Peace: a roadmap for Heritage and Tourism

Strive,
at individual and collective level,
for a better understanding of the world surrounding us and
act without hesitation,
because History will not forgive
the apathy or inconsistency of the commitment to a better future.

ABSTRACT

On 25 September 2015, the United Nations General Assembly adopted an Agenda for Sustainable Development to be achieved by 2030. 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were established, on which States, civil society and the private sector are called to contribute. In this context, tourism - which is based on billions of encounters between people of diverse cultural backgrounds, is hailed as the industry that can foster tolerance and multicultural and interfaith understanding, laying the groundwork for more peaceful societies. This chapter critically analyses the current discourse on tourism and peace, exploring opportunities and limitations. We affirm the urgency for a more complex approach, by informing the debate with concepts, theories and ideas coming from areas different than tourism (cultural anthropology, history, cultural heritage, cultural diplomacy, peace and conflict studies, peace education and sustainability science). The authors focus particularly on the role of cultural heritage and its management as the main hinge in the association between tourism and peace.

Keywords: Cultural heritage management, tourism, peace, peace-building, sustainable development goals (SDGs), intercultural dialogue

INTRODUCTION

This chapter critically presents the evolution of the academic and non-academic discourse relating to the conceptual association between tourism and peace and in particular tourism and peacebuilding. The first section provides a background of the work by adopting a complex approach. The authors highlight in this first section some current socio-cultural traits to be considered in the context of the study, as well as some contemporary geopolitical aspects. Afterwards, the very concept of peacebuilding is presented and finally

the last subsection focuses on the state of the art of the debate on the relationship between tourism and peace, namely tourism and peacebuilding, by highlighting issues, controversies, theoretical and practical limitations of the current discourse.

The second section contains the main focus of the chapter and, in response to the need highlighted in the first part of the chapter to raise the level of complexity of the debate, the authors propose the integration of models and ideas from areas other than tourism. In particular, reference is made to studies on the management of cultural heritage and their social value. Cultural heritage and its management and its association with tourism is presented as the keystone in the conceptual architecture binding together tourism and peace.

BACKGROUND

This section presents the background of the present study by contextualizing it in the socio-economic and sociocultural current situation (at least with regards to Western society) and through some geopolitical considerations. Afterwards, the main theme is introduced with a brief note on the meaning of peace building. For space limitations and to avoid going off topic some very specific aspects such as the debate on liberal peace, its internal components and the often-ignored tensions between them (Richmond, 2006) are not included here. Once defined this broad context, the analysis of the current debate on the link between tourism and peacebuilding will represent the focus of the last subsection.

About the western drift from democracy to *democrazy*, the vain hope in technique, and the urgent need for ethics and a return to humanities

Current days present us with challenges that were unthinkable just a few decades ago. The utopia of a new world order in the name of a peaceful interdependence of peoples and nations - favoured by the rapid process of globalization - has given rise to several and often conflicting needs. From a socioeconomic point of view, for instance, half of the world's 736 million extremely poor people lived in just 5 countries, and 85% of them (629 million) in Sub-Saharan Africa (Figure 1).

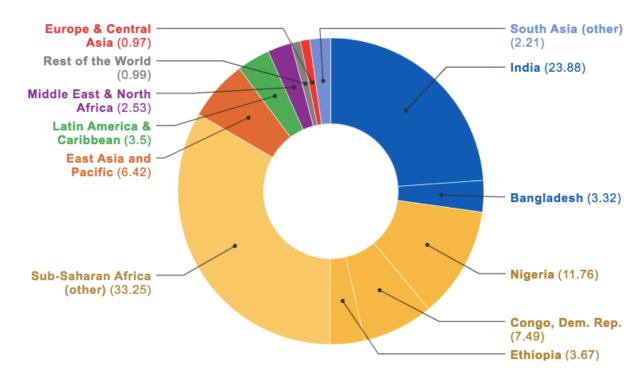


Figure 1: Share of poor people in the world by region or country, 2015. Source: PovcalNet, the World Bank. Retrieved from https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2019/12/20/year-in-review-2019-in-charts.print

While inequalities at global level remain dramatic, cultural tensions also arise, as a result of growing mobility driven by various factors (from tourism to refuge) and unaccompanied by adequate monitoring and education for cultural diversity appreciation.

