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Tourist Persuasion and Crime prevention

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TOURIST PERSUASION AND CRIME PREVENTION

ABSTRACT

Evaluations of crime prevention (CP) campaigns traditionally focus on the extent to which there is a reduction in crime or the increased performance of target behaviour, at the expense of examinations of the persuasiveness of their messages particularly for tourists. Drawing on persuasion and mindfulness theories and Fogg's Behaviour and the Elaboration Likelihood Models, this paper addresses this lacuna by proposing an integrative conceptual framework for the design and assessment of the persuasiveness of CP messages, targeted at tourists. Theoretically, this paper contributes to enhanced understanding of tourists' responses and the factors influencing these, to CP messages. Practically, it sheds light on how the design of these messages may be more persuasive.

Keywords: Tourists; Persuasion; Messages; Cognition; Attitudes; Behaviour; Crime Prevention

INTRODUCTION

Many tourist destinations experience an increase in crime during the summer months, with some becoming hotspots or crimogenic locations (Ryan and Kinder, 1996) for criminal activity. Given the economic importance of tourism to these environments, combined with the need to tackle crime and disorder whilst protecting their images as safe destinations, many have implemented crime prevention (CP) campaigns. These initiatives attempt to reduce crime, deter criminals and provide safety advice to residents and tourists to lessen their chances of becoming victims. Despite the abundance of CP campaigns in tourist destinations, there is no research to date of their effectiveness in reducing crime amongst holiday-makers generally or of the persuasiveness of the messages these campaigns seek to convey. This is surprising given that the impact of many health and some CP schemes which attempt to engender behavioural changes amongst a country's permanent residents, has been evaluated (Langenbacher and Klofas, 2012). Consequently, little is known about the salient behavioural determinants which influence the persuasiveness of CP messages amongst visitors, or about how such evaluations should be conceptualised.

Adopting a social psychological perspective, this paper evaluates the applicability and utility of relevant persuasion theories, concepts and models, and seeks to develop a conceptual framework for the design of persuasive CP messages to visitors. More specifically, it examines the salient behavioural determinants that influence the persuasiveness of CP messages amongst tourists with a view to developing an integrative conceptual framework that will enable detailed assessments of responses to such messages. To this end, in the first part of the paper, crime at tourist destinations and CP are introduced. In the second, the influence of CP on behaviour is considered, followed by an examination of the relevance and applicability of selected behaviour oriented theories and concepts to the study of tourist persuasion. Meanwhile in the third part of the paper, an integrative framework is proposed and discussed. This study seeks to make a theoretical contribution

with practical value. Theoretically, it contributes and enhances knowledge and understanding of the conceptualisation of the persuasiveness of CP messages, and of the factors which influence and encourage behaviour change. Practically, it provides an integrative conceptual framework through which to assess tourists' responses to CP messages, and provides a supporting set of principles for their design.

TOURIST PERSUASION AND CRIME PREVENTION

Tourist destinations attract visitors and workers whose life-styles may revolve around the involvement with deviant or marginal activities (Botterill et al., 2013; Harris, 2012; Mawby, 2011). In addition, they are characterised by a large, transient and heterogeneous population, which by its very nature provides a wealth of potential victims as well as an anonymous safe-haven for offenders. It is the convergence of these conditions that are conducive to crime and which often results in tourist destinations experiencing enhanced levels of crime and disorder (Jones, 2012; Mawby, 2010, 2014). Indeed, a number of studies present strong evidence of a positive relationship between tourism and crime (e.g. Ajagunna, 2006; Biagi and Detotto, 2014; Boakye, 2010; Holcomb and Pizam, 2006), of its seasonal nature (Kelly, 1993; King, 1988; Mawby, 2010; Walmsley et al., 1983) and of its association with tourism development (Ajagunna, 2006; Biagi and Detotto, 2014; Brown 1998), most notably in relation to a destination's nature and projected image and of its link to the type of tourist attracted (Mawby, 2010, 2011; Prideaux, 1996).

