) and conscious strive for open-mindedness (Table 40), objectivity (Table 44) and sense-making (Tables 42) could get rid of these irrational impulses. Below, each fear response will be discussed in detail and contrasted with attitudes and practices of cosmopolitan respondents that seem to offset these instinctive fear responses.

Exaggerated self-protection vs. conscious strive for objectivity. Exaggerated self-protection, the most common risk mitigation strategy found among the respondents (Table 37), is indeed the main and the most common fear response regardless of the type of aversive stimulus, be it man-made or natural (Ledoux, 2015). Drawing from previous public health crises caused by infectious diseases (i.e. Ebola, H1N1 and SARS), even relatively low risk of infection coupled up with media attention was shown to lead to heightened anxiety and exaggerated self-protection progressing to irrationality (Garfin et al., 2020). For example, Chang et al. (2004) have found that the exaggerated fear of being infected during the 2003 epidemic of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) caused substantial decrease in health care utilization, which lead to an increased number of death of otherwise treatable conditions. Pappas et al. (2007) also found that people counterproductively overuse antibiotics because, out of fear of impending infectious diseases, they overestimate the morbidity, even the mortality, related to their symptoms. Highlighting the wider societal consequences of exaggerated and irrational self-protection, Falagas and Kiriaze (2006) showed that during the 2005 influenza pandemic in Greece the overwhelming public reaction to the pandemic news was to immediately get vaccinated without prior risk assessment, without medical subscription and without giving priority to those more vulnerable to influenza. This led to a considerable amount of people who were in need of the influenza vaccine, including the elderly and immuno-compromised patients, deprived of the vaccine. While rational and scientifically based recommendations are essential to follow during any outbreak of infectious diseases, irrational and exaggerated self-protection is dangerous for the community and counterproductive to the individual (Weston et al., 2018).

1	Radical self-isolation	"Brazil is not safe in general. Crime and diseases breed easily here. [...] We locked ourselves up. We can work from home. We dismissed the entire household staff and we don't let anybody enter. We planned ahead and ordered a 6 months' worth of supply. We try to play safe and see how things are going before we go back to normal. We are the few lucky ones who can do that." – *Brazilian factory owner in Brazil*
2	Meticulous sanitizing	"We have a small system here to protect ourselves. When the neighbours arrive with the shopping bags, we talk to them through the console and ask them to leave the bags at the gate. We leave the bags in the open air for 6 hours, like a quarantine. Then we put on our safety gears, the mask, the plastic face shield and the gloves and we take everything into the garage. There we disinfect every item, even plastic packages and vegetables before taking them into the house. After we are done with sorting the groceries, we also change our clothes and shoes." – *Hungarian retired operations director in Hungary*
3	Self-protection at the expense of metal wellbeing	"I am in a high-risk group, as I am 65 years old. My husband was operated with prostate cancer 6 months ago. So, we did not leave the house in the last 3 months. I was straight-out terrified. Now this isolation starts to take a toll on me. I feel depressed and I constantly cry... But I am still afraid to go out." – *Portuguese retired teacher in Portugal*

Table 37 – Examples of potentially exaggerated self-protection strategies

Interestingly, people predominantly do not recognize that their fear of a situation is excessive or their behavioural response is unreasonable (Zimmerman et al., 2010), thus they do not question its validity or feel compelled to change it (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013). But, people who effortfully keep in check their attitude and actions, recognize their possible irrationality and strive to adopt a more realistic view of the situation (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013). Psychology literature established that people with a greater capacity of conscious emotion regulation are able to significantly decrease the effect of fear in decision making (Griese, Buhs, & Lester, 2016; Kligyte et al., 2013). Risk domain also recognised that risk evaluation when effortfully kept rational and fact-based can reduce stress to a more realistic level and tame irrational behavioural triggers (Finucane, 2012). This explains why the respondents with a strong conscious drive for objectivity and sense-making, as seen in the case of cosmopolitan respondents, were able to effortfully readjust their irrational behaviour when facing pandemic threat (Table 2). Adopting cosmopolitan ideals into everyday practice does not come naturally, it requires a conscious effort (Kanter, 1995; Levy et al., 2019). Thus, analytical thinking is always salient, readily accessible and in the forefront of cosmopolitans' mind. It is needed as a means to organise a life abroad in an unfamiliar environment, to work with international teams, to communicate with family and friends across borders and from different cultures or to sacrifice for a charity that does not personally benefit. As cosmopolitan lifestyle requires a constant high

consciousness, this way of thinking seems to be applied for all other aspects of life, too. The high level of sense of coherence, conscious self-reflection and deliberate sense-making, seen in cosmopolitans, increase personal resilience and moderate adverse effect when facing destress (Super et al., 2016). Kligyte et al. (2013) also argue that it is not the actual circumstance that creates stress and generates stress response, but the perception of it, the type of mind-set that is used to face it.

1	Conscious strive for objectivity for one's own sake	"At that moment. the best mindset we can have is to be objective and analytical. There is no other way to solve a problem. Pointing fingers will not help here. Panicking will create even bigger problem. Also, we have to be rational, and accept that we cannot do things without errors, especially in an unknown territory, like this virus. We will make mistakes, but we have to learn from them and work around them." – *German CEO in Portugal*
2	Conscious strive for objectivity for others' sake	"The other day, I was travelling by metro. It was packed and there was only one seat left unoccupied, near an Asian lady. I set there, near her. Everybody was looking at me strangely. [...] I think that even if nobody is thinking clearly, we should stick to objectivity and reason. We should lead by example." – *South-African Christian pastor in Portugal*
3	Conscious readjustment of behaviour	"One day, I remember, I was about to go to the university by metro, and I started panicking that I don't have a car and I have to board the metro with hundreds of people who could be infected, and I can get infected and die. I completely froze. I had to forcefully remind myself that I am a rational person, and I have to accept and deal with this situation like I do in any other bad situation: access and adjust. Life doesn't just stop. I have to change my habits and I have to live with this "new guest", even this guest is not welcome.... I pulled myself together, I turned off all the news and calmly went on with my daily tasks." – *Iranian researcher in Portugal*
4	Consciousness as a protective measure	"I think the most important safety precaution is to keep always in mind the actual risk of the virus. In that way, you will not forget to protect yourself and you also won't overreact it... I don't know which one is more dangerous." – *German volunteer in Thailand*

Table 38- Examples of conscious strive counterbalancing instinctive fear

Impaired moral decision making vs. conscious strive for moral ideals. In order to protect the whole community during the crisis, ethical issues appeared to be approached differently by the respondents. Some of them acknowledged that they were concerned with the strict public safety measures, but they said to understand and accept curtailing of freedom and invasion of privacy during a crisis situation as necessary evil. Others, while did not openly endorse, welcomed public outrage towards (perceived) lawbreakers (Table 39). The unconscious psychological responses to fear do not induce only direct defensive behaviour but alter overall moral decision making (Kligyte et al., 2013). Chronic stress

created by a crisis have profound impacts on the brain, and impair cognition and behaviour (Dias-Ferreira et al., 2009). The dual-process theory of moral judgment, supported by many empirical studies of both behavioural and neuropsychological domains, posits that there are two independent processes involved in moral judgment: reason and emotion (Greene, 2007). The final moral choices depend on the relative strength of the two processes. Stress (i.e. fear) by activating emotions, can reduce the salience of rational thinking and thus effect moral decisions to be more instinctive than deliberate. It explains why respondents were inclined to conform, even at the extent to go against their own rational concerns and moral standing. Studies have shown that people, when feel threatened by a disease, become more conformist and respectful of convention (Harper et al., 2020; Murray & Schaller, 2012) as well as less accepting of individualism, eccentricity, rebellion and unsettlingly, even creative thinking and innovation (Wu & Chang, 2012). Moreover, even political standing on issues that have nothing to do with the original threat of the disease, like immigration policy or minority initiatives can prompt people to act more protectionist and conservative (Aaroe et al., 2017). There are specific examples, when fear influenced governments to adopt racialized surveillant systems (Sharma & Nijjar, 2018), or let national policies be swayed by contemporary xenophobia and old-fashion racism (Lajevardi & Oskooii, 2018) leading to global movements supporting protectionism and nativism (Young, 2017) even at the expense of democracy under the excuse of the current pandemic (Vijaya et al., 2020). The strength of this innate fear response contending with the conscious human mind is best represented in the great debate about whether or at what extent should we give up civil liberties for the sake of security. This debate is in the heart of both terrorism research (e.g., Viscusi & Zeckhauser, 2003) and infectious diseases literature (e.g., Bayer, 2007). For example, mandatory immunization of school children clearly intrudes on or burdens parental autonomy. Yet, both the protection of children from infectious diseases and the ensuing 'herd immunity' by high-level vaccination coverage, which protects those who cannot be vaccinated, depend on such mandates (Bayer, 2007). So, moral decision making in health issues are challenging in general, and even so amidst the fear induced biases during the pandemic (Gostin, Bayer, & Fairchild, 2003; Simon, 2020).

1	Acceptance of public outrage	"I saw that people got very angry at rule breakers, like people who stood too close when queuing, or didn't wear a mask in a public place. Portuguese people are usually very friendly, but then, they were screaming at each other with a red face. Well, I wouldn't have been so extreme, but I was happy that somebody spoke up." – *Indian event organiser in Portugal*
2	Acceptance of exaggerated measures	"The government did what it could with the information it had. We might have overreacted. But, I think, it was good to scare people to stay at home and follow the rules." – *Portuguese politician in Portugal*
3	Acceptance of social discrimination	"I think that some of the shady districts of Budapest will be very dangerous for Chinese tourists, or Chinese people in general after this pandemic. I don't expect to see racist incidents, but I expect to hear about them more in the next months in the local news. I don't approve obviously, but I do understand. I am also concerned that tourists from Asia will carry the virus to Hungary." – *Hungarian small business owner in Hungary*
4	Inclination to conform	"I am the person who usually goes against the crowd and questions the mainstream opinion, but you know, this situation is different. The government is talking about tracking each person to better control the spread of the virus. I think it is an extreme and dangerous measure. But if it has to be, it has to be." – *Vietnamese IT developer in Vietnam*

Table 39 – Moral dilemmas and changing morals during the pandemic

Moral decision making rests strongly on consciousness (Greene, 2007; Kligyte et al., 2013), as it is not evolutionary and natural but cultural and learnt. So, the conscious strive as emotional regulation and enabling of rational moral processing, seen is cosmopolitans, greatly contributed to refute impaired moral judgement (Table 40). Moreover, the cosmopolitan respondents did not only strive to stick to rationality and moral ideals, but their like-minded social network also acted as a tool for social correction (Bode & Vraga, 2018) by providing an example to follow and encouragement to stick to moral ideals. A global professional and social network also provided cosmopolitans with a financial backup and a professional safety net as a risk mitigation resource in time of adversities. Cosmopolitans could fall back on them if and when necessary. This reduced their stress over uncertainty and thus, supported their rational and moral decision-making. Resilience literature suggests that most people could weather adversity and change or adapt to a new situation, but they need stable social and material resources to do so (Southwick et al., 2014) and to return to their original moral stance (Ungar, Ghazinour, & Richter, 2013).