Furthermore, the number of people seeking international protection outside of their country of origin has increased 70% since 2011. About 85% of refugees are hosted by developing countries. In 2018, 67% of refugees came from 5 countries: Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Somalia (Figure 2). And more than 4.6 million people left Venezuela between 2016 and November 2019, primarily for Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador.

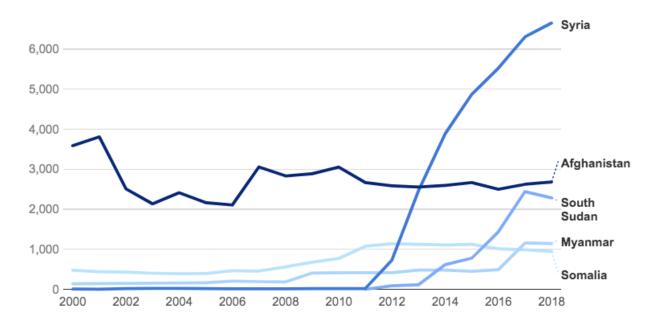


Figure 2: Refugee population by country or territory of origin (thousands). Source: World Development Indicators (SM.POP.REFG.OR), the World Bank. Retrieved from https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2019/12/20/year-in-review-2019-in-charts.print

Many processes and concerns are still left on the table: is the Middle East moving towards new balances or new disasters? What results will bring the new confrontation between the United States, Russia and China? Which will be the evolution and impact of their respective internal cultural diversity? From a social point of view, what is going to happen to Western primacy, which after a devastating economic crisis is now being dramatically undermined by the repeated terrorist attacks that threaten its model of coexistence based on democracy, freedom, equality and social justice? Has reaction to the dramatic migratory phenomena of recent years made people aware of latent ethnocentrism and weak sense of identity, leading toward potential xenophobia, racism? Has substantial apathy towards the suffering of others made all part of a posthumanity, guided by the banality of evil (Arendt, 2000)? In this sense, the emergence of a toxic political agenda – as defined by Amnesty International – made of propaganda and populism, is typical of our ages, and it is based on a simple and bold assumption to spread their hostile messages: the public doesn't care about the truth, what they want to hear is something that is simple and seems to solve their problems. It doesn't matter if it corresponds to the facts or not, if one just keeps saying it again and again, and again, sooner or later, people will start to believe it. This dynamic is then related to a further paradox, that is, the incredible advances in technology and science on the one hand, and, on the other, the widespread functional illiteracy, emotional illiteracy and nihilism of Western youth? Is it a set of transitory phenomena or a structural reality?

The ground for fake news and tension building is the same: ignorance resulting from alienation. Whereas alienation was originally perceived as, primarily, the depriving of material resources, throughout last century it proved to be, above all, a depriving of knowledge and is becoming, in the dawn of the third millennium, a depriving of cognitive skills (Oosterbeek, 2019).

"We are viewers still unconscious and uncertain of a historical major breakthrough", says French sociologist Yves Mény (2019), and all the above aspects compose this Age of uncertainty. How to deal with its challenges? This condition of uncertainty and instability should actually appeal to our greater responsibility and action. Striving for a better analysis and greater understanding of what surrounds us, linking the past, the present and the future should represent our first responsibility individually as well as collectively. Another misunderstanding typical of our times, an illusion, therefore a trap, is the confidence in the progress of techniques as being the main lever for human alleviation. While one cannot deny the important benefits brought about by technical advances in all fields, it would be necessary to pause to reflect on the fact that, in any case, technique in general and technology in particular do not provide, by themselves, future horizons or perspectives to human beings, which require, instead, considerations on ethics and reflection. Techniques as an end in themselves are empty containers, with no possible meaning; this is their advantage, but also their key limitation: it is human agency, informed by cultural values, that assigns meaning to the use, or refusal, of techniques.