Crime at tourist destinations can be directed at tourists and residents alike with both potentially being victims and offenders. This is illustrated by comparative studies of tourist and resident victimisation undertaken by Boakye (2010), Brunt et al. (2000) and Mawby et al. (2000) who demonstrate that tourists are particularly vulnerable to crime and by Rothman (1978) who shows that not all crime is directed at tourists. Local people are increasingly the victims as some tourists may behave in anti-social and criminal ways as witnessed for

4

example, in many Spanish coastal resorts (Mawby, 2011; Sharma, 2005). Whatever the case, the incidence of crime at destinations can be extremely damaging, as safety and security are two essential pre-requisites for a thriving tourism industry (Boakye, 2010, Hall, 1994). Of course this in part depends on the media's reporting of crime (Brunt and Davis, 2006), but also on the ability of destinations to project safe and low risk images aided by the implementation of CP schemes.

Crime prevention

Within the developed world, CP is largely social and situational in nature. The latter focuses on security enhancement and target hardening so that opportunistic crimes are less attractive. The former meanwhile, attempts to prevent potential offenders from turning to, or committing crime. In addition, it focuses on enhancing community safety. It therefore focuses on residents and tourists alike, and involves the provision of knowledge with the intention being to encourage behavioural change which lessens exposure to risk and the likelihood of victimisation. Such initiatives are primarily undertaken through social advertising and/or public service announcements and are aimed at increasing potential targets knowledge about specific types of crime (Bowers and Johnson, 2005). One example includes the Algarve's Safe Summer Campaign, a joint initiative between the Police, Safe Communities Algarve and Turismo do Algarve, which issues safety advice via leaflets to holiday-makers to prevent beach crime and bogus holiday accommodation rental scams (Safe Communities Algarve, 2014). Another is the distribution of safety and security advice pamphlets and the display of visual notices to reduce thefts and burglary within many camping and caravan sites which were identified by Barker et al. (2002) to be particularly vulnerable to crime.

Measuring the success of CP is a complex task as sometimes it may spatially displace crime and/or contribute to the emergence of different crime behaviour and patterns.

Additionally, success is not only contingent upon the effectiveness of the measures adopted, but also on whether the right measures are implemented to address particular problems. Despite these difficulties, while research is lacking in tourist destinations, elsewhere there is a growing body of evidence which demonstrates that CP is effective and that successful interventions were more likely to reduce crime in nearby locations than to displace it geographically (Bowers and Johnson, 2003; Guerrette and Bowers, 2009).

One such successful intervention is the UKs 'Reduce Burglary Initiative' involving around 60 projects in the three areas of England and Wales with the highest rates of domestic burglary (Hamilton-Smith, 2004). Of the total, 21 included some form of publicity designed to promote householder participation in addition to the dissemination of deterrent messages targeted at potential burglars (Kodz and Pease, 2003). Overall, it was found that publicising local CP activity reduced burglaries (Johnson and Bowers, 2003) in 42 of the 60 projects in the three months immediately preceding actual implementation. Its success, according to Smith et al. (2002) may be attributed to publicity about upcoming interventions which impacted on offenders' perceptions of the availability of suitable opportunities to offend. This contention is reinforced by Homel et al. (2004) who argue that there is little doubt that the pre-program publicity motivated people to think about their circumstances as potential burglary victims and to undertake actions to prevent victimisation based on what they already knew they could and should do, but simply hadn't done already. These potential actions included simple measures such as locking up their homes more consistently when they left and keeping a more active eye on their neighbourhood.

Research undertaken by the Behavioural Insights Team (BIT) formerly located within the UK government's Home Office, also demonstrates how publicity can enhance CP strategies by producing nudges which encourage a desired behaviour (BIT, 2014). One particular example of such is a study which sought to reduce mobile phone theft and improve security. Following analysis of results from the crime survey for England and Wales of

mobile phone thefts in London between the period 1st August 2013 to 5th January 2014, the BIT (2014) highlighted how and when mobile phones are stolen and who is most at risk. It was revealed that victims of mobile phone thefts were more likely to have had their phones stolen directly from their person (e.g. through pick-pocketing) or when the handset was momentarily left unattended. The data also demonstrated that 14-24 year olds and women were most likely to be victims and it revealed the types of phones most likely to be stolen. Following these insights, a series of nudges were designed to effect behaviour change. First, a publicity campaign heightening awareness amongst the vulnerable groups was launched. Second, the mobile phone industry, particularly the manufacturers of those phones most stolen, took action to help educate consumers about using their phones more safely and to make existing security features more obvious and simpler for the consumer to activate (BIT, 2014).