1	Holding fast to moral ideals	"We should be very vigilant, especially in time like this, and we should keep remind ourselves of what is right and what is wrong. Moral code should not change with the context. I am not saying it is easy, I am saying we have to keep trying and get as close as possible." – *Serbian researcher in Vietnam*
2	Promote moral ideals	"My PhD research focused on the European refugee crisis and how it affected front-line worker. For example, asylum judges and social workers who had to make the hard decision about who to help and who to leave behind. Very many cases were far from clear-cut, as per the policy framework, but always with great personal implications. Now, the front-line healthcare professionals have to make similarly hard decisions. But this time it is us and our loved ones who they decide about. Perhaps, this experience could move us to be more compassionate with each other and support policies that are more human-centric." – *Greek-British professor in the UK*
3	Live out moral ideals	"Lots of people are especially vulnerable. The homeless and people who are living in poverty. Homeless cannot really isolate themselves on the street, or even wash their hands. In the soup kitchen, I manage, I see more and more people showing up for food, and not only homeless but whole families, too. We might be afraid of getting sick of the virus, but there are bigger issues out there." – *British social worker in Portugal*

Table 40 - Examples of holding on to the original moral ideals in the changing circumstances

Desperate search for information vs. discerning media consumption. The heavy media coverage influenced how aware the respondents were and how exposed they felt to the imminent risk of COVID-19. The sensationalist news reports about long truck convoys carrying coffins in Italy, and the constant live count of coronavirus cases on official sites and mainstream media reporting on the rapid spread of the virus seem to have kept the focus of the respondents on the impending danger. The lack of information and in some cases, confusing information surrounding the novel coronavirus along with the rising death toll created in every respondent a sense of uncertainty (Table 41). Fear stems from uncertainty (Carleton, 2016). It is long-established that during times of uncertainty and crisis, the people rely more on the media for comfort and to ease their uncertainty (Ball-Rokeach & Defleur, 1976). Counterproductively, intensified media exposure was found to further intensify risk perception (Fazio et al., 2015). Pervasive media exposure during the global 24/7 news cycle can lead viewers not only to inaccurately estimate the threat to themselves and their own communities but to overreact it. For example, the Ebola outbreak in 2014 in the United States, and the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombing terrorist attacks, while both their direct impact remained low and mostly localised, media exposure to the crises-related news was found to have increased distress and also impaired sensible functioning nation-wide (Thompson et al., 2017). When information is desperately sought, the absence of reliable information whether because the information is unknown, like in the case of COVID-19, or because it is ineffectively communicated, like in the aftermath of

a terrorist attack, ambiguity can lead to heightened appraisals of threat and increased anxiety (Taha et al., 2014). Moreover, as the theory of social amplification of risk posits, individual risk perception can be amplified through social and cultural interactions enabled by the media (Kasperson et al., 1988; Slovic, 1990). Recent studies have also demonstrated that misinformation, fake news and conspiracy theories easily spread in the media during crisis and amplify the perceived risk (Ng, Yang, & Vishwanath, 2018; Wang et al., 2019).

1	Lack of factual information	"We, practicing doctors, do not know a lot about COVID-19 either. There is just not many information about this new virus yet, so being afraid and possibly overacting might be just the wise thing to do." – *Hungarian-Serbian doctor in Hungary*
2	Desperate search for information	"In the beginning we all had information-hunger. I was also spending hours reading news on coronavirus, I was watching BBC and Euronews, I was checking the government portal for local updates, I was researching on opinion and advices of health experts. It was overwhelming and it made me even more afraid." – *Hungarian marketing manager in Hungary*
3	Single-focused media	"Around the time of the lockdown in March, people panicked over the virus. The news was all about how fast this virus spreads, how not prepared our health system is to fight mass-infection of the population, how high the estimated death toll can be, and how we do not know the exact effect of the virus or have a cure for it. Then we saw in the news what had happened in China and in Italy. The governments everywhere were considering or already ordering a lockdown. We were all watching the news in a trance-like state. We knew it was happening, but it was so surreal. We have never seen anything like this before. We were scared, but we couldn't stop watching it." – *American professor in the U.S. (Texas)*
4	Confusing information	"We wanted to go away for road trip with my boyfriend over the weekend. I found a lot of contradicting and confusing statements and rules. I got so upset that finally I emailed our major, but just to receive an answer back shortly: I am not sure …I don't really know what to think. Are we safe? Are we in control of the situation? This makes me uncomfortable and worried." – *German-Hungarian teacher in Italy*
5	Tendency to believe conspiracy theories	"I have never even considered the possibility that we could reach a point in history when we use biological weapons to kill off older people who have less value for the economy. But you hear about it from everywhere, and you start thinking about it, maybe it is true…" – *South-African non-profit worker in Portugal*

Table 41 - Examples of fear inducing media consumption

Respondents who managed to fight back the overwhelming fear response did it by keeping in mind the media's power to magnify fear. They said that they deliberately limited their media exposure to avoid seeing the world from only through the lens of the pandemic threat. They also carefully selected the media sources they could trust in order to ensure they base their opinion on scientific facts. Finally, they tried to contrast information in different media to ensure to gain a reliable insight. These conscious media strategies were also highlighted by several studies focusing on how to (counter)balance media (mis)communication during health crisis (e.g., Bode & Vraga, 2018; Wang et al., 2019). Cosmopolitan lifestyle seems to support these conscious media strategies (Table 42). First, cosmopolitan respondents strived to adopt a discerning and critical attitude towards media that helped them obtain facts. This was the same effortful consciousness that helped them to resist the instinctive fear response discussed above. Second, cosmopolitans through their multicultural interconnectedness and transnational embeddedness appeared to have gained a broad global perspective. First-hand experience with multiple country's realities provide cosmopolitans with a better understanding of the local drives and feelings behind each local decisions and actions (Veréb & Ferreira, 2018). Through these knowledge pieces, they get a more objective global picture (Skrbis et al., 2004) than they would obtain by solely relying on the interpretation of one of the local medias. They learn that every situation has different angles and can be viewed from different perspective, thus not only one interpretation of a certain actions can be truthful. This is the very essence of Kantian cosmopolitanism that by raising above local standards and by definition, limited perspective, one effortfully strives to search out and embrace global truths (Kleingeld, 2006). Third, their multinational experiences also seemed to provide cosmopolitans with additional insights into situations that might be unfamiliar and thus, fearful to some following only the local news. For example, some respondents said that they lived through the health crisis SARS created in 2002-2004, and this experience reduced their fear of the unknown when facing COVID-19. They knew what could be expected, they knew how to prepare and how to protect themselves from the virus. Fourth, the diverse (multicultural) social network that provided cosmopolitan respondents with insight into different realties and different perspectives of the same situation was established as an effective tool of 'social correction' in verifying information, correcting misinformation and encouraging to refuse false misleading information (Bode & Vraga, 2018).

1	Discerning approach to media	"There is objective and factual information, there is the mainstream media, and there is fake news. One has to be very discerning to distinguish one from the others. But I think the discernment has to be there anyways if you want to it make sense of anything in the world nowadays. I don't think the media necessarily created the panic, I think that having all these sources of information is very important, and media has done a good job generally, in keeping us well informed. But, having just a healthy dosage of it is essential. Just to know what is happening in your country and around the world. But if you just keep feeding yourself with all this coronavirus information, it will get you literally sick. If you are not careful, yes, the media could drive you to do crazy things, the media could drive you to have very scary view about the world." – *Hong Kong (Chinese) retired regional director in Portugal*
2	Different national media perspectives	"In Hungary, you can hear from the media that the estimated peak of the pandemic will be in the end of March. Then, it passed, and the peak was estimated in the mid of April. It also passed, and they started talking about the peak to be expected in the beginning of May... Then the government started reopening everything in the beginning of May. You are just told what to do but you don't understand what is happening. [...] In America, the state communication on the coronavirus situation was very professional. It was explained well why it is important to wear masks, gloves and to disinfect. But it was left for the people to decide what recommendations they follow. This is a big responsibly. [...] It is good to have different perspective of the same situation. You can a clearer picture of the facts." – *Hungarian human resources manager in the U.S. (Ohio)*
3	Broad global awareness	"The public health organisations were talking about new possible viruses for some time now. There was always the knowledge that a new virus will arise, most probably it could originate from animals, and it could be very infectious and deadly. But we didn't really prepare. We didn't change anything about how we treat animals and how we process meat. It is not an animal rights issue, it's a human rights issue, in the end. I don't think so that we can blame any single organisation, a country's regime or the global media. They contributed to the pandemic, but it is us, all of us, who live in this way and make this situation possible." – *Russian government consultant in Portugal*
4	Limited media exposure	"In the beginning, I was concerned with this new risk. I tried to read every article, listen to every update about it. It didn't take long for me to feel overwhelmed and doomed. So, I decided to stop. I just screened through the headlines in the morning to know what is happening. I also tried to diversify what I am reading. Other things in life don't stop just because we found a new problem." – *Australian marketing manager in Australia*

Table 42 - Examples of discerning media consumption

General apprehension and xenophobia vs. embracing of diversity. An overall distrust was found to be the other main theme of risk mitigation strategies ranging from a general apprehension, suspicion, avoidance of others and stigmatization of people who could be sick, to some cases even scapegoating and

racism (Table 43). These unconscious fear responses were historically associated with the spread of infectious diseases (Bartholomew, 2020; Kraut, 2010; Inhorn & Brown, 1990). For example, the Jews were persecuted for the spread of the 14th century Bubonic Plague, European immigrants were blamed for 1892 cholera epidemic in the U.S., 1918-19 flu epidemic is known as the Spanish flu, AIDS and Ebola is associated with the African continent, H1N1 (also known as swine flu) outbreak of 2009 in the US created widespread prejudice against Latin Americans, the current pandemic is labelled by global leaders as the Chinese virus, and list goes on. The unconscious foundation of this fear response was very well demonstrated by Ryan et al. (2012) in a study where people impulsively responded with disgust and behavioural avoidance to individuals who were suffering from an infectious disease, but they also responded the same way to individuals who merely had superficial facial disfigurements. Stigmatization, the chronic social and physical avoidance of others, was also found to be an automatic disease-avoidance response, which is activated by visible signs that connote disease, but irrespective of their accuracy (Oaten et al., 2011). The fear of infectious diseases produces a distrust in and avoidance of strangers, which is built on the evolutionary assumption that people who look different than us, have a different immune system than us, might expose us to a disease that our immune system is unprepared for (Thornhill & Fincher, 2014). The parasite stress theory posits that this evolutionary phenomena could be the biological root of xenophobia, as "the avoidance of and antagonism toward out-groups, an adaptation or evolved solution to the problem of being maladapted to the infectious diseases parasitizing out-groups." (Thornhill & Fincher, 2014, p. 334). The notion of parasite stress theory was confirmed in a 30 countries sample to indeed predict preference for local ethnicities over immigrants and foreigners amidst facing infectious diseases (Tybur et al., 2016). Moreover, people at risk of infection were found to be more vigilant about keeping rules (Murray, Kerry, & Gervais, 2019) and more aggressive towards outlaws (Murray & Schaller, 2012), as they can threaten their safety. Increased tendency of aggression was previously observed towards any (perceived) member of the outgroup to ensure they keep distance from the ingroup (Tybur et al., 2016), even if they had nothing to do with the pathogen, like "outgroup" of gays and lesbians during the 2014 Ebola outbreak (Inbar et al., 2016). The fearful circumstances of the pandemic trigger these evolutionary inclinations. If not effortfully kept in check, they can lead to racism, scapegoating and hate crimes against outgroups, as seen throughout history of the infectious diseases (Kraut, 2010) or currently in the increase of hate crimes against Asians in America and across Europe (Grierson, 2020; Kandil, 2020), against Europeans and American in Africa (Jalloh, 2020; York, 2020) and against Africans in Asia (Vincent, 2020).

1	General apprehension	"It is not the Chinese neighbours I don't trust, we cannot trust anybody, as everybody can be a potential risk when it comes to spreading the virus." – *Portuguese hairdresser in Portugal*
2	Avoidance of others	"When we go for a walk with my husband, I see that people are keeping away from one another, as if they are afraid of the others. It is sorrowful. You cannot even say hi or smile at someone because they are so gripped by fear that they might take it in a wrong way, like why are you so happy during this quarantine, we are all supposed to be afraid and paranoid and in panic mode." – *American mother-of-two in Portugal*
3	Stigmatization	"I think some people would start using the mask all the time. And I also think that people would look at them warily. People will think that they are wearing the mask because they are sick and not because they are over-cautions." – *Australian marketing manager in Australia*
4	Scapegoating	"I think people in general will look at China and Chinese differently, as in some way, China has lost face, regardless if they are justly blamed or not." – *Hungarian human resources manager in the U.S. (Ohio)*
5	Anger	"This situation has created some hard feelings towards some groups of people. For example, older people. In Hungary, people above 65 are allotted go to supermarkets and shops in the morning, and everybody else in the afternoon. This is to protect them, as they are a high-risk group. This is very uncomfortable, as we have to plan around our shopping and also, we have to face the crowd, instead of calmly and securely going in the morning. And on the top of that, the older people are the ones who least care for the safety precautions endangering possibly all of us." – *Hungarian personal assistant in Hungary*
6	Racism	"As an Asian American, I am also afraid that I might be attacked on the street because of my race. There are so many news about hate crimes against Asian Americans in this pandemic situation that concerns me. For example, just recently, I read about a Texas case, where an Asian-American family with young children was attacked at a supermarket. The attacker said that he targeted them, because they were Asians and they were spreading the coronavirus. I also read about Asian Americans who were refused to be served at a grocery store, spit on or verbally assaulted on the street. What if next time this happens to my children?" – *Chinese-American lawyer in the U.S. (New York)*