There is thus a call to rediscover the ethics and values behind human things: history, politics, coexistence between peoples. In this sense, we are convinced that at the base of all human matters, there must be the purpose of improving the condition of the human being himself, recovering the Kantian philosophy by which man, guided by culturally agreed values, must be the end of any action, instead of a mere means. This reflection leads us to a paradigm shift and a perspective that changes (or at least should change) each person's approach to any activity, professional and non-professional and at any level: local, regional, national or international and global. If all areas of human activities are involved, then, what is in particular our role as cultural heritage managers and tourism operators in creating a sustainable and peaceful future?

Ontological notes. The very nature of peacebuilding

It is good (or at least it would be) to look with certain scepticism at any practical or theoretical work that concerns peace and/or peacebuilding in which a brief clarification does not appear on what those terms actually mean. In the present case, the authors of this chapter took care of introducing the concept of peacebuilding with the aim to clearly identify where tourism can be conceptually connected with the process of construction of peace.

The theoretical and, subsequently, practical development of the concept of peacebuilding took place, as often happens, thanks to an intense intellectual/scientific debate on a revisited meaning of peace - to be contextualized mostly in the cold-war period (1947-1991) - and to the resulting reflections in the creation of supranational procedures and recommendations. United Nations (UN) officially adopted the term *peacebuilding* in 1992, when the Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali released a report entitled "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). Section II of the report, paragraph 20, provides with the definitions of the first three concepts:

- (*Preventive diplomacy*, seeking to resolve disputes before violence breaks outs);
- *Peace-making*, the "action to bring hostile parties to agreement";
- *Peacekeeping,* the operation of "deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well".

But the same author added a new, complementary approach to achieving peace, in the paragraph 21, by arguing the need for:

• *Post-conflict peacebuilding*, the "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992).

As mentioned, this innovation was strongly based on previous intellectual, scientific debates. It is indeed important to take into account the considerations made by Galtung (1976) years before the elaboration of the report. Peace-making and peacekeeping operations are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained, but they are based on a *dissociative* approach, which seeks to keep antagonists separate - with the help of third parties if necessary.

On the contrary, based on the understanding of peace as a structure, Galtung presents peacebuilding as based on an *associative* approach. Peacebuilding indeed seeks to achieve peace by identifying the structures "that remove [the] causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where war might occur" (Galtung, 1976, p. 298). Observe the reader that the most characteristic aspect of the concept of peacebuilding is the idea of *building* peace, and not just maintaining or preserving it, in order to avoid the recurrence of new conflicts after the end of an armed conflict. And it is exactly this conceptual and practical aspect the associative approach - that allow to establish a link between tourism and peace. However, it is legitimate at this point to wonder how tourism *actually* becomes one of the instruments for building peace?

Tourism and peacebuilding. limitations and potentials of the current debate

Tourism is considered a global force for good, as it provides societies with opportunities for boosting economies, societies and cultures worldwide. The sector is responsible for 1 in 10 jobs worldwide, 10.4% of the global GPD and 30% of services. According the major trend among tourism scholars' discourse, beyond the economic implications, tourism has positive repercussions on societies as it leads to the direct encounter of different peoples and cultures. UNWTO says tourism "can consolidate peace in post-conflict societies".

Although these assumptions may occur, such an assessment seems to us to be insufficient. On the one hand, tourism also entails the danger of aggravating cultural tensions and triggering conflicts, namely when it is run mainly as an extractive business, with no care for residents' cultural habits and traditions. The focus on "good" as a primarily economic and social gain is a naïf approach, since goodness is always a result of valuing, i.e., is anchored on values, attitudes and agency. On the other hand, the main positive impact of tourism for preventing conflicts and building peace is that, among all humans, tourists tend to be better equipped not only to recognise but to appreciate cultural diversity, and to actually aim at preserving it. In this sense, the interaction between tourists and residents tends to be a real process of co-construction of a common ground of cultural relations within a new sociocultural matrix (Oosterbeek, 2017), beyond the soliloquies of ethnocentric communities.

On the other hand, one of the main scholars in peace and conflict studies, John Paul Lederach, makes the following consideration: "Peacebuilding is a complex task. It is (...) an overwhelming challenge. How, really, do we get whole societies wrapped in histories of violence that date back generations to move toward a newly defined horizon?" (Lederach, 2005, p. 31). So how can we associate effectively the idea of tourist activity with such a complex concept as that of peace building?