The efficacy of CP campaigns however, which rely on publicity, advertising and public service announcements has been questioned. In particular, critics argue that they disseminate information rather than focus on complex behavioural issues that are necessary to prevent crime. While such action generates knowledge which often precedes behaviour, sometimes it does not. This is most notably illustrated by the issue of smoking. Within the Developed World, the health risks associated with smoking have been the subject of extensive television advertising; they are written and graphically displayed on cigarette packets and yet, people still smoke. Moreover, CP has traditionally tended to focus on interventions directed at offender behaviour rather than on the capacity of the wider community of potential victims to enact efficacious preventive behaviours (Ekblom, 1999, 2011). While, this focus is essential it doesn't resolve the issue that offenders are highly motivated individuals, particularly when it comes to acquisitive crime such as theft and robbery, or even sexually motivated offences such as online grooming. Thus, there is a high cost attached to the changing of their behaviour to non-offending; consequently many often select to continue to offend. Clearly, understanding how to effectively influence and

encounter behaviour change amongst potential offenders and victims including tourists is a complex task.

Ensuring effective visitor persuasion

The impact of CP schemes on effecting a change of behaviour has to date attracted relatively little attention. One notable exception is Winkel (1989) who examined a CP campaign's intended behaviour impact by testing a number of hypotheses concerning the effectiveness of CP communication in general and on the differential impact of specific types of persuasive messages. He found that a mixed strategy of communication in which the positive and negative behavioural outcomes are simultaneously stressed to be the most effective. More recently, the application of social marketing to CP has been advocated. For example Homel and Carroll (2009) examine its potential through examples of older people and crime and of online grooming of young people using social networking sites. Indeed they suggest that potential victims could be more readily persuaded to adopt improved protective behaviours if these could be conveyed in a soundly researched and efficient manner.

Within a tourism context however, no research of this issue has been undertaken. Perhaps this is because it is notoriously problematic. While CP strategies such as not leaving valuables on display in cars or ensuring doors and windows are locked when absent from the property is the norm in home environments, on holiday, potential dangers are more likely to be forgotten or over-looked. This behaviour is not surprising given that the main motivation for tourism is often to get away from the mundane realities of every-day life as tourists enter a liminal world characterised by fun, escapism and fantasy. Moreover, safety and security are essential components of a destination's attractiveness (George, 2012; George and Mawby, 2015; Hall, 1994), and CP campaigns which directly or indirectly convey

8

fear within the messages presented, may deter tourists from visiting and instead select alternative destinations that are perceived to be safer. In light of these difficulties, how then can CP advice be communicated effectively to tourists in a way that balances the need to reduce risk without unnecessarily increasing the fear of crime? Understanding the salient determinants which influence the behaviour of the message recipients regarding CP is arguably a valuable first step to advancing knowledge about the design of persuasive messages to tourists. In the absence of existing research in this field of study, what is clearly necessary is the design of a conceptual framework to guide academics, practitioners and policy-makers with this task in the future.

CONCEPTUALISING TOURIST PERSUASION

There are a number of psychology, behavioural, communication and interpretation theories, concepts and models that are potentially relevant to the conceptualisation of tourist persuasion. Many however are not directly transferable to a tourism and crime context as they fail to take into account the specificities of the tourist's decision-making process to engage with CP. At first glance for example, the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) and/or the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975) provide frameworks within which to couch analyses of tourist behaviour. The TRA postulates that an individual's behaviour is the result of a rational cognitive evaluation, determined by their intention to act out the behaviour and by their attitudes toward the behaviour, with the latter influenced also by their perceptions of others' views of the behaviour. The TPB meanwhile, was substantially modified to accommodate the fact that intention is not always the result of a rational process and to incorporate the influence of an additional set of factors, perceived behaviour control, to accommodate the impact of perceptions of ease of the behaviour on intentions and action (Azjen and Fishbein, 1980). On closer inspection however, as recognised in the TPB, the applicability of the TRA to this study is impaired because individual behaviour isn't always rational and an intention to implement CP measures does not necessarily equate to action.