Table 43 – Overall feeling of distrust as reported by the respondents

However, those who are aware of and understand this human predisposition and willing to fight back this instinctive urge are less likely not act on it (Kligyte et al., 2013; Wen et al., 2020). Cosmopolitans seemed to be keenly aware of this human tendency and the history of xenophobia as the result of fear in general and in the current situation in particular. Also, they seem to be aware of their own biases and strive to consciously fight it back. One of the reasons could be that through their own expatriate experience, they can personally associate with both sides of the xenophobic movement, as being part of the majority who

discriminates and being part of the minority who is discriminated (e.g., Table 44/5, 46/1). Furthermore, cosmopolitans have a diverse international experience, possibly even multicultural upbringing and education, as well as multicultural social network, so they have the chance to build cross-national friendships and look beyond national prejudice and towards individual differences valuing personal character over nationality. Kurzban, Tooby and Cosmides (2001) demonstrated that racism is an eradicable construct that persists only so long as it is actively maintained, and even a short exposure to another social reality and multicultural/multiracial friendships (alliances) can deflate a lifetime's tendency to link race to social (non)alliance. Phelps et al. (2000) also found that individual experiences with different races alter neurofunctions in the brain and modify the cultural evaluation of social groups. Cosmopolitans tend not only be well-travelled, but majority of them had the chance to live aboard and immense themselves in a different culture, different understanding of life and learn a different logic of social interaction (Ulrich Beck & Grande, 2012). This makes them more accepting of diversity and seeing differences simply as what they are and not as means of superiority and inferiority refuting the essence of racism (AltInta̧ et al., 2013). Respondents, with cosmopolitan conviction even coupled with little international experience, seemed to be very capable of separating the wisdom of social distancing as a preventative health measure from irrational distrust and scapegoating (Table 44). Cosmopolitans might not be equally resilient to all types of fear, in reality, resilience more likely exists on a continuum that may be present to differing degrees across multiple domains of life (Pietrzak & Southwick, 2011). However, based on how cosmopolitans relate to others of different nationalities, they are highly resilient to the instinctive fear response that triggers xenophobia and racism due to their enabling environmental influence (Kim-Cohen & Turkewitz, 2012), their multicultural lifestyle.

1	Clarity or global awareness	"Racism is much more obvious in Russia than here, in Portugal. But cultures are different, the political environment is different, people's temperament is different. But, I am not surprised that that racism in on the rise. Seeing what is happening now and how people reacted in the last years, you would expect it. [...] In the last 20 years, I travelled a lot and lived in different countries. You learn not to feel intimidated by the cultural difference or different religious views. But at the same time, you don't forget that people will judge you first based on your ethnicity, and only after based on our character." – *Russian government consultant in Portugal*
2	Multiple embeddedness as building oneself up	"There are a lot of very smart Chinese and Indian doctors and businessmen, and people trust them. People do not look down on them. They are not so much of an outsider here, as they are in Hungary, for example. [...] Discrimination is very common in Hungary, while in America it is scandalous and has serious legal consequences. America is multicultural, social discrimination does not fly here. I also became a strong advocate of social equality after living and working some years in America." – *Hungarian human resources manager in the U.S. (Ohio)*
3	Conscious check of attitude	"It is difficult to say who could be blamed for this situation. It is clear now that China could have done a better job in stopping the virus. But, in my current point of view, it's really difficult to say definitely who is at fault. The little available information we have is not enough to pass a judgement. [...] Finding the responsible will not raise the dead, get us the vaccine or stop the spread of the virus." – *Greek-Canadian chef in Portugal*
4	Conscious check of attitude	"Maybe, the virus came from China. But if I get infected with the virus, it not China's fault, it is my fault, I was not careful enough. It is always easier to blame others than examine ourselves." – *German volunteer in Thailand*
5	Experience both sides of racism	"You relate to racism differently after you experienced both sides of it. When I worked in India, I felt all the benefits of positive discrimination as a white man. It was great! Then, I lived in Hungary. During a winter, I went to the Southern Hemisphere and returned with a strong off-season tan. For a month I was mistaken for a gypsy. Almost every day someone sent me to my "land". At first, I laughed at it. But it started pissing me off after a few days. Especially when I was wondering if I should go to certain streets at a certain time of the day. It's hard even to imagine what it would be like to live with this type of stigma for life. It also made me stand in solidarity with women of all colours for whom the street can be dangerous." – *Portuguese management consultant in Portugal*
5	International social network	"It helped me a lot knowing that I am not alone facing these challenges, but everybody struggles, some with this, others with that. I have friends from all over the world, and seeing their difficulties, sometimes even bigger than mine, put my inconveniences and fears into a healthy perspective." – *Hungarian psychiatrist in Hungary*

Table 44 – Open-mindedness and embracing of diversity in the midst of the crisis

4.5.2. Internal factors of resilience: personal values

Personal values are similar to personality traits in a way that they are inherent, relatively stable and most importantly, motivate behaviour by activating preference for certain behavioural outcome (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 1992, 2006). Human values are universal constructs, universal over time and across culture (Davidov et al., 2008). According to value theory (Schwartz, 1992), there are 10 values and each person measures differently regarding the strength of each value. The mix of the relative strength of the different values build up our personal drives and ambitions, or some say, personality (Parks-Leduc et al., 2015). The 10 values are organised in a circular structure, where the values next to each other induce similar behaviour, and the values opposite to each other trigger opposing behaviour (Figure 9). The more important a value is to a person, the more he/she is compelled to act on that value and to refuse the behaviour associated with the opposing value (Davidov et al., 2008). When values change, more precisely, shift, the strength of a value changes to motivate one behaviour and hinder the opposing behaviour. Personal values are relatively stable, but can change either effortfully by cultivating a certain mind-set and choosing a certain behaviour over and over again or automatically under considerable pressure (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Fear, as a considerable environmental pressure, was demonstrated to have the power to change the strength of personal values and so, change the original manner of the behaviour. The fear of terrorism was suggested to strengthen conformity and security values triggering behaviours aiming predominantly for self-preservation and block values of self-transcendence, like benevolence and universalism hindering pro-social behaviour (Konty, Duell, & Joireman, 2004; Veréb et al., 2018; Verkasalo, Goodwin, & Bezmenova, 2006). Infectious diseases were also demonstrated to activate conformity and security values motivating self-preservation, and suppress openness to change values, like independence (self-direction), hedonism and novelty-appreciation (Murray & Schaller, 2012; Wu & Chang, 2012).

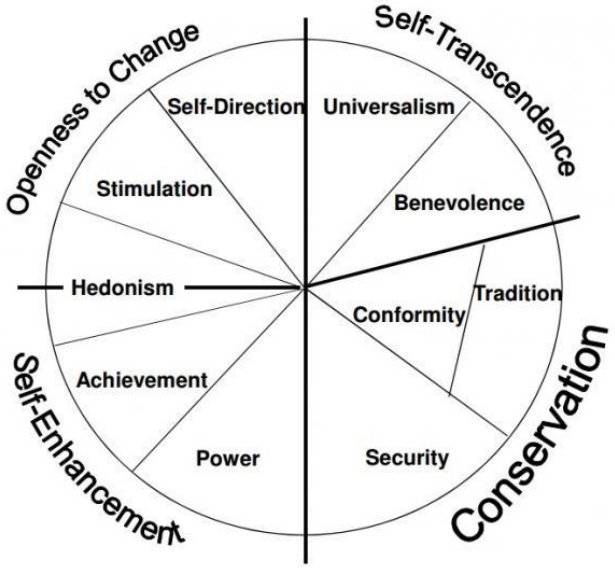

Figure 9 - The value theory and structure
Source: (Schwartz, 1992; Roccas & Sagiv, 2017)

As per personal resilience theory, those individuals are more resilient to averse environmental stimuli who score higher on openness to change and self-enhancement (Bonanno, Westphal, & Mancini, 2011; Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Bonanno, 2010). As, Bonanno and Burton (2013) argue, either inherent or learn flexibility, the openness and adaptability to change, is the foundation of personal resilience.

The reason, that cosmopolitans tend to be more resistant to act on fear, could be because cosmopolitan individuals was found to score higher on openness to change and lower on security values (Cleveland et al., 2011). This implies that they tend to value novelty over security, independence over conformity and they are more prone to act out to change and solve the unsafe status quo than fearfully withdrawing from it. A fear stimulus might supress the strength of their dominant values of openness to change and promote their security values, too but an environmental stimulus usually does not change the relative mix (predominance) of values that build up personality (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017). Moreover, living a cosmopolitan lifestyle of seeking and embracing diversity increases global awareness and builds a multicultural normative environment, which further strengthen prosocial values and appreciation of diversity and change (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013).

Another explanation could be that cosmopolitans by effortfully cultivating an open-minded stance and constantly readjusting their behaviour to it, as found in this study, they strengthen the values of openness and weaken the values of security and conformity along with the respective behavioural implications. Resembling the process of effortful value shift (Anat Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Based on the current

findings, the later seems particularly probable, as both types of respondents, the ones having strong cosmopolitan conviction and living a cosmopolitan lifestyle and the ones having moderate cosmopolitan interest and leading a rather grounded lifestyle, appeared equally concerned about the current pandemic threat, but the highly cosmopolitan respondents seemed to be able to consciously readjust and correct their behaviour even in the face of their own increased security concerns. Further confirming this stand, Yehuda and Flory (2007) argues that resilience, alike cosmopolitanism, rest on a conscious decision that has to be frequently reconfirmed and actual behaviour constantly readjusted to it, like a decision to keep moving forward.

The truth about cosmopolitans' resilience could also lie in-between. Cosmopolitans could have a natural openness and innate risk tolerance that could be amplified and further engraved though a daily conscious choice to live it out. By accepting this notion, two different conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism merges, the one that posits that cosmopolitanism is an inherent quality (e.g., Caldwell, Blackwell, & Tulloch, 2006) and the one that argues that cosmopolitanism is a consciously cultivated and acted out belief system (e.g., Kanter, 1995; Levy et al., 2019). This view of consolidation might seem the most probable. Thus, merging and empirically validating the various angels and dimensions of the highly complex construct of cosmopolitanism is a ripe matter for future research.

4.6. Practical Implications: Categories of traveller resilience in the face of COVID-19

Global tourism is one of the most severely hit industries by the pandemic. Using country population data, Gössling, Scott and Hall (2020) estimated that over 90% of the world's population are in countries with some level of international travel restrictions and many of these countries also have some degree of restrictions on internal movement, including limited air travel and stay at home orders. As a result, global tourism has slowed down significantly with the number of global flights and hotel guest dropping by more than half in March 2020 compared to the same period in 2019. Tourism is about movement, and transport does act as a vector for the distribution of pathogens on a global scale (Hall, 2019). Travel and tourism are both a contributor to dispersing the disease and they are also dramatically affected by it. Nevertheless, global travels is the way to build up cosmopolitanism (Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Skrbis et al., 2004) and from there, personal resilience, as suggested by Veréb et al. (2020) and confirmed by the current findings. Moreover, travelling does not only build up cosmopolitan character, it is the very manifestation of cosmopolitanism (Alden et al., 2006). Due to the central importance of travelling in building cosmopolitanism and from there, resilience as well as its essential role in the pandemic

dynamics, this section aims to categorise travellers based on their resilience to the fear of the pandemic and their willingness to travel (again).

Travellers with strong cosmopolitan conviction were found to be less restrained by the fear of terrorism (Veréb et al., 2018), up to the point that some of them even found thrill in travelling to terrorism-prone destinations (Veréb et al., 2020). By extending on this research, the current study found that cosmopolitans are also more resilient to irrational fear responses in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, moreover, less restrained by this pandemic as travellers. As the risk of infectious diseases is about relatively high possibility as opposed to the low probabilities of terrorism threat, cosmopolitans travellers, along with everybody else, seemed fearful to travel and inclined to conform to the legal travel bans and movement restrictions. But, as revealed in this study, they are the first one to restart travelling when they can. Not only to visit their families and friends, but also to go for holidays and continue discovering unknown destinations and cultures. There are no thrill seekers here, who would find excitement in fighting with the virus. But, there are travellers who objectively evaluate the risks, consciously readjust their irrational fear responses, take the necessary precautions and pack their bags. They are restrained only by the actual risk, unlike the rest of the travellers who are swayed by perceived risk inflated by irrational fear. Cosmopolitan travellers found in this study will return to travelling earlier, travel further, stay longer, willing to pay more for effective safety measures and be less demanding of public health measures providing only a sense of safety. However, not all cosmopolitan travellers are equally resilient to and restrained by the pandemic threat, just as it was the case with terrorism risk:

Non-resilient travellers. The main difference between resilient and non-resilient travellers was rooted in the same stance as the difference between cosmopolitan and non-cosmopolitan respondents: the conscious strive for objectivity and an effortful readjustment of behaviour based on the found facts (Figure 1,2). This finding on resilient versus non-resilient travellers reflect the results of Veréb et al. (2020). Non-resilient travellers were found prone to irrationally exaggerated self-protection, avoidance of others and in a need of health measures that increase their sense of control and safety. Truthfully, these respondents might not even be correctly called ‘travellers’ here. They are grounded by fear and due to their instinctive self-protection strategies, they even find challenge in leaving home confinement and resuming everyday life in the face of COVID-19 infection risk (e.g., Table 37,39,42). All the respondents in this group scored higher on conservation, especially security values, than any other value dimension of the Value Survey (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005; Schwartz, 1992). This highlights their priority for safety and security over any other motivational drives. These non-resilient respondents might need more than the cure and the

vaccine of the virus to consider global travels again. As highly conservative, they might need others to lead them by example. If they see a history of safe travels, reassuring media communication, official declaration and health experts' clearance, they might confidently follow the crowd. Based on their answers, these respondents do not represent a potential market for global tourism at least until a vaccine or treatment is made widely available.