Several world leaders - John F. Kennedy, Ghandi, Bill Clinton among others - have recognized the importance of the travel and tourism industry as driver of peace, security and understanding. In 1988, even anticipating the concept of sustainability launched a few years later by the United Nations, the concept of "Tourism: industry of Peace" was introduced by Louis D'Amore (1988), setting the stage for the creation of the International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT). Soon an intense debate also started at the academic level. In an article published by the Annals of Tourism Research at the end of the '90, Smith (1998) talked about *post-conflict tourism*, focusing on tourist activities after the Second World War. In this

¹ Retrieved from http://tourism4sdgs.org/sdg-16-peace-justice-institutions/ on Abril, 1st 2019

article he states that "World War II was a landmark in tourism: it created technology for rapid and efficient global mobility; generated the motivations for mass tourism; and, because of the human horror of nuclear holocausts, it stimulated new policies that stimulated contact between peoples, also through tourism" (Smith, 1998, p. 204). Since then, the topic has been approached from different perspectives, such as transitional justice and the (re) construction of the State (Novelli, Morgan, & Nibigira, 2012), the commodification for tourist purposes of former war sites (Causevic & Lynch, 2011; Packer, Ballantyne, & Uzzell, 2019), (re)construction of contested national identities through post-conflict tourism (C. X. Zhang, Xiao, Morgan, & Ly, 2018; J. J. Zhang, 2017), and even the process of creating the tourist destination brand after an armed conflict (Shirley, 2018). On the other side, Selwitz (1996) explores the benefits of peace for tourism and hospitality.

Shortly some ideas took hold, such as:

- tourism contributes to more peaceful societies;
- countries with more sustainable tourism are more likely to enjoy higher levels of positive peace in the future, as the more sustainable the country's tourism sector, the lower the level of violence;
- in conflict-affected countries, tourism represents a vehicle for socioeconomic recovery (Burnett, 1990), having a high level of resilience to violence and conflicts, even in the presence of terrorist attacks directed at tourists.

Based on these convictions, and within the scope of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) declares:

tourism can make a significant contribution especially in the context of Goal 16 - JUSTICE, PEACE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS. Tourism is based on billions of meetings between people from different cultural backgrounds. As such, the sector can promote tolerance and multicultural and interfaith understanding, laying the foundation for more peaceful societies. Tourism, which benefits and involves local communities, can also consolidate peace in post-conflict societies².

 $^{2\} Retrieved\ from:\ http://tourism4sdgs.org/sdg-16-peace-justice-institutions/\ on\ April\ 1^{st},\ 2019$



SDG 16 - PEACE JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS

As tourism revolves around billions of encounters between people of diverse cultural backgrounds, the sector can foster multicultural and inter-faith tolerance and understanding, laying the foundation for more peaceful societies. Tourism, which benefits and engages local communities, can also consolidate peace in post-conflict societies.

Figure 3: SDG, Objective 16 (Source: WTO. Retrieved from: http://tourism4sdgs.org/sdg-16-peace-justice-institutions/ On Abril 1st, 2019)

More sceptical authors expressed their reservations about the real capacity of tourism to create peace as early as the late eighties (Brown, 1989) affirming that it is rather tourism that benefits from peace (Litvin, 1998). These approaches, however, had no followers or follow-up. It is instead necessary to make important considerations in the light of the existing literature. While it is true that both international agencies and academics have given important inputs to the debate on tourism as a vehicle of peace so far, on the other hand this debate should be reviewed today and raised to a higher level of complexity. Without any doubt the first inputs to the debate are still to be considered as particularly valid intuitions, nonetheless they appear somewhat naive nowadays. If it is true that even the very idea of *peace* is not unanimous, and "where there should be research agendas there are silences and assumptions" (Richmond, 2005, p. 6) a research agenda should also be established in the context of the association between tourism and peace. A deeper and theoretically more consistent integration between disciplines (tourism studies, cultural studies, peace and conflict studies and international relations, among others) would be the first step towards more solid arguments (and theoretical models) within the debate on tourism and peace.