Additionally, while both the TRA and the TPB enable attitudes and intentions to be gauged, which may subsequently be influenced by external stimuli such as CP messages thereby potentially resulting in behaviour change, they do not facilitate detailed examination of the persuasiveness of such messages and their impact on the intended behaviour.

Another illustration is the unsuitability of social marketing to the study of tourist persuasion and CP. Despite the fact that it has been used to address a range of social issues including CP as it facilitates segmentation and the analysis of the behaviour of target groups, such campaigns rely on advertising information and messages rather than focusing on the complex behavioural issues which are necessary to prevent crime (Johnson and Bowers, 2003). Perhaps then an obvious starting point in the conceptualisation of tourist persuasion and CP is the selection of theoretical underpinnings which most fully elucidate the salient determinants which influence tourists' CP behaviour. Two theories – persuasion and mindlessness – and two models – the Fogg Behaviour model (FBM) and the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) - are next introduced and when taken together, are argued to provide the greatest insights.

Persuasion Theory

Persuasion may be defined as a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour regarding an issue through the transmission of a message that is assimilated without coercion (Perloff, 2010). It thus constitutes a deliberate attempt to influence others in order to persuade the target audience to act in a desired way with the communication of a persuasive message occurring in verbal and non-verbal ways through a multitude of media including television, radio, the internet, signage, leaflets and even face-to-face (Jackson, 2013). In particular, as highlighted by Aristotle, *ethos* (the speaker or the source of the message), *logos* (the message), and *pathos* (the audience or the personality of the message receiver) are of

notable importance (Jackson, 2013). With regards to *ethos,* the credibility of the speaker or the source of the message is highly influential, with perceptions of the latter shaped by the communicator's expertise, trustworthiness and goodwill. In terms of *logos,* its structure, content and use of words and symbols influence the persuasiveness of the message. Regarding the receiver, Aristotle argues that it is the source credibility and message which are likely to be the most persuasive rather than the nature of the message receiver (Jackson, 2013).   According to Cialdini (2007), the most persuasive messages are those that combine rational quantitative data with emotional qualitative evidence.

However, the extent to which the transmission of persuasive messages can change behaviour is subject to much debate. On the one hand, it has been argued that attitudes must change also. According to Perloff (2010:59) an attitude is 'a learned global evaluation of an object (person, place or issue) that influences thought and action……It is a predisposition, a tendency, a state of readiness that guides and steers behaviour in certain predictable, though not always rational ways'. Attitudes are based on both facts (what we know to be true) and the values of an individual (what we believe is right) as well as perceptions that may or may not be correct; thus they are influenced by cognition and experience, which in turn shapes behaviour (Benoit and Benoit, 2008).

On the other hand, some have suggested that behaviour can be changed directly. For instance, Cialdini's (2007) principles of persuasion suggest that by understanding how we comply with a request, behaviour can be influenced by several factors which include: reciprocation (we are more likely to say 'yes' if something has been done in return); consistency (we want to appear consistent and rational in our beliefs, statements and actions); social validation (one fundamental way that we decide what to do in a situation is to look at what others are doing or have done there); liking (people prefer to say yes to those people they like or are similar to them); authority (we tend to defer counsel to authority figures and experts to help us to decide how to behave); and, scarcity (items and

opportunities become more desirable if they are less available). Overall though, according to Cialdini (2007), the most persuasive messages are those that combine rational quantitative data with emotional qualitative evidence. This, in turn, creates a compelling social norm which people are less likely to ignore. Persuasion must therefore address both cognitive (thought processes) and heuristic (peripheral cues) factors, and knowledge of what the target audience wants to hear is essential.

Mindlessness

Mindlessness is a body of theory proposed by Langer (1989) which accounts for the impact of information on behaviour. People can be either mindful or mindless. In the case of the former, it refers to 'a state of conscious awareness in which the individual is implicitly aware of the context and content of information' (Langer, 1992; p. 289). More specifically, mindfulness is defined as '….a state of mind that results from drawing novel distinctions, examining information from new perspectives, and being sensitive to context…..When we are mindful we recognise that there is not a single optimal perspective but many possible perspectives on the same situation' (Langer, 1993:44). Mindful people actively process information and question what is going on in a setting and because of this, it allows individuals maximum control over their own behaviour and the situations they find themselves in (Langer and Piper, 1988).