Travellers striving for resilience. This category of resilient travellers was very similar in the case of both pandemic threat and terrorism risk (Veréb et al., 2020). These respondents were terrified at the beginning of the health crisis and acknowledged to have initially overreacted the threat, as some of them put it, they felt "frozen by fear", "terrified out of my mind" or "utterly hopeless". But, unlike non-resilient respondents, they did not stay in this initial stage. After some time, usually a couple of weeks as estimated by the respondents, after having some time to calm down, adjusting to the inconveniences of home confinement and social restriction and/or job situation, they collected factual information, talked to friends and family and even sought out (the opinion of) medical experts (Table 45). Then being able to counterbalance emotions with facts, they re-evaluated the situation and decided on a reasonable course of action by readjusting their original reaction. Not solely relying on the feelings of risk perception, but including analytical thinking in risk assessment seems to be the first step out of panic and irrationality (Finucane, 2012; Slovic et al., 2004). This group of respondents also scored high on security values measured on the Value Survey, similarly to non-resilient respondents. But, unlike non-resilient respondents, they said that their security-obsessed behaviour balanced out after some time of readjustment. These respondents found very reassuring the visible safety measures and the progressive reopening of the economy including the tourism sector based on scientific recommendations, as they felt very anxious. They adhered blindly and faithfully to all the recommended health measures and they carefully followed the global media on the status of the spread of the virus as well as the medical advancements to find a cure and a vaccine. They strived to readjust their initially fearful attitude and behaviour fighting back instinctive biases. However, they seem to need time as well as reassuring, science-backed communication to rebuild their trust in travelling. As potential tourism market, they might respond well to clear and factual crisis communication strategy carefully integrated by destination management organisations and kept in line with the message of independent global media and health organisations for a straightforward risk estimate (Avraham & Ketter, 2015, 2017). They could also be a good market for local tourism that could feel safer due to the 'home is always safer regardless where it is' bias (Wolff & Larsen, 2016).

1	"We are still working from home. The day-care is still closed. We are managing, but it is very challenging at home with this little one. It would be nice to ask my parents to come over and help but we have to careful now. We are not planning to travel back home or even expect my parents to come this year. We will see how it is going. As of now, our next travel plan is for Christmas." – *French finance director in the UAE*
2	"I was terrified of the virus, around February, March. So, I even welcomed the lockdown. But it was challenging. I had to work from home even longer hours than usual to meet my targets. We had a 3-years-old at home, who needed constant attention. My wife is pregnant with our second daughter, and she had difficulties to attend the OBGYN appointments at the public hospital. First, I was in panic, then I was overwhelmed. Now, that I had some time to calm down and readjust I can think clearly again. [...] Well, to travel again we need more time and more readjustment." – *Serbian regional manager in Hungary*
3	"We have decided to stay in Portugal and not travel back home this year or maybe even next year. We will take trips around the country this summer. Portugal is a very nice place too. I know that the country is doing well in terms of containing the virus and have implement a good system of public health measures. We feel safe here, but gradually we will start travelling again. Or, let me know when the vaccine is available, and we will board on the next plane right away." – *Czech designer in Portugal*

Table 45 - Examples of the striving for resilience group

Travellers of mainstream resilience. Some categories of resilient travellers found somewhat different when facing the pandemic than when facing terrorism risk (Veréb et al., 2020). The reason could be that resilience to aversive stimulus is shaped by both internal and external factors (Southwick et al., 2014), and the nature of the external threat influences the level of resilience to it. For example, there were no travellers identified who could be called naturally resilient to the hazard of infectious diseases. The instinctive fear response activated by the risk of infection is a strong evolutionary (Ledoux, 2015) and historical principle (Murray & Schaller, 2016). Going against it is not natural. As opposed to natural resilience, the next level of resilience identified in the face of the COVID-19 threat could be called mainstream resilience. These respondents were less anxious than striving respondents and not only trying to see the big picture and act out objectivity but managed to do so. These respondents went one step further, and not only strived to trim their actions of irrationality and to readjust their possibly biased attitude with regards to social 'interactions' as the striving group but aimed to act morally responsible thinking of the good of the community and not only of themselves. For example, they did not simply avoided blame shifting, but they put themselves in the shoes of others to understand why they act the way do. They also preferred to shop in small grocery stores and not in big supermarkets as a way to help the struggling small businesses. They reached out to others and "visited" those who could be feeling lonely and isolated during the lock-down. They prepared masks and left them out in front of their house and the

main square of the town to help the others who could not afford it (Table 46). These pro-social initiatives of looking beyond oneself, while small and pose little additional risk in terms of contamination, are a good measure of diminishing fear and regained control in times of adversities (Berger et al., 2018). This group of respondents scored lower on security values than the non-resilient and the striving for resilience group, which explains why they managed to act more rationally than them in the face of COVID-19 risk. Furthermore, this group also reported readjustment of their initial level of security concerns, like the striving respondents. They were attentive to new scientific information and constantly readjusted their behaviour as per the new findings of medical research. Being able to refute the instinctive bias of probability neglect is also a sure sign of conscious risk evaluation (Slovic et al., 2004) and higher personal resilience (Bonanno et al., 2011). As potential tourism market, they would respond well to marketing communication efforts highlighting that the local tourism businesses are aware of the local risk factors and they follow closely the experts' recommendations on health measures. Moreover, they would feel encouraged if destination managers could treat them as partners in creating a safe tourism environment for everybody by asking their cooperation and active engagement in public health initiatives. They were also the ones who prized highly some of the positive impacts of the pandemic, like decreasing environmental pollution and people adopting a more sustainable and less consumer-focused attitude as the result of different lifestyle lead during the lockdown. Some of the respondents of this group felt strongly about maintaining these achievements. They said to prefer to travel less, organise their holidays more locally and regionally, and strive to get less quantity of travel but aim for more quality of it, even if it means paying more for travels and holidays. This line of thinking of travellers, if sustained, could bring about a new paradigm shift in global tourism that values more quality, authenticity, uniqueness and even sustainability as opposed to cheaper mass tourism seen as the recent trend created by the increase in the numbers of low-cost airlines and Airbnb accommodations (Żemła, 2020). McKinsey and Company also found pointer of this trend as consumers were regaining confidence after the strict pandemic measures, and have an increased interest in environmentally friendly products and more responsive to marketing massages featuring sustainability (Ho et al., 2020).

1	"When we go out, we feel that people look at us differently thinking that you guys brought the virus and you guys killed our grandparents. For us, as Asians, as Hong Kong people, this is especially a difficult situation. On one hand, we feel that people should know better, people should know that it's not a race that carry a virus intentionally. But on the other hand, we ourselves distrust the communist China, we know that they tried to hide the seriousness of the situation and they made it worse. We ourselves blame the Chinese government for allowing the virus to spread. How could we not understand that other people do the same?" – *Chinese (Hong Kong) retired professor in Portugal*
2	"We all are afraid. This is crisis, a real emergency. But it does not mean, we have to leave behind our humanity. Some things cost so little to us and can mean so much for others. Like, I know how to sew, so I made some masks and left a basket full of them in front of the church at the main square of my village. I was happy to help, and others who could not afford one can walk around in safety." – *Brazilian factory worker in Portugal*
3	"One of the upsides of the pandemic and the stay-at-home orders is that we could gain a better perspective of the world and become less caught-up in materialism. I was also happy that the air pollution is reduced worldwide. ... We, as a family discussed and decided to keep up being more environmentally conscious. We decided not to travel if it is not necessary and stay in the region for holidays to support the local economy. Maybe it is a good thing for tourism, too. Some tourists hot spots were really overcrowded, and they lost their charm." – *South-African mother-of-two in the UAE*

Table 46 - Examples of the mainstream resilience group

Advocates were also identified in this study. They were the respondents whose "cosmopolitan conviction overflows [...] aiming to build up others" (Veréb et al., 2020, pp. 8). These respondents were keenly aware of the risk, the necessary precautions and the legal restrictions, as well as the latest scientific results concerning the virus. But, above and beyond small social kindness that was seen among the mainstream resilience group, they took considerable personal risk to help others more vulnerable to the effects of COVID-19. For example, they volunteered in soup kitchens to provide for the homeless, delivered groceries and meals for the growing number of families in need in their local community. Some respondents with medical degree offered to visit their patients at home to continue treatment of their chronic conditions that were serious but not life-threatening and therefore, suspended by the healthcare system (Table 47). Taking risk for others' welfare is heroic and surfaces in all crisis (Williamson, 2012). It is a real triumph over fear (Moscardino et al., 2007). These respondents scored higher on self-transcendence and openness to change values than security and conformity values. By this, they demonstrated the textbook case of cosmopolitan value orientation (Cleveland et al., 2011) in the face of adversity. As a tourism market, they could be targeted with the same marketing strategy as travellers of the mainstream resilience group upholding social sensitivity and inviting them to take part in sustainable tourism initiatives. Furthermore,

messages that highlight the importance of responsible tourism and the possibility to support the recovery of the local economy could catch their attention.

1	"I keep up all my voluntary works during this time. Of course, I have bigger chances to get infected when I get out of home and deal with people who are more vulnerable. But I am wise about it, I keep all the suggested precautions and follow them rigorously. This time doing voluntary work with the refugees are more important than before, as more people who would otherwise be open to help are too afraid to come. It is risky." – *Syrian researcher in Hungary*
2	"When I look back to the past 6 weeks, it was a time of great blessing for me. The life slowed down. I got to focus on Jesus in this time more. I managed to exercise more. I managed to encourage and build up others. I have more free time and I spend it on introspection and personal growth. I study new things, learn new skills, get into new good habits. For example, I read more, I do more sport and I have learnt a lot about how to use technology. But I am very sad to see others feeling so much anxiety. I try to help people to see how they make the most of this situation. [...] I deliver meals and groceries to those who are less fortunate in my neighbourhood. The pandemic hit some families really hard here." – *German physiotherapist in Portugal*

Table 47 - Examples of the advocate group

Highly resilient travellers. Contrary to the findings on terrorism risk (Veréb et al., 2020), there was no one who could be categorised as thrill-seeker, who would go against their instinctive fear and challenge themselves to find excitement in contracting the virus. It is understandable, because overcoming a virus does not depend on a mental or physical effort, neither it is a personal achievement or a personal failure. The travellers, who could be considered thrill-seeker in the face of terrorism risk, found highly resilient to the irrational fear of COVID-19 and less restrained by it than all other resilient categories. Nevertheless, they were not exempt of it either. They seem to have a strong drive and desire to continue travelling and exploring. While being aware of the actual risk estimates as well as the legal restrictions and expert recommendations, they were already planning their next trips (Table 48). These respondents scored the lowest on security values and particularly high on self-enhancement values compared to the rest of the study participants. Based on this value profile, personal resilience literature would place them close to the ideal of case of exceptional personal resilience (Bonanno et al., 2011). However, unlike when facing terrorism risk, they had a general preference for developed regions that could fight better the spread of the virus and better equipped to treat the sick. Furthermore, they also said to be willing to pay more and take on additional inconveniences for effective health measures to protect them from COVID-19 at the airports, planes, hotel accommodations and tourism sites as well as during customs procedures. This shows that they too do not take risks lightly, rather they keep it rational and objective (Belhassen, Uriely, & Assor, 2014; Yang & Nair, 2014). They are the target market with the highest potential in global tourism. Their

type was pinpointed by crisis management and disaster literature in tourism as a market segments who are less concerned with potential risks, and may thus react less negatively and could be relied upon for the survival of tourism business during troubled times (e.g., Seabra et al., 2013).