In particular, the authors of the present chapter aim to investigate the link between cultural heritage and tourism development in promoting a culture of peace (Carbone, 2018a, 2018b, 2019) by articulating the field of tourism with theories from areas such as: cultural heritage management and heritage studies, peace and conflict studies, cultural diplomacy and international relations.

CULTURAL HERITAGE AND TOURISM. THE COMMON PATH TO PEACE

The concept of tourism as a peacebuilding activity is fascinating. However, as we previously said, a deep revision of the current discourse should be made, taking steps towards the emancipation from the initial

intuition, developing the discourse and taking it to other levels of complexity. For instance, the idea itself of "peace industry" should be, in our opinion, reviewed. An *industry* is an entity that produces something in series, and it does not seem to be the correct approach when talking about the creation of peace through tourism. It is not just a rhetorical exercise to propose to change the term *industry* with *craftmanship* of Peace. "Blessed are the artisans of peace", wrote the apostle Matthew (5.3). Craftsmanship presupposes endeavour, commitment ability and skills (all ideas that the term *industry* does not suggest). Peace is indeed a construction that must be modelled. It does not exist in nature. Here, then, is the implication of this first consideration, which at first glance is purely rhetorical. Creating a culture of peace requires endeavour, ability, originality and the wise use of different arts and abilities. What is the role of cultural heritage in this context?

Cultural heritage in today's society

There is a widespread understanding that the role of cultural heritage (and subsequently that of cultural institutions such as museums) has changed, at least partially. This understanding has led some to consider that the nature of museums must change, standing in the sphere of information dissemination in line with new emerging societal values, using essentially new media and attracting more audiences. Understanding needs is a permanent negotiation between contexts perceived in the short term and integrated trends in the long term.

The difference between contexts and trends is certainly in the value attributed to each one. But a bigger difference lies in the fact that contexts imply values that immediately and effectively condition human options (very restricted to reactive actions), while trends integrate values built in the long run and, therefore, more strongly conditioned by human views of the future, more or less informed by their understanding of the past. Over the past three centuries, this duality has produced divergent approaches to adaptive relationships between human beings and the environment, emphasizing human will and agency (as in Nietzsche or Marx) or highlighting environmental or other extra-human restrictions (as in Hegel or Darwin). In any of the aforementioned approaches, the keyword is "process", that is, the "envelope" in which needs are expressed and human strategies are executed.

The "envelope" that led to the current context of perception of the "urgency of reforms" and the "climate emergency" started to be designed in the post-World War II, through a combination of two main factors: the scientific advances that, from the 1950s onwards, led to optimism in a "problem-oriented strategy"; and the social and economic transformations that, from the mid-1960s onwards, raised growing doubts about

the capacity of existing political management models to deal with the newly perceived needs, related to the expansion of individual rights.

The past seven decades have therefore expressed a peculiar trend, which has tended to structure a long-term process not through a set of long-term global goals, or utopias, but through a series of unique short-term goals. This trend is interesting, since despite the growing anxiety due to the incapacity of a problem-solving agenda to cope with human dilemmas, public policies and strategies pursued in the same road, reinforcing concerns and disputes (Oosterbeek, 2016).

The virtualization of behaviour, the expansion of short-term agendas, ageing and the shift to market-oriented "STEM" education (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) are components of this same trend, interdependent and feeding each other in a destructive "great acceleration". Public debate and dispute tend to be replaced by totalitarian, "well-intentioned" and simplified views, fuelled by "unique perspectives", with no room for reflection and interaction. The reaction against the collectivist totalitarianisms of the first half of the last century, generated a kaleidoscope of singular agendas, each trying to impose itself on the others. Expressions of this process are the crisis of nation-states (which, after a cycle of confederative inclination, seem to give way to networks of cities, opening up a new space for insecurity among them), the naive pulverization of identity discourses (which feed xenophobic drives) or the clamour for emergencies (simplifying the contradictions between them).

The notion of heritage has expanded, now integrating entire landscapes, to accompany this spread of interests. However, it can consolidate itself only as an expression of this pulverization (and, in this perspective, assume itself as a product intended for specific consumer markets) or assume itself in the secular logic and formation of elites (which, in a democratic society implies the global opening to society), not treating its users as customers of a product, but as potential leaders who must learn to co-construct interpretive mechanisms and complex action.