According to Moscardo (1996), people are most likely to be mindful when they have an opportunity to control and influence a situation, when they believe the available information is relevant to them, and /or when there is variety, novelty or surprise in a situation. Mindful tourists are thus those who actively process and question information about the sites and destinations they are visiting, particularly their histories, the pressures they are experiencing and their management (Frauman and Norman, 2004; Moscardo, 2008; Rosli et al., 2014). Consequently, these tourists are better able to appreciate and

understand the visited places and are, as a result, likely to be more sensitive to the importance of adopting behaviour that attempts to have minimal impact on economies, environments and societies (Moscardo, 2008; Rosli et al., 2014). Examples of such behaviour includes the use of local transport, the purchase of local goods and services, the wearing of appropriate attire, observing local customs and traditions and, avoiding activities that are harmful to the built and natural environment.

In contrast, with regards to the latter, mindlessness is a 'single-minded reliance on information without an active awareness of alternative perspectives or alternative uses to which the information could be put' (Langer et al., 1988; p.140). Langer (1989) however contends that more often than not people are mindless and defines two basic paths to, or types of, mindlessness. The first occurs in familiar and/or repetitive situations. In these situations, the individual either knows the routine because it is familiar or because the situation offers a simple repetitive formula where it is easy to learn a routine quickly. Meanwhile, the second occurs the moment an individual decides that available information is irrelevant or unimportant, or because it is accepted or a definition or stereotype from elsewhere is borrowed without question. In relation to tourism, mindless tourists are thus those who display negative attitudes, have little understanding or appreciation of the resource, site and/or destination visited, and have little regard for how their behaviour might negatively impact upon a destination (Moscardo, 2008; Rosli et al., 2014).

The Fogg Behaviour Model (FBM)

This model specifically outlines factors influencing behaviour change, and is based on the premise that the performance of the target behaviour is the product of three factors, these being: (1) the existence of sufficient motivation; (2) the ability to perform the behaviour; and, (3) the existence of triggers which force and/or encourage the target behaviour to be performed. Fogg (2009) thus argues that if an individual possesses high motivation and high

13

ability, particularly if the task requested is easy, the more likely they are to perform the target behaviour. Their behaviour however is ultimately influenced by a trigger or set of triggers which can take many forms including for example, an alarm that sounds, a text message received or an announcement that a sale is ending.

Irrespective of the form, such triggers are characterised by three features. Firstly, they are noticeable. Secondly they are associated with the target behaviour and thirdly, they occur at the exact same moment when there is high motivation and ability to perform the target behaviour. Therefore, high motivation, ability and the existence of a trigger(s) must all occur at the same moment otherwise the behaviour will not occur. Clearly, timing, most notably the opportune moment to persuade, is an important element of the FBM. According to Fogg (2009), when the combination of motivation and ability places an individual above the behaviour activation threshold, then a trigger will cause that person to perform the target behaviour. If a person is underneath this threshold, then a trigger will not lead to the target behaviour. Thus, a well-timed trigger can induce an individual to perform certain behaviour whilst a poorly timed trigger, particularly when an individual's motivation or ability to perform the behaviour is low, may be distracting and/or cause frustration.

Given the influence of motivation, ability and triggers on behaviour change, Fogg (2009) further contends that each can be manipulated to induce performance. In terms of motivation, he highlights three key drivers, each having two opposing dimensions. The first is pleasure and pain, the result of which is immediate. The second is hope and fear and is characterised by anticipation of an outcome. Hope is the anticipation that something good is happening. Fear is the anticipation of something bad, often the anticipation of loss. Meanwhile, the third is social acceptance and rejection with people being driven by the desire to be socially accepted. With regards to ability, Fogg (2009) states that this is not simply about teaching people to do new things or training them for improvement. People are generally resistant to teaching and training because it requires effort. Instead to increase a

user's ability, designers of persuasive experiences must make the behaviour easier to do since simplicity changes behaviours. Fogg (2009) sees simplicity comprising six inextricably linked components which vary between individuals.