1	"We have flattened the curve. We have given time for doctors and medical researchers to progress with the treatments. We have shut down the tourism industry. I am in a low risk age group, we have some treatment options, just in case and the flights and hotels are cheap. I think this is a good time to start travelling again. Wouldn't you be thrilled to see Venice without the crowd?" – *Portuguese management consultant in Portugal*
2	"I am a very extrovert person. I love going out with friends and travelling around. Social distancing and home confinement had a great toll on me. The travel bans are finally lifted, and I can't wait to fly home next week and see my family and friends. [...] Of course, I will be very cautions during travelling. Of course, I know that there is a higher risk involved than staying at my apartment. But I think that the mental and emotional toll of staying in Portugal and not going back for the summer to my family is bigger than the risk of me getting sick of the virus during the visit." – *American (Kentucky) student in Portugal*
3	"The annual meeting of global travellers in Portugal is held in the beginning of June every year. I love to come and get to know more like-minded people and share stories with old friends. I was super excited to see that the travel ban to Europe was just lifted days before the meeting. I booked my tickets rights away to London. There, I had the risk of not being able to fly to Lisbon. But I had a back-up plan. If I were not allowed to enter to Portugal and I would have visited Belgrade. [...] COVID is no different than any other travel risk. You learn about it and you protect yourself from it." – *American (Texas) aviation consultant in the UK (via Portugal)*

Table 48 - Examples of the highly resilient group

The categories of resilience in the face of terrorism were suggested to be distinct dimensions (Veréb et al., 2020). The current findings amidst the spread of COVID-19 imply that the identified categories of resilience could represent a progressive evolution of personal resilience. Everybody seems to start out as non-resilient to the fear of the virus. Each respondent in the study felt an initial shockwave of fear, if not earlier, at the direct impact of their national government declaring the state of emergency and ordering lock-down. Everybody was afraid, but in the resilient groups, in contrast with the non-resilient group, each respondent strived to overcome it. Some managed more and some less. Some, through conscious effort and a supportive network progressed to be less afraid and more accurate in assessing the risk, thus acted more rational. Others, who could regulate their emotions more efficiently were left with more mental strength to support others, too. Yet others, who perceived the situation overall more positive, like finding joy in the new circumstances of home confinement, could "overflow" even more (Table 49). Psychology literature sheds light on this progress by showing that the higher ability of conscious emotional regulation (Kligyte et al., 2013), the more positive outlook (Eshel et al., 2017), and the higher level of perceived

social support (Madsen & O'Mullan, 2016) one tend to have, as well as the more prosocial behaviour he/she will exhibit in the face of stress (Griese et al., 2016) as the sign of their strengthening personal resilience (Berger et al., 2018; Wei et al., 2016). The reason that personal resilience in the face of COVID-19 shows a progressing trend, unlike personal resilience to terrorism threat, could be due to the fact that COVID-19 is a novel disease, a new risk source compared to terrorism, where the risk factors are not fully discovered and the efficient risk mitigation strategies are not yet established and tested. It could be possible that the increase of information and knowledge on this new risk will impact the level of resilience and the categories of resilience.

1	"Originally, I was scared of coronavirus. Well, to be exact, I was not afraid in the beginning. I travelled, attended the conferences and my meeting schedule was busy. But, just before the national lockdown in Portugal, I had a chance to talk to a couple of renown health experts at one of the conferences who explained the real risk of this virus. So, I went home, took my child out of school, and we started a strict self-quarantine. One week later, the official lockdown was announced. [...] Now, after some time following the global news on the spread of the virus, and the seeing the encouraging consequences of the lockdown in the numbers of infected and dead which are below the original expectations, I feel relieved. COVID is a new health hazard we have to learn to live with. Our lives should go on with new "health habits". I again attend meetings personally and travel keeping the recommended precautions. What's more, I speak in the university and in online conferences about that we should readjust our lifestyle and keep fear at check. We have to keep going especially as the economic impact of the lockdown is getting serious." – *Portuguese politician in Portugal*

Table 49 - Example of the gradual progress of resilience to fear of COVID-19

There were various supportive factors revealed in this research that assisted the resilience building progress from readjusting one's own fearful attitude towards helping others to be more resilient. For example, exercise, meditation, reading and gardening. However, one factor seemed crucial for building up resilience during the pandemic in cosmopolitan respondents, the supporting social network. Encouraging network of close friends and family provided the emotional stability amidst uncertainty, which is the base of personal resilience (Masten, 2014; Ungar et al., 2013). The church community, and particularly the faith in God (or generally a higher power) supported sense-making in challenging times (Connor, Davidson, & Lee, 2003), as well as strengthened the convictions opposing xenophobia in the respondents. Multinational social network assisted the respondents to gain perspective of their situation and thus build objectivity in risk assessment. As well as through global embeddedness some of the respondents had previous experience with epidemic, like SARS and it provided actionable guidelines on the correct behaviour increasing the sense of control and resilience to irrationality (Masten, 2014). The colleagues

and professional network represented (potential) economic resources as well as additional expert knowledge, like medical, teaching or financial advices, which also contributes to higher resilience in the midst of uncertainty and to supress panic and irrationality (Southwick et al., 2014).

4.7. Conclusions

This research aimed to verify the notion suggested by Veréb et al. (2020) that cosmopolitans are more resilient to act out of proportion to irrationally exaggerated public fear. The research extended this notion to a new research-setting, analysing how cosmopolitans reacted to the fearful atmosphere induced by COVID-19. The research followed a grounded theory approach on a set of 64 in-depth interviews with a highly diverse multicultural sample along with direct observation of the participants to better understand how cosmopolitanism is linked to resilience in the face of fear.

The findings revealed that cosmopolitanism is a path to resilience. The dividing line between resilient and non-resilient respondents seem to be the same as the difference between cosmopolitan and non-cosmopolitans respondents: the conscious strive for objectivity as a behavioural guide when facing fear and open-mindedness as a moral compass when relating to others in a panic-prone situation, like the COVID-19 pandemic. Consciousness, objectivity and detached analytical approach, observed in cosmopolitan respondents, seems to be the antidote of irrationality at the face of current pandemic. Psychological literature supports this finding by demonstrating that emotional control (Kligyte et al., 2013), consciousness (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013) and objectivity (Finucane, 2012) lead to a more accurate understanding of risk and a more sensible reaction to threat. Furthermore, the ideals of open-mindedness, cultural tolerance and acceptance of diversity upheld by cosmopolitan respondents, seem to be the remedy for xenophobia induced by the spread of COVID-19. The open-minded cosmopolitan mind-set strengthened through the global mobility of cosmopolitan lifestyle is already well-established and empirically confirmed to be the polar opposite of xenophobia (e.g., Altlntaș et al., 2013; Levy et al., 2019). Cosmopolitanism and resilience are not interchangeable constructs, but they both emerged to share consciousness as a foundation and manifest in similar responses when it comes to the fear. The research revealed that cosmopolitans were predominantly resilient to act on their instinctive fear biases during the pandemic. Therefore, it could be argued that conscious cosmopolitanism is a valid approach to divide resilient respondents from non-resilient respondents and to categorize their level of resilience to the fear of COVID-19. The study concludes by categorizing travellers' resilience to the fear of COVID-19 and suggesting marketing strategies to approach each category of travellers.

The findings of this research revealed that building up cosmopolitanism is one of the ways to build up personal resilience to the irrational sway of fear. Hence, this research also support the notion put forth by Veréb et al. (2020) that global travels and tourism that build up cosmopolitanism (e.g. Beck & Grande, 2012; Cannon & Yaprak, 2002), provides an ideal context for building up an open-minded and culturally tolerant global society that is resilient to the irrational sway of fear and its consequences. Comparing the current findings with the results of Veréb et al. (2020), it could be argued that however different the direct reasons for public fear are (i.e. terrorism vs. COVID-19), they have the same underlying origins (i.e., unpredictability, uncontrollability and potential lethality), they create the same reactions (i.e., irrational and exaggerated self-protection and apprehension towards others), and they seem to be counterbalanced by the same factor (i.e., cosmopolitanism). Thus, the study posits that regardless of the visible environmental threat, be it terrorism or pandemic, cosmopolitanism as a supportive environmental circumstance and internal value orientation can be a universal supportive aspect strengthening resilience. Verifying this proposition in further settings and empirically validating it could be a promising avenue for future research.

Building resilience on a community level is particularly challenging (Bonanno et al., 2011), as personal resilience depends both on the situation and the person involved. Thus, resilience domain urges different research efforts to find efficient resilience building solutions for the various social settings (Southwick et al., 2014). This study, by suggesting that global resilience can be built up by strengthening individual cosmopolitan characters, takes a novel approach and offers a steady and comprehensive solution on building resilience in the society. Furthermore, a long-term approach to address the consequences of fear and a proactive strategy to build resilience to it is a vital, but scarcely studied area both in tourism disaster literature (Cahyanto & Pennington-Gray, 2017; Prayag, 2018) and in social sciences. This latter area is particularly important as medical researchers raise red flags about the long-term societal consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g., Estes & Thompson, 2020; Reger et al., 2020). The study proposition that resilience to irrational fear can be acquired and the consequences of public fear can be reduced by building up cosmopolitanism in the context of global travels offers ground for a sustainable long-term approach in building resilience.

PART V

5. Conclusions

5.1. Summary of the Results

This research project started out by arguing that tourism is shaped by two emerging and opposing forces: (1) the irrational and restraining public fear (e.g., Clancy, 2012; Gössling et al., 2020), for example, the fear of terrorism or the fear of infectious diseases, and (2) the open-minded and adventurous cosmopolitan mind-set (e.g., Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Skrbis et al., 2004). Although tourism offers an appropriate research setting to study these two forces, not only travel decisions are compromised by public fear, and not only the tourism industry benefits from open-mindedness and cultural tolerance. Striving for a broader applicability beyond the domain of tourism marketing, this research set its chief purpose to find suitable ways to reduce the irrationality of public fears that is not only counterproductive for the individual but also destructive for the community (Weston et al., 2018). Digging deeper by reviewing terrorism and infectious diseases literature, the research further argues that the fear of terrorism and the fear of infectious disease are based on the same evolutionary principles: the instinctive dread of the unknown (e.g., Adolphs, 2013; Carleton, 2016a). Furthermore, they produce the same type of instinctive fear reactions, first, irrationally exaggerated self-protective behaviour (e.g., (Floyd et al., 2004; Murray & Schaller, 2016), and second, out-group xenophobia (e.g., Fekete, 2004; Kraut, 2010). Hence, by applying the same theoretical principles and research problem formulation, the study aimed to analyse and contrast these two types of fear contexts in order to gain a better understanding of the general nature of public fear and ways to reduce its irrationality that leads to destructive panic.

Having the opportunity to study the fear of terrorism during the most recent European peak of terrorist attacks, in 2016-17, and the fear of infectious diseases during an outbreak – the COVID-19 pandemic –, this research claims that these different types of fears not only have the same psychological foundation and induce the same type of instinctive irrational behaviour, but they can also be controlled in the same way. Regarding irrational and exaggerated self-protective behaviour, cosmopolitans' conscious strive for objectivity and their effortful deliberation to raise above inherent biases were found to produce resilience to act on instinctive irrationality in the face of fear, be it terrorism or disease. Regarding out-group xenophobia, the results indicated that the cosmopolitan open-mindedness, cultural understanding and acceptance of diversity was found to build up a deliberate standing that is resilient to the instinctive urges of xenophobia regardless the type of pressure produced it. This research found that cosmopolitanism and resilience share the same conscious foundation and manifest themselves in similar responses towards fear. Cosmopolitanism is seen as a progressive path to personal resilience. By building up

cosmopolitanism, personal resilience can be strengthened to face the irrational sway of fear induced by terrorism and COVID-19. Moreover, it could be argued that by building up the same factors that can control both of these public fears, other types of public fears that share the same psychological foundation and produce similar behavioural reactions would be possible to control. It is generally assumed in the literature that most public fears do share the same roots and manifest themselves in the same fear responses (e.g., Adolphs, 2013; Carleton, 2016a; Carleton, 2016b; Ledoux, 2015; Panksepp et al., 2011; Thompson et al., 2017). Building up cosmopolitanism might not only create a resilient society against irrational fear of terrorism and infectious diseases along with their impact, but against all irrational fear reactions in the public. Hence, cosmopolitanism represents a way to achieve global resilience.