"Archaeology is partly the discovery of the treasures of the past, partly the meticulous work of the scientific analyst, partly the exercise of creative imagination" (Renfrew & Bahn, 2012). This fascinating definition does not reflect however - at least not explicitly - the complexity of the role nowadays attributed to cultural heritage within society and the shared commitment to creating a sustainable and peaceful future. In this sense, efforts are being made by an increasing number of academics to promote a new role of cultural heritage within society, as demonstrated for instance by the works presented at the XVI World Congress of the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences titled Archaeology, Societies and

Environments in Africa (Oosterbeek, Camara, & Martins, 2014). On their side, supranational institutions are going in the same direction, and the "Faro Convention on the value of cultural heritage for society" is one of the most recent documents aimed at revising the traditional paradigm on the value of cultural heritage, including archaeology. This Convention is based on the following ideas:

- knowledge and the fruition of cultural heritage are part of the citizen's right to participate in cultural life, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- cultural heritage is a resource for human development, valuing cultural diversity and promoting intercultural dialogue
- cultural assets are part of a model of economic development based on the principles of sustainable use of resources (Council-of-Europe, 2005).

Nevertheless, the association between cultural heritage and peace, the potential contribution that cultural heritage could bring to peace building, was largely ignored (Walters, Laven, & Davis, 2017). But, literature is emerging in this direction, although not without controversy, about the new responsibilities attributed to cultural heritage professionals and their "emerging role" (Stone, 2017) in the promotion of intercultural dialogue for peace.

The emerging trend. Bridging heritage, tourism and peace

The 8th International Conference on Peace Museums "The role of peace museums in preventing war and promoting remembrance, historical truth and reconciliation", held in No Gun Ri, (Korea) in 2014, and convened under the umbrella jointly by the International Network of Museums for Peace and the International Peace Foundation of the NGR, is representative of this new trend whereby supranational organizations such as UNESCO invite curators and cultural heritage managers to embrace this new challenge. In this perspective, ICOM's attempt to change the definition of a museum is also very recent, proposing a description that better reflects the responsibility to promote intercultural dialogue and global understanding. In turn, the failure of this attempt made during the last ICOM conference, in Kyoto in August 2019, represents in my opinion the extremely controversial nature of these new conceptual proposals.

In line with this emerging trend, a few years ago Fabio Carbone formulated a conceptual model called "Paideia approach to cultural heritage management for the development of tourism and local communities" (Carbone, 2010; Carbone, Oosterbeek, & Costa, 2012). This model established for the first time a link between cultural heritage management and tourism as a driver of peace, also including the capacity of enhancing the social value of cultural assets among the dimensions of quality in cultural heritage management (Carbone, 2016; Carbone, Oosterbeek, & Costa, 2013). The arguments underlying the

discourse on tourism, cultural heritage and peace are thus better defined, more concrete and visible. The initial simplicity - although characteristic of a great intuition - that characterized the origin of the debate on "Tourism and Peace", thus leaves room for greater complexity and concreteness. The process whereby tourism could actually contribute to global understanding and peace is presented in Figure 4.

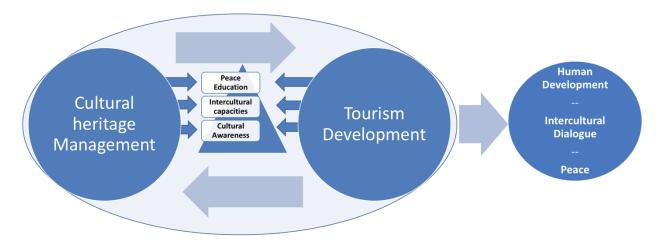


Figure 4: Dynamics inherent in the association between cultural heritage management and tourism development in view of the effective contribution to human development, intercultural dialogue and the culture of peace.