Time is the first element. If a target behaviour requires time but it is not available, then the behaviour is not simple. Money is the next; for people with limited financial resources, a target behaviour that costs is not simple. Physical effort is another as behaviours that require it may not be simple. Brain cycle (Fogg, 2009) is also element of simplicity because if performing a target behaviour causes us to think too hard, this might not be simple. This is especially true if our minds are consumed with other issues. For the most part, Fogg (2009) states that we over-estimate how much people want to think on a daily basis, as thinking deeply and in new ways can be difficult. Additionally, Social deviance is an element. If a target behaviour requires social deviance or going against the norm then it is no longer simple. Additionally, according to Fogg (2009), non-routine is an important element; people tend to find behaviour simple if they are routine activities that they do over and over again.

In relation to triggers, Fogg (2009) suggests that three types exist. The first he labels as a 'spark' and is best used when a person lacks motivation to perform the target behaviour, and is designed in tandem with a motivational element. Examples of sparks can range from text that highlights features or videos which inspire hope. The second is termed as a 'facilitator' and is most appropriate for users that have high motivation but lack ability. Its goal is to trigger the behaviour whilst also making the behaviour easier to perform. An effective facilitator tells users that the target behaviour is easy to do and that it won't require additional resources which might not be available to the individual at that particular moment in time. A 'signal' is the third type of trigger. This works best when people have both the ability and the motivation to perform the target behaviour. It doesn't seek to motivate people or simplify the task. Rather, it indicates when behaviour is appropriate.

Elaboration likelihood model (ELM)

Proposed by Cacioppo and Petty (1981), the ELM relates to attitude change and provides a general 'framework for organizing, categorizing, and understanding the basic processes underlying the effectiveness of persuasive communications' (pg. 125). It postulates two distinct routes to persuasion. The first, the central route, occurs when persuasion results from thinking about an issue or argument that has been prompted or stimulated by the presentation of detailed information. According to Petty and Caccioppo (1986), the resulting attitude change will be enduring, resistant and predictive of behaviour. Meanwhile, the second, the peripheral route, relates to when persuasion results from non-relevant issue concerns and may include factors such as the credibility or attractiveness of the sources of the message for example. The central route is followed when the message recipient has the motivation or in other words the desire to process the message, usually stimulated by personal interest, as well as the ability to think about and critically evaluate the message and its topic. The peripheral route is used when the message recipient has little or no interest in the subject and/or has a lesser ability to process the message, and is more likely to be influenced by general impressions, on early parts of the message and by their own mood.

This model therefore specifies the major ways in which variables can have an impact on persuasion, either as a persuasive argument or as a peripheral cue (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). Central to the ELM is how information is processed and whether the processing of information via the central or peripheral routes results in different attitudes. Elaboration is thus the extent to which a person thinks about issue-relevant information. The likelihood of elaboration is affected by the level of motivation (involvement with the message) and the ability (cognitive and situational) to process the arguments. The ability to persuade will be determined by the recipient's motivation and ability to think about and elaborate upon the information they receive (Jackson, 2013).

16

The theories of persuasion and mindfulness, and the FBM and the ELM elucidate a multitude of factors which influence behaviour change, and all are highly relevant to the study of the persuasiveness of CP campaigns aimed at tourists. Persuasion theory for example highlights several key factors which critically influence the persuasiveness of the message, while mindlessness focuses on the message recipient and draws attention to cognitive issues which influence message interpretation. Those who are mindful are, in other words, active, interested, questioning and capable of assessing their safety and security in a sensible manner (Langer, 1989); thus they are more likely to respond positively to CP messages. These theories are complimented by the FBM and the ELM which emphasize that it is the combination of factors associated with the message recipient, such as motivation and ability, with the effect of several cues (e.g. timing, simplicity and triggers), together with the projection of positive and negative dimensions to the messages, which can influence behaviour change. As such, they aid in enhancing understanding of how tourists respond to CP messages and their intentions to perform certain actions. When taken together moreover, their value and importance lies not just in the identification of salient determinants of behaviour, but also in highlighting the fact that each factor and sets of factors can potentially be manipulated to increase the persuasiveness of messages that seek to encourage the performance of the target behaviour.