As global travels build up cosmopolitanism (Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Cannon & Yaprak, 2001; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999), and cosmopolitanism was pinpointed by this research to be a path to global resilience, this investigation argues that tourism is not only the hardest hit sector by the impact of public fear, but it can also help to control the impact of public fear. Tourism is in an exceptional position to administer a global antidote to the irrational xenophobia and overprotective self-centeredness through stirring cultural curiosity, encouraging open-mindedness, emboldening discoveries of others, who are culturally and geographically different, and enabling learning through first-hand experience to correct individual biases. A conscious strive for objectivity, a desire to see the big picture, and an unbiased analytical approach seems to be the antidote to irrationality. Open-mindedness, cultural understanding and acceptance of diversity revealed to prevent and remedy xenophobia. This research project concludes by fulfilling its main purpose and suggesting that building up cosmopolitanism through global travels is a way to reduce irrationality in the face of public fear.

5.2. Main Contributions to Academic Theory

5.2.1. Contribution to Cosmopolitan Literature

Despite the fact that idea of ‘kosmopolites’ has existed for more than two millennia and cosmopolitanism has a substantial body of academic literature, its conceptualisation and measurement is still strongly debated. Traditionally cosmopolitanism is viewed as a social ideal (e.g., Hannerz 1990; Kanter 1995). Others argue that it is a routine practice (Lamont and Aksartova 2002). According to international management perspective, cosmopolitanism entails high cognitive capabilities and a refined skillset (e.g., Levy et al., 2019). Consumer behaviour sees it as a set of natural dispositions (e.g., Caldwell et al., 2006), while sociology as a results of circumstantial conditions (Beck 2002). Finally, Pendenza (2017) argues

that cosmopolitanism should be studied as a multidimensional construct incorporating all its essential aspects. This research aimed to incorporate all aspects of cosmopolitanism: its inherent values, its learnt abilities and driving ideals lived out in everyday reality. Findings, built on 140 in-depth interviews with a highly diverse group of cosmopolitans, confirmed this novel multidimensional approach. Results demonstrated a cosmopolitanism that is predisposed by an openness personality trait – corresponding to openness value orientation (Parks-Leduc et al., 2015) –, but manifested itself only after a conscious decision to live out cosmopolitan ideals of open-mindedness, cultural curiosity and acceptance of diversity, as well as deliberately taking on the risk to personally experience the world around and let oneself be shaped by it (Chapter 4.4 in Study 3). Cosmopolitan ideals are generally attractive, and most people tend to support them, however out of the supporters only those who consciously decide to act on them and deliberately live by them are truly cosmopolitans. The adoption of these ideals, beyond simple sympathy and wishful thinking, leads to a cosmopolitan lifestyle that shapes personal character. The more refined by experience a character is, the more it will embrace these principles and the more it will live by them.

Besides contributing to a better understanding of the cosmopolitan construct, this research suggests a more accurate way of measuring cosmopolitanism and predicting cosmopolitan behaviour. Most scholars conceptualise cosmopolitanism as a progressive quality. But, when it comes to measurement they either argue this point without empirical validation or offer exclusively a single linear scale of two extremes: cosmopolitanism/globalism and nationalism/localism (e.g., Caldwell et al., 2006; Riefler & Diamantopoulos 2009; Riefler et al., 2012), which disregards the complexity of the concept and questions the validity of the results. The latest improvement among cosmopolitan scales is the C-Cosmos Scale of Riefler et al. (2012) that refined and integrated previous cosmopolitan scales (Cannon et al., 1994; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland, Laroche & Papadopoulos, 2009), and provides an accurate picture of cosmopolitan attitude. However, during the in-depth interviews with cosmopolitans, we have found that there is substantial gap between self-declared cosmopolitan attitude and actual cosmopolitan behaviour. The exploratory study (Study 1) suggested that cosmopolitan values (the central openness to change value orientation), measured as per Schwartz' (1992) value theory, predicts cosmopolitan behaviour better than even the latest cosmopolitan scale. The second study, after further in-depth interviews with cosmopolitans, concluded that cosmopolitanism is based on a conscious strive to live out cosmopolitan ideals, and cosmopolitan behaviour can be the most accurately predicted through validation of past experiences, as the evidence of a cosmopolitan way of life. The third and final study, after examining cosmopolitans in different contexts (terrorism vs. COVID-19), confirmed the value of personal history and scenario analysis as a way for predicting cosmopolitan behaviour. Through the very experience of living out the cosmopolitan

ideals of open-mindedness and social sensitivity, the cosmopolitan conviction (character) is strengthened which in turn prompts an even more committed cosmopolitan behaviour.

This new conceptualisation and measurement approach to cosmopolitanism offers researchers a more accurate way to predict cosmopolitan behaviour as opposed to previous cosmopolitan scales that can only identify cosmopolitan attitude and behavioural intention impairing their value as (consumer) segmentation tool. While a universal cosmopolitan scale for market research studies is created, qualitative researchers could rely on this approach to duly identify and segment cosmopolitans.

5.2.2. Contribution to Social Psychology Literature

The fear of the unknown stemming from uncertainty (Carleton, 2016a) increases apprehension towards others who are different or unknown. Xenophobia, as fear of strangers, has grievous social implication, from rejecting impoverished asylum seekers (Fekete, 2004) to scapegoating immigrants to spread infectious diseases (Kraut, 2010). The apprehension towards others who are culturally or geographically distant up to the point of stereotyping Muslims as terrorist due to the fear of terrorism was evident in Study 1 (Chapter 2.4.4) and Study 2 (Chapter 3.4.1). A general atmosphere of distrust in some cases leading to racism and hate crimes against Asians was seen in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, in Study 3 (Chapter 4.5.1.2). Locating the problem of prejudice in a few problematic individuals and designing societal solutions to the problem around this view is missing the point, as argued by Hardin and Banaji (2013). Because, as per the theory of implicit prejudice, anybody is capable of prejudice and stereotyping, whether they know it or not, and whether they want to or not (Oaten et al., 2011). It is an instinctive fear reaction (Ledoux, 2015). Thus, the solutions should focus on identifying the enabling conditions that call out prejudice and stereotyping rather than focusing on identifying the "rotten apples" (Hardin & Banaji, 2013, pp. 30). Addressing this social issue, the current research pinpoints cosmopolitans as representing the polar opposite of xenophobia by living out the ideal of open-mindedness and appreciation of diversity. Furthermore, it suggests ways to build up cosmopolitanism through global travels further strengthening in people cosmopolitan character and egalitarian behaviour. This research advances social psychology literature by finding and suggesting ways to create the enabling conditions that promote egalitarianism and healthy individualism and eliminate fear that can foster implicit and explicit prejudice.

By comparing the two of the most dreaded risk of today, coronavirus and terrorism, and analysing their implications in the context of tourism, this study contributes to social psychology literature by testing its findings in consumer behaviour domain (Carleton, 2016a). This research also turns psychological

concepts into marketing strategies for tourism marketers to addressed public fear and its impact of the irrationally increased travel risk perception that devastates the tourism industry (Chapter 3.5 in Study 2; Chapter 4.6 in Study 3).

5.2.3. Contribution to Tourism Literature

One of the most significant changes in leisure tourism is the shift in the values of global travellers and the impact it creates (Dwyer et al., 2009). Recently, two conflicting forces are in work to shape travellers' values (e.g. Dwyer et al., 2008), the restraining public fear and cosmopolitanisation of global societies. As personal values motivate behaviour, including travel decisions (Souiden et al., 2017), understanding the forces that shape their role and dynamics is important to better understand the changes in travellers' profile and decision- making (Hsu & Huang, 2016). To address this gap, the research aimed to investigate how international tourists' cosmopolitan values change due to the restraining fear of terrorism, and how this change affects their worldview, destination perception and travel preferences. Findings demonstrated that even the most fearless and open-minded travellers are affected by the global threat of terrorism and infectious diseases, like COVID-19, with varying degree. By analysing the changes in travel preferences, results suggest that there is a shift in travellers' values. As values are relatively stable constructs and their change is rather difficult, when a shift in value preferences happen, its consequences are also relatively long-lasting (Roccas & Sagiv, 2017). Hence, the research puts forth that this change, seen in travellers' values prompting them to act less on their desire for stimulation and more for their need for security, could have long-term consequences for the entire industry (Chapter 2.4.6 in Study 1). In Study 3, after analysing the changes the fear of COVID-19 created in travellers, this research further stresses this theory and foresees a new paradigm in global tourism (Chapter 4.6). A new approach of travellers that values more quality, authenticity and uniqueness as opposed to easily accessible, cheaper mass tourism emerging as the results of the increase in the numbers of low-cost airlines and cheap Airbnb accommodations (Żemła, 2020).

Maybe with a bit of exaggeration, but it can be said that the 'holy grail' of tourism research, is the quest for finding the traveller segments "who are less concerned with potential [travel] risk, and may thus react less negatively in troubled times" (Seabra et al., 2013, p. 503). This quest is particularly relevant today, when the fear of transnational terrorism can impair the willingness to travel and the fear of infectious diseases can ground masses. First, based on literature review (e.g., Riefler et al., 2012; Skrbis et al., 2004; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999), this research suggests that cosmopolitans might be more risk tolerant than

other types of travellers. Then, it verified this notion after analysing cosmopolitan travel habits in 'troubled times'. Cosmopolitans travellers, while being keenly aware of the actual risk (terrorism or COVID-19), seemed to be more prone to resist the instinctive urge to act out of fear. Cosmopolitan travellers were also concerned with serious (travel) hazards, but they seemed not to be overconcerned with them and so, irrationally restrained by them. This research suggests that cosmopolitan travellers could be the traveller segment that the tourism industry can rely on for survival during troubled times.

Traveller's resilience as a way to address irrationally exaggerated travel risk is a particularly important research topic, as it plays an important role in tourism resilience dynamics (Tyrrell & Johnston, 2008). When studying tourism resilience, it is equally important to analyse it from all possible angels – "resilience to what", "resilience of what" and "resilience of whom" –, and investigate what (risks) travellers and destinations are resilient to, which (destination) is resilient and who (which traveller) is resilient (Hartman, 2018, pp. 68). However, there is almost a complete lack of studies that focus on travellers' resilience (Prayag, 2018). This research addresses this gap by analysing travellers' resilience to terrorism threat and the risk of infectious diseases and pinpoints cosmopolitans as resilient travellers in the face of these risks. Furthermore, it offers a categorisation of travellers based on their resilience to both of these hazards and provides a detailed profile of each travellers' category along with practical guidelines to destination marketers on how to build up resilience for each category of travellers (Chapter 3.5 in Study 2; Chapter 4.6 in Study 3).

Travel decision making is mostly studied as a list of positive factors contributing to choosing a destination over another (Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Perpina et al., 2017), while negative factors, one important determinant of destination choice is neglected (Karl & Schmude, 2017). This research contributes to the understanding of how negative factors, like terrorism threat and the risk of infectious diseases shapes travel decision making. Findings confirm the notion of mainstream literature that none is exempt of the influence of these risks (e.g., (Sarman et al., 2016; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). But, the findings also oppose mainstream literature when demonstrating that risk perception does not restrain everybody equally, rather it can even motivate some to travel as a personal challenge to overcome fear (Chapter 3.4.5 in Study 2). This research highlights the importance of looking beyond the negative influence of risk perception in travel decision-making and argues to see risk perception in its duality and study its influence not in isolation but in relation to the travel segment who perceives the risk.

5.2.3.1. Contribution to Tourism Disaster Literature

When comparing fear and the memory of fear, Lench and Levine (2005) found that participants tend to misjudge the intensity and the behavioural impact of the fear they previously felt. Thus, having the opportunity to study the fear of terrorism during the most recent European peak of terrorist attacks in 2016-17 and the fear of infectious diseases during an outbreak – the COVID-19 pandemic –, this research was in a special position to analyse the real-time impact of disasters on travellers' decision-making process. Most studies on the effect of disasters use historical data to draw conclusions for the future crisis (e.g., Garfin et al., 2020; Pappas et al., 2009) or rely on quantitative data for a quick estimate and situational overview (e.g., Volpert et al., 2020; Yang et al., 2020). While historical self-report data is a good initial step, it only assesses behavioural intentions rather than actual behaviour (Weston et al., 2018). Ideally, as argued further, behavioural data should be observed directly within a target population during a crisis event in order to ensure that the modelled behaviour is truthfully described. This research applied grounded theory approach and used in-depth interviews validating intended behaviour through personal history and direct observation to gain a correct and thorough understanding on the real impact of disasters on travellers' behaviour, advancing both terrorism and infectious diseases domains. The more in-depth understanding of a disaster can be gained, the bigger the chances to avoid the same mistakes in the future, even to prevent the disasters in the first place (Morens et al., 2008).