Figure 4 displays the key elements and phases. The association between cultural heritage management and tourism development is the starting point of the process. This association goes beyond the traditional, neoliberal view of cultural heritage as a mere component of the tourism product and supply. On the contrary, the cultural asset becomes a resource and vehicle for local development based on socioeconomic development and territorial identity and branding, as well as experiential learning and education (Timothy, 2018). In particular, cultural heritage management in the context of its association with tourism development aims, in this conceptual proposal, to boost cultural awareness and promote intercultural capacities. In this sense, the "paideia approach to cultural heritage management and tourism development" (Carbone et al., 2013) represents the keystone of the conceptual architecture binding together tourism and peace. Such approach is inspired by Socratic philosophical ideal of Paideia (5th century BC), related to one of the most famous Oracle of Delphi's mottos, thus adopted by Socrates: *know thyself!* (γνῶθι σεαιτόν). The "self-knowledge" is the (pre)condition for each individual to establish a peaceful relation with the *other*. From the application of this concept to cultural heritage management, as shown in the figure (left), the objective of the association between cultural heritage and tourism is a process of sociocultural based on pedagogical practices aiming at:

- 1. The promotion of cultural awareness (*know thyself!*), by promoting greater public participation, including through a stronger connection with formal, informal and non-formal education;
- 2. The promotion of intercultural capacities and the debate on inclusion and pluralism, to be put into practice through the opportunities of contact with other cultures, represented also (but not exclusively) by tourists.
- 3. Cultural awareness and intercultural capacities converge thus into peace education practices.

In this sense, Cultural heritage and its association with tourism should have an important role particularly within peace education. A considerable development in the field of peace education – that caters early child care to adult - reflects growth in social concern of this past century about horrific forms of violence - ecocide, genocide, modern warfare, ethnic hatred, racism, sexual abuse and domestic violence - and according to Harris (2004) it is mainly based on five aspects:

- international education
- human rights education
- development education
- environmental education and
- conflict resolution education.

Cultural heritage and its association with tourism can thus make an excellent contribution to further development of peace education, by pursuing a process of co-construction, in line with UNESCO's guidelines on sustainability science³. Heritage sites not only effectively become "space for 'social complicity' and meaning construction" (Valecillo, 2009), but also the very place where the link between tourism and peace materialise. The process so far exposed, strongly based on the proposal by Carbone et al. (2013), ideally trigs the second part of the model (figure 4, on the right), by representing the root for human development, intercultural dialogue and peace. Ideally, if this process would be applied to all destinations, it would trigger a virtuous circle, by sustaining a complex chain of events that reinforce themselves through a feedback loop (Carbone, 2017). Heritage and tourism thus converge in a common path, taking part of that comprehensive, integrative, and strategic approach to the creation of a culture of peace.

CONCLUSION

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³ https://en.unesco.org/sustainability-science/guidelines

This chapter contains a series of reflections on the current debate on the possible contribution of tourism to the creation and promotion of a culture of peace. Despite the optimistic - and sometimes naive - impulses that characterized the origins of the debate, the modalities and conditions necessary for tourism to become an effective vehicle for peace are still unclear and the debate remains vague. Empirical evidence contradicts - at least partially - the belief according to which the mere contact between tourists and the local population automatically result in a greater mutual understanding.

A new, advanced approach, in theory and in practice, is therefore needed. In theory, it is necessary to raise the level of complexity of the discourse concerning the association between tourism and the creation of peace. From a practical point of view, it is necessary to implement this complexity, considering that a greater mutual understanding and the effective promotion of intercultural dialogue through tourism necessarily require a preparation of both tourists and residents, based on the strengthens of cultural awareness, on the one hand, and the reinforcement of intercultural capacities, on the other, as well as on a reviewed setting of the destination and the entire tourist experience, more focused on the sociocultural and human factor and less on the merely economic aspect.

In sum, for tourism to effectively being a vehicle of peace, some precondition exist. Firstly, it is necessary to free tourism from the neoliberal economicist yoke, by valuing the sociocultural aspects. In this sense, another precondition for tourism to lead to intercultural dialogue and an effective contribution to peaceful societies, it is the reconsideration of cultural heritage in the context of tourism development, that is, consider it no longer as a mere component of the tourist supply but a key element for sociocultural growth towards human development and peace. A conceptual approach that can be put in practice by becoming part of the standard operating procedures within the process of planning, development and management of each tourist destination. In this process heritage and tourism thus converge in a common path, taking part of that comprehensive, integrative, and strategic approach to the creation of peace.

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