There are however limitations to the application of some elements of persuasion and mindlessness theories and the FBM to the study of tourist persuasion and crime prevention. Much persuasion literature is based on the consumption and/or marketing of goods and services. Therefore some of the cues, influences and determinants, such as Cialdini's (2007) scarcity (opportunities are more desirable if less available), are not relevant to CP. With respect to mindlessness, routine activities or frequent tasks are stressed as being a major contributor to decreased visitor attention and to the non-performance of target behaviour (Moscardo, 1996). But certain CP activities, such as locking doors and not leaving

17

belongings visible in cars, comprise a normal routine arguably for most people in order to ensure that their property is secure. Certainly these actions may cause mindlessness in the context of learning, however when CP is concerned, such behaviour would benefit from being more routine, and by the establishment of a normative set of actions which become habitual. Meanwhile, Fogg's (2009) suggestion of the use of the positive and negative messages based around hope versus fear and pleasure and pain is also problematic given that they may compromise tourists' perceptions of the safety and security of a destination, which may in turn discourage visitation for fear of crime.

Despite these minor limitations, the value of persuasion, mindlessness, the FBM and the ELM to knowledge and understanding of the persuasiveness of CP messages potentially far out-weighs the occurrence of such. Given that these constructs have not been applied to a tourism and crime context before, clearly there is a need for the conceptualisation of an integrative framework which captures the factors which influence the persuasiveness of CP messages on tourist behaviour and which can in turn, be used as a means of evaluating its impact.

TOWARDS A PERSUASIVE MODEL OF TOURIST CP BEHAVIOUR

The model consists of the impact of cognitive processes and attitudes (of the message and the tourist), combined with a host of peripheral cues (the setting), which inevitably create an outcome, this being the resultant behaviour of the tourist (see Figure 1). It begins with the CP message that is being projected. The ELM specifically advocates the delivery of information-based messages which make use of quantitative data or case-studies (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). Meanwhile, persuasion theory stresses that they should be personal, and be relevant or important to the tourist so that interest is instantly created (Barthe, 2006; Cialdini, 2007; Jackson, 2013; Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). Often this is difficult to achieve since many tourists may not consider themselves to be potential victims.

But CP messages may command their attention if they portray the 'victims' as being similar or familiar (Cialdini, 1990), or if they target particular types of crimes that the tourist is more likely to be exposed to, or has experience of.

Indeed, Barthe (2006), Riley and Mayhew (1980) and Van Dijk and Steinmetz (1981) all found that CP publicity campaigns which focus on specific crimes and are implemented in small geographic areas are more effective than generic warnings about crime. This is because they are more believable and pertinent to the audience and they may result in 'reciprocation', one of Cialdini's (1990) persuasion principles. This is because tourists, given that often they are temporarily residing in unfamiliar destinations, may take more notice than local residents of the fact that the police are working towards solutions to crime problems and thus be more willing to heed the messages conveyed. Moreover, messages directed at discouraging potential offenders may also be personalised. For instance, campaigns targeting car vandals include statements such as 'smile, undercover officers are watching you' (Barthe, 2006). According to Johnson and Bowers (2003), this approach is valuable as it focuses on the likelihood of immediate detection and arrest.

[Figure 1. about here]

In addition, the messages must place emphasis on personal responsibility and control (Fogg, 2009; Langer, 1989) but avoid blame because most people will not pay attention to a campaign reminding them of their shortcomings (Barthe, 2006). Thus, CP might operationalise Cialdini's (1990) 'consistency' principle of persuasion by stressing the need to exercise common sense in messages such as 'don't leave valuables unattended at the beach and pool or visible in an unattended car'. Moreover, they might state 'have fun, be safe. Don't be stupid', or simply advise tourists against leaving valuables in hotel rooms or to lock them in a safety deposit box. Additionally, Aristotle's ethos or the source of the CP message should convey credibility, trust, honesty and authority (see Figure 1; Cialdini, 1990;

Fogg, 2009; Jackson, 2013; Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). This may be achieved by identifying the agency responsible for the publicity campaign or through the use of logos. It is important though not to convey an air of superiority as this may result in the audience rejecting the message and its intent (Barthe, 2006). A good example of an effective logo accompanying a crime prevention campaign is the McGruff crime dog, a cartoon figure of a dog dressed as a detective. According to National Crime Prevention Council (2014), three decades after his first TV appearance, more than 83% of children, teenagers and adults know how to 'Take a Bite out of Crime' and approximately 1,500 law enforcement agencies use McGruff costumes to spread the word about prevention.