Terrorism research, specifically, is criticised for being narrow-mindedly focused on terrorism threat and counterterrorism policies, and overlooking the larger socioeconomic impact of terrorism (Mahardika et al., 2018; Schuurman, 2019). This research, by studying travellers' terrorism risk perception and its influence on travel behaviour, expands the boundaries of terrorism domain in a consumer (traveller) behaviour setting. By reviewing terrorism research in the last 30 years, a wearying degree of overgeneralizations and simplistic explanations, probably stemming from an overreliance on secondary sources and limited range of data-gathering techniques, are revealed (Silke, 2001; Silke & Schmidt-Petersen, 2017). By addressing this methodological concern, this research contributes to terrorism research by opting for qualitative method and using in-depth interviews with a highly diverse international sample to gain a thorough understanding of the effects of terrorism risk. Moreover, by relying on grounded theory approach (Study 2), this research strove to move beyond established theories and view terrorism risk in a new light that can both restrain travellers as well as inspire them. In the latest review of terrorism research, Schuurman (2018, 2019) argues that terrorism studies are narrowly focused on the immediate threat of terrorism. Most studies in terrorism disaster management domain primarily focus on the short-term impact of terrorism and address it with reactive crisis management strategies (Liu & Pratt, 2017; Seabra et al.,

2014). This research brings an innovative approach as it focuses on the potential long-term impact of terrorism by investigating a shift in the predominantly stable personal value orientation of travellers (Chapter 2.4.6 in Study 1). Moreover, this research suggests a proactive strategy planning as terrorism disaster management method and provides guidelines on how to build up travellers' resilience in the face of terrorism (Chapter 3.5 in Study 2).

Karl and Schmude (2017) argued that rather than objective risks, it is the tourist's individual and subjective perception of risks that influence destination choice and in the long run tourism flows. These authors in their systematic literature review on travel risk perception, revealed that however, concept of risk perception is highly studied in tourism, the literature remains fragmented, and it is still not clear how travellers' subjective risk perception influences the process of choosing a leisure destination in troubled times. Clancy (2012), by reviewing the effects of terrorism on tourism, claims that the atmosphere of the ever-present danger created by terrorism is very likely to influence where people travel and how people travel. Gössling et al. (2020) further add by reviewing the impact on infectious diseases on tourism, that the current pandemic might even create a paradigm shift in thinking about tourism. This research contributes to disaster tourism literature by providing an overview of the changing travel preferences due to increased travel risk perception induced by the fear of terrorism and COVID-19 pandemic. For example, heightened sense of security, security conscious travelling, restraint towards people of different backgrounds, apprehensiveness to discover new destinations and tolerance of excessive security measures when travelling (e.g., Chapter 2.4 in Study 1, Chapter in 4.5.1.2 Study 3). Finally, the multinational and highly diverse sample used in this research provides a global overview of the changing travel preferences instead of only reflecting a local view of risk perception.

5.3. Main Contributions to Business Practice

This research does not simply advance the academic domain of tourism by pinpointing the market segment that can be less restrained by travel risk and, thus, reacts less negatively to a crisis event (Seabra et al., 2013), it significantly contributes to tourism practice by describing how to identify, how to reach and how to engage this traveller segment. Disasters extend beyond geographical borders and linger long after the immediate shock of the crisis event (e.g., Estes & Thompson, 2020; Karl & Schmude, 2017). The sustainability and long-term survival of the tourism industry is at stake when overlooking (alternatively, finding and correctly addressing) the segment who can maintain the local tourism business and be relied upon during the troubled times, until stability is regained, and destination image is restored. Study 1

(Chapter 2.5.1) provides a general consumer (traveller) profile of this segment. The people in this segment – the cosmopolitan travellers – demonstrated to be more resilient to increased travel risk perception and it effects less their travel decision-making. It also lists the factors that contribute to their resilient stance and can be used in segmentation studies, for example personal value orientation towards openness, international travel experience, multicultural upbringing, expatriate lifestyle and previous exposure to serious travel risk, like terrorism. Study 2 (Chapter 3.4) deepens the understanding of who this resilient segment is by categorizing cosmopolitan travellers based on their resilience to terrorism threat. By building on social marketing principles (Lee & Kotler, 2011; Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982) and findings from psychology (Grupe & Nitschke, 2013; Hakamata et al., 2010), Study 2 (Chapter 3.5) provides practical guidelines for tourism destination marketers on how to engage and encourage each traveller category in the face of global terrorism threat. This study also highlights that while most travellers are hindered by terrorism risk, some travellers perceive terrorism risk as a thrilling challenge to overcome and to be built by it (Chapter 3.4.5). Thus, this research urges tourism marketers to leave behind the single-minded approach to terrorism risk and suggests to analyse the potentials in terrorism risk *perception*, as an opportunity for dark tourism, a new promising area of tourism in disaster-hit destinations (e.g., Buckley, 2012; Buda et al., 2014), if actual risks allow. Study 2 also pinpoints that some of the travellers driven by their strive for social justice could be open for and even encouraged by collaboration with destination marketers to enhance the destination's image and restore the willingness to travel after a terrorist attack (Chapter 3.4.4). By suggesting a new segment and describing a new approach to tourism disaster management, this research enlarges the toolkit disaster-hit destinations can rely on, as one approach does not fit all when it comes to restoring the image of safety (Avraham & Ketter, 2015). Study 3, by verifying the findings of Study 2 in the context of a different travel risk, infectious diseases, extends the validity of its results. This study also categorizes travellers based on their resilience to the fear of COVID-19 and suggests marketing communication guidelines to approach each traveller category in the current pandemic and amidst its mounting societal consequences (Chapter 4.6 in Study 3).

This research, besides profiling and categorizing cosmopolitan travellers, also provides a general definition and a measurement approach to cosmopolitanism, tested in a qualitative context, which could be a valuable foundation for market segmentation efforts regardless of travel risk or national setting. The research found that even the most recent cosmopolitan consumer scales do not correctly predict cosmopolitan consumer (traveller) behaviour. They only suggest cosmopolitan interest and behavioural intention. Study 3, armed with the insights of the entire research project based on 140 in-dept interviews with international travellers, suggests that the evidence of a cosmopolitan lifestyle (detected in personal

history) is a more accurate predictor of cosmopolitan future behaviour than self-admitted endorsement of cosmopolitan ideals, measured by the current scales. This finding has substantial practical implication not only in tourism context but in all other industries where cosmopolitans are identified as a target segment due to their distinct consumer preferences already demonstrated in arts, food, interior décor, clothing, hobbies or sports (e.g., Bourdieu, 1987; Riefler et al., 2012; Sousa et al., 2019). Nevertheless, when it comes to readily-available and easy-to-use cosmopolitan scales, this research claims that the more reliable option than current consumer cosmopolitan scales are the value surveys measuring personal value orientation based on the Value Theory of Schwartz (e.g. Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005; Roccas & Sagiv, 2017; Schwartz, 1992). Previous studies linked cosmopolitanism with dominant openness value orientation (Cleveland et al., 2011), which notion was also confirmed by this current research.

Making specific values more salient in people's mind prompt alike behaviour (Schwartz, 1992, 2005). For example, making cosmopolitan ideals more accessible in people's mind, a more open-minded, curious, risk-tolerant mind-set can be activated, and alike behaviour encouraged. By studying travellers value orientation, the current research proposes ways to activate cosmopolitan values in those consumers (travellers), who have only moderate cosmopolitan conviction by listing psychological prompting strategies tested in marketing communication context (e.g., Arieli et al., 2014; Tamir et al., 2016). Tourism marketers and, in general, marketing managers targeting cosmopolitan consumers could follow these strategies to address their cosmopolitan consumers and/or encourage the more risk-averse and conservative (traveller) segments.

The current research also aimed to evaluate destination marketing strategies through the eyes of global travellers and list those that are the most effective in restoring the damaged destination image of, specifically, terrorism-torn destinations. For example, unified fact-based communication strategy including all tourism stakeholders, a fine balance of security measures that communicate safety but does not give the impression that a tourism disaster is about to happen, or the national government lead and expert approve transparent emergency planning strategy (Chapter 2.5.1. in Study 1). Furthermore, it suggests ways for policy makers and destinations managers on how to rebuild destination image and how to encourage travellers to return after a terrorist attack. Avraham and Ketter (2015) argue that one size does not fit all when it comes to terrorism crisis management. This research, beyond providing a general overview, offers different strategies for different categories of travellers, be it more fearful and security conscious locals or more risk tolerant and culturally curious cosmopolitans (Chapter 3.5 in Study 2).

5.4. Main Contributions to Local and Global Governance

Resilience research has produced numerous initiatives trying to build a resilient society, but most of them failed as they tried to address the symptoms instead of the disease (Bonanno, Westphal, & Mancini, 2011). These programs counterproductively increased the unwanted behaviour that they meant to build resilience against. By either keeping the unwanted behaviour salient in peoples' mind and so, increasing the inclination to act on it. For example, Shaffer et al. (1991) found that participants who at the beginning of the intervention program gave a negative response to the question whether suicide could be a reasonable solution for people with a lot of problems actually answered this same question in the affirmative after attending the program. Or by offering additional safety measures and precautions providing a false sense of safety. For example, a study by Morrongiello and Major (2002) showed that parents perceived less risk and showed increased tolerance for children's risk taking in play situations involving use of bicycle helmets. Southwick et al. (2014) argue that the real change does not come by treating symptoms, it comes by healing the disease, thus resilience researchers should look beyond the pathology of non-resilience and focus on building resilience. From social psychology point of view, Hardin and Banaji (2013) also contend that when facing the social issue like xenophobia, the aim is not to pinpoint 'the rotten apples', but to address the root cause of it to eliminate it. This research offers a new approach in building global resilience to aversive stimuli inducing public fear and panic. It argues that along with Southwick et al. (2014) and Hardin and Banaji (2013) that building up personal resilience comes through building up a resilient character that can face and overcome adversities. By building up conscious cosmopolitanism through global travels a more open-minded, objective and socially sensitive global society could be built that is more resilient to act irrationally when facing fear stemming from uncertainty, be it man-made or natural crisis.

Learning from the inefficiency of previous resilience building initiatives, trying to simply convince people to think rationally when facing a highly stressful situation of terrorism or a health crisis as the pandemic of COVID-19 could be futile. Fear reactions are instinctive (Ledoux, 2015) and the biases they create are not consciously recognized (Oaten et al., 2011). Moreover, an analytical approach, like logical reasoning, to remedy a highly emotional situation that fear created will not be successful (Finucane, 2012), because intense emotions cloud rational thinking (Carleton, 2016b). It is a bit like arguing with a 3-years old about the benefits of delayed gratification. Emotions beat reason. Therefore, the success is not in winning the argument, the success is in building a character. Building a character that is rooted in a strive for objectivity over evolutionary-coded fear biases, and that deliberately chooses to embrace diversity over instinctive xenophobia. This character will more likely to follow the moral convictions of open-mindedness

and tolerance also when it is put under a strain, not because somebody said so, but because it is what naturally flows out of that character.

Stress resilience – to mitigate the negative impact of crisis events as well as to resolve daily challenges – is vital for the health of every community (Vinkers et al., 2020). This research provides down-to-earth guidelines for policy makers on how to build up personal resilience through building up cosmopolitanism character. It suggests practical ways how resilience can be strengthened at each level (Chapter in 3.5 in Study 2, Chapter 4.6 in study 3), and lists the main contributing internal and external factors that seems to support to cosmopolitanisation (Chapter 2.5.1 in Study 1) and so, personal resilience. Hence, the findings of this research could be used as pointers on what aspects of the society can be strengthened to build up those enabling factors that can eliminate xenophobia and bring about healthy egalitarianism and individualism (Hardin & Banaji, 2013), even in the midst of a fearful atmosphere.

5.5. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This research aimed to analyse public fear, specifically, the fear of terrorism and the fear of COVID-19, and its effects from as many angels as possible through the interpretations of a highly diverse sample. But, this very diversity that constitutes the essence of a phenomenology (Sandberg, 2000) as well as the common sense approach of grounded theory (Goulding, 2005), full saturation of new information was challenging to reach, especially in the case of terrorism. Terrorism is a well-known risk and the respondents seemed to be more aware of its implications and the effectiveness of the various risk mitigation strategies. The information respondents had about terrorism risk was comprehensive. Their potential defensive strategies were thought through and their approach seemed crystallised. But, their answers were also more detailed and complex. Thus, future research could further explore the societal impact of terrorism aiming to understand all implications of it by digging even deeper than this study. For example, one specific research avenue, a novel approach of terrorism risk, this research found, would be to explore how, under what circumstances, terrorism risk acts as a motivator rather than a restraining force in leisure tourism. Furthermore, this research highlighted that the overall fear of terrorism is a separate construct from the destination-specific terrorism risk. The first tints the entire process of travel decision-making and the later "only" alters destination choice process. Travel risk literature, however, do not study the two constructs separately and their consequences is usually viewed as a whole (e.g., Karl & Schmude, 2017). Future research could entangle the impact of these two separate travel risks along with how each one of them

can be addressed in order to build more suitable and thus, successful strategies to fight back irrational terrorism risk perception damaging global travels.

Full theoretical saturation was easier to approach when discussing the impact of COVID-19. The reason could be that the situation COVID-19 created is new, and mostly emotions and impressions dominate due to the lack of factual knowledge to consider. So, the answers respondents gave were less detailed. They mainly reflected on their perception of the situation without the possibility to match it up with facts. New scientific discoveries, expected in any time now, about how to prevent and treat COVID-19 and, in general, knowing more of this yet-unknown fear stimulus will certainly alter the way it is seen and perceived. Even without break-through medical discoveries, according to the distinct stages of disasters (Myers et al., 1990), the crisis, COVID-19 pandemic created, is far from over. In the case of most disasters, including the current pandemic as revealed in Study 3, some stages restart and repeat pushing further away the full completion of the crisis cycle. Therefore, further in-depth research is crucial to understand more than just the initial stages of this health crisis, and to gain a full picture of its effects. Future research could also explore how the fear of new, upcoming infectious diseases foreseen by experts (e.g., WHO, 2015), in light of the severity of the current pandemic, impact travellers and make them rethink travelling and leisure tourism.

This research, based on the findings of Study 3, already anticipates a new paradigm in leisure tourism and global travels. A new way of thinking of travellers that attach a great value to authenticity, uniqueness and sustainability, even at the price of restraining themselves from mass tourism and paying more for a better experience. Future studies could explore the reality of and the potentials in this new paradigm shift that is expected by many tourism scholars for some time (e.g., Dwyer et al., 2008), and now, theorized that COVID-19 pandemic might have brought about its arrival (Gössling et al., 2020; Ho et al., 2020).

This research contended for a better understanding of public fear and aimed to establish strategies to reduce irrationality, a potential source of panic, in it, regardless of the nature of the actual fear stimulus. Results demonstrated that cosmopolitans have a higher resilience to act on the irrational instinctive impulses the fear of terrorism and the fear of COVID-19 induced. To increase the reliability of these findings, future research can extend this notion to different contexts, like different industries or different fear stimuli. For example, climate change is studied along with terrorism and infectious diseases as a main source of catastrophic risk that increases travel risk perception and alters travel decision-making (e.g., Gössling et al., 2020; Sunstein, 2007). A global focus representing a wide array of demographic characteristics and particularly, maximum variation sampling were proven useful for building novel

theories about travellers' perceptions and decision-making processes (Kachel & Jennings, 2010). Nevertheless, deepening the suggested theory through a more focused sampling approach could be beneficial. For example, future studies could focus on single countries, specific demographic attributes or a single traveller category to deepen the understanding of how a specific group of travellers perceive and react to fear. Learning how specific segments can be reassured and their level of perceived risk can be brought closer to the level of actual risk, will help extend and refine the tool set to fight back irrational risk perception and its implications in the global society.

One of the main aims of qualitative studies is to describe the complexity of a phenomenon, but not to quantify it (Goulding, 2005). The notion of cosmopolitan travellers' resilience would benefit from a supplementary quantitative validation. The profiled groups of travellers, in the case of both terrorism risk and the threat of COVID-19, were given the same attention and emphasis, but to understand their correct proportion in the travellers' community and to rightly adjust a destination-wide marketing communication effort further research is required. Besides, this research contends for a long-term approach in building travellers' resilience, namely, it proposes to build up resilient cosmopolitan character through the experience of global travels. A future longitude study could verify if by building up cosmopolitanism in the global society, resilience to irrational fear reactions is indeed built up along with it. Future studies can also test and validate in a longitude setting the listed supportive and hindering factors that shape cosmopolitan character and so, contribute to personal resilience. This could provide a practical tool for policy makers on how to allocate their resources efficiently to bring about the right results when it comes to national-wide, resilience building efforts.

Personal values build up human desires and drive behaviour to fulfil those desires (Schwartz, 1992, 2006). Values of open-mindedness, appreciation of novelty and diversity, risk tolerant curiosity are the main drives of global travellers (Cleveland et al., 2011; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Changing travel preferences and behaviour, demonstrated by previous studies (e.g., Dwyer et al., 2008; Karl & Schmude, 2017) and confirmed by the current research, however, indicate that these values of global travellers are shifting from open-mindedness and risk-tolerance towards conformity and security due to the prevailing public fear. This research, while noted that fear affected every traveller, found that the reaction fear produced was not universal. Those travellers who said to consciously fight back the irrationality fear induced appeared more able to maintain their core values and unrestrained travel behaviour. As values are relatively stable constructs and they do not change easily and fast (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011), this theorized value shift of global travellers could have long-term implication for the tourism industry. Hence, confirming this notion through a longitude research design is essential to its validity. For example,

observing a group of travellers over years and analysing the fluctuation of their value orientation along with their circumstances, could confirm the direction, the extend and the reasons of the changes in travellers' personal values. Moreover, once it is clarified what role personal values and their changes play in shaping travel behaviour, potentially future tourism trends can be predicted (as well as prepared for) through on them.

Future research can also validate the suggested definition and measurement approach of cosmopolitanism. This research revealed that cosmopolitanism is a multidimensional construct merging different facades of the cosmopolitan identity, inherent value orientation, consciously selected and effortfully embraced ideals and a chosen lifestyle. Merging and empirically validating the various angels and dimensions of this highly complex construct is a great undertaking for future research. Besides, this study suggested a suitable measurement approach of cosmopolitanism based on personal history validating a cosmopolitan lifestyle and scenario analysis confirming cosmopolitan ideals, but an actual measurement tool could be more practical and much easier to put in use. Findings indicate that cosmopolitanism is a progressive path to personal resilience. Another great challenge for future research would be to further investigate cosmopolitanism as a socially potent pillar of a peaceful global society, and provide separate and detailed guidelines for policymakers, business practitioners, educators, researchers, marketers and even passionate individuals on how they can contribute in building up a cosmopolitan mind-set for the good of us all.

6. REFERENCES

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7. APPENDICES

7.1. Appendix 1: The short value questionnaire of Schwartz

Instructions:

Please, rate the importance of the following values as a life-guiding principle for you. Use the 8-point scale in which 0 indicates that the value is opposed to your principles, 1 indicates that the values is not important for you, 4 indicates that the values is important, and 8 indicates that the value is of supreme importance for you.

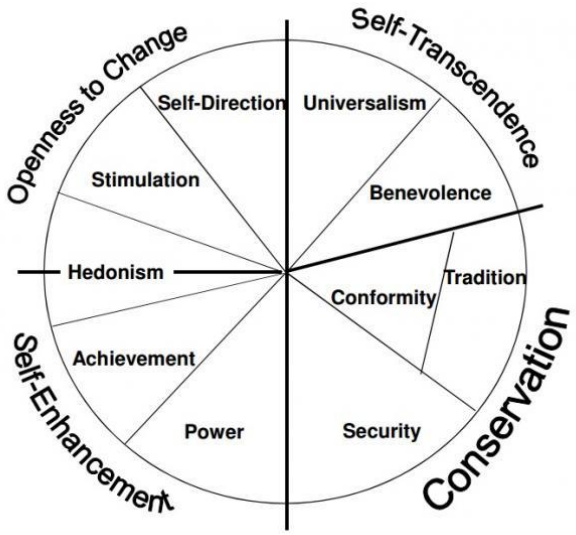
The scale:

	Opposed to my principles		Not important			Important			Of supreme importance
1. POWER (social power, authority, wealth)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2. ACHIEVEMENT (success, capability, ambition, influence on people and events)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3. HEDONISM (gratification of desires, enjoyment in life, self-indulgence)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4. STIMULATION (daring, varied, challenging and exciting life)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5. SELF-DIRECTION (creativity, freedom, curiosity, independence, choosing one's own goals)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
6. UNIVERSALISM (broad-mindedness, joy in beauty of nature and arts, social justice, world peace, equality, wisdom, environmental protection)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7. BENEVOLENCE (helpfulness, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, responsibility)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8. TRADITION (respect for tradition, humbleness, accepting one's portion in life, devotion, modesty)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9. CONFORMITY (obedience,	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

honouring parents and elders, self-discipline, politeness)

10. SECURITY (national security, family security, social order, cleanliness, reciprocation of favours)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Value structure: (for reference)



Openness to change

Self-Direction Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring

Stimulation Excitement, novelty and challenge in life

Self-enhancement

Hedonism Pleasure or sensuous gratification for oneself

Achievement Personal success by demonstrating competence according to social standards

Power Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources

Conservation

Security Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self

Conformity Restraint of actions, impulses likely to upset/harm others and violate social expectations/norms

Tradition Respect, commitment, acceptance of customs/ideas the culture/religion provides

Self-transcendence

Benevolence Preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the 'in-group')

Universalism Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature

7.2. Appendix 2: The cosmopolitan C-COSMO Scale

Open-mindedness	Disagree			-			Agree
When traveling, I make a conscious effort to get in touch with the local culture and traditions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like having the opportunity to meet people from many different countries.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like to have contact with people from different cultures.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have got a real interest in other countries.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Diversity appreciation	Disagree			-			Agree
Having access to products coming from many different countries is valuable to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The availability of foreign products in the domestic market provides valuable diversity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I enjoy being offered a wide range of products coming from various countries.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Always buying the same local products becomes boring over time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Consumption transcending borders	Disagree			-			Agree
I like watching movies from different countries.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like listening to music of other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like trying original dishes from other countries.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like trying out things that are consumed elsewhere in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.3. Appendix 3: Publication Overview

Table 50 lists the publications resulted from this research project along with the latest study that is under review. The first item of the table is a conference paper presented on the 10th Annual Meeting of the Euromed Academy of Business in Rome, Italy in September, 2017. The setting of this conference provided a great opportunity to present the concept of the research and refine its methodological underpinnings in discussion with academic and business experts in the field of tourism. The second item is a journal article published in a Q2 tourism journal (as per the journal ranking of Scimago), indexed in Emerging Sources Citation Index (Clarivate Analytics), the International Journal of Tourism Cities that highlights the exploratory findings of this research project. The third item in the below table is a journal article published in a Q1 tourism journal (as per the journal ranking of Scimago), Impact Factor: 3.648 (Journal Citation Reports, Clarivate Analytics), the Journal of Tourism Management Perspectives that puts forth the findings about the impact of terrorism on travellers' decision-making and presents the categorisation of travellers based on their resilience to the fear of terrorism. The fourth item is a forthcoming journal article submitted to a Q1 tourism journal (as per the journal ranking of Scimago) about the overall impact of COVID-19 on travellers and develops the categorise of travellers resilience to the novel coronavirus. The submitted manuscript is currently under the review process of the journal.

1	Veréb, V., Nobre, H., & Farhangmehr, M. (2017). Fear of Terrorism and the Cosmopolitan Value System Reflected in the Tourists' Perception of Country Image and Travel Decision. In D. Vrontis, Y. Weber, & E. Tsoukatos (Eds.), *Global and national business theories and practice: bridging the past with the future* (pp. 2387–2389). Rome, Italy: EuroMed Academy of Business. Retrieved from http://euromed2017.com/bop2017.pdf
2	Veréb, V., Nobre, H., & Farhangmehr, M. (2018). The fear of terrorism and shift in cosmopolitan values. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, *4*(4), 452–483. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-03-2018-0024
3	Veréb, V., Nobre, H., & Farhangmehr, M. (2020). Cosmopolitan tourists: the resilient segment in the face of terrorism. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *33*(September 2019), 100620. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2019.100620
4	Veréb, V., Nobre, H., & Farhangmehr, M. (forthcoming). Cosmopolitan tourists: the most resilient segment in the face of COVID-19. Under review.

Table 50 – Publications of the research project