The benefits of CP for the tourist may also be pointed out, particularly the simplicity and ease of the suggested actions (see Figure 1; Fogg, 1990). This is critically important to convey as the motive underpinning many forms of tourism is rest, relaxation and recuperation; anything too taxing for the tourist to perform is likely not to be acted upon. Furthermore, CP messages must present some normative expectations, socially validate CP actions (Cialdini, 1990) and stress the possibility of social acceptance or rejection if the target behaviour is not performed (Fogg, 2009). This emphasis is particularly crucial given the power of social norms to influence an individual's belief and behaviour (Cialdini, 2007; Sherif, 1936). As well as stressing social norms, this may be achieved by conveying a similarity to others within the message. Television commercials provide many examples of this type of persuasion, where viewers are encouraged to purchase items so they can be like everyone else or be like a well-known or respected person (Jackson, 2013). Indeed, celebrity endorsement is a peripheral cue of the ELM (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986).

Moreover, CP messages should be emotive, novel, and make use of loaded words, images, sounds (Barthe, 2006; Jackson, 2013; Petty and Cacioppo, 1986) and humour (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986; see figure 1). This is very relevant to CP since the content that needs to be delivered is often dry and boring. Such messages have been heard many times

before and so they must be interesting enough and have the widest possible appeal so that all tourists visiting a destination will actually take notice. In this context, much can be learned from the design of airline pre-departure safety videos which convey crucially important but often ignored information. Virgin American was the first airline to invent the novel inflight pre-departure safety video in 2007 and in doing so, transformed the delivery of what once was a boring monologue. It features scruffy characters and dry humour including the line: 'for the 0.0001% of you, who never have operated a seat belt before, it works like this….'. Other airlines have followed this example including Air New Zealand which launched the naked airline safety video in 2009 featuring real crew members wearing body paint and delivering the 'bare essentials of safety', followed in 2012 by the release of a unique hobbit themed video.

When designing CP messages, it is imperative that their content is tailored to the nature of the campaign. An attitudinal campaign which seeks to increase tourists' awareness of auto-theft is likely to be more effective if the message explicitly stresses the relationships between the intended behaviour which might entail locking the car and not leaving valuables on display, and its positive behavioural consequences (Winkel, 1989); in other words, not becoming a victim of auto-crime for example. The objectives of such a campaign are more likely to be achieved if the performance of the desired behaviour is to the tourists' advantage. Normative campaigns meanwhile will be successful if the CP message makes the tourist aware of the presence of popularly held expectations and strengthens their motivations to comply (Winkel, 1989). In this context, a drink-driving campaign aimed at tourists will stress that such behaviour is just as socially unacceptable on holiday as it is at home.

Clearly, the design of CP and CS messages is a complex task. According to Shultz and Tabanico (2009), much attention needs to be paid to the message content as it is crucial that it is carefully designed in relation to the CP objectives and it is tested on its target

audience to ensure that it results in the desired effects. The testing of the outcome of CP messages is arguably highly important particularly given its potential to produce unintended consequences. Sharing information through CP messages to tourists inevitably draws attention to a community's crime problem and may inadvertently increase their fear of crime. Such a finding was revealed by Shultz and Tabanico (2009), who in a study of the causal impact of neighbourhood watch sign presence and content in America on perceived crime rates, perceptions of the likelihood of victimisation and estimates of community safety and quality, found that in some situations, it resulted in increased fear of crime and decreased perceptions of neighbourhood safety. In particular they found that these perceptions were influenced by the information printed on the publicly displayed signs. Those which contained a high crime message as opposed to no message at all, and were aged or defaced, were linked to perceptions of: higher crime; higher likelihood of victimisation; higher levels of crime in the area; and lower levels of perceived safety. Thus, Shultz and Tabonico (2009) concluded that it was likely that the signage was inadvertently undermining the goals of the neighbourhood watch scheme by conveying a normative message that crime happens in the area.

Thus, in order not to generate fear of crime amongst tourists, as highlighted in Figure 1, the incidence of crime should be set in the context of that which occurs in other destinations of similar size and nature. Messages should also avoid being too negative and mustn't provide unnecessarily frightening information (Barthe, 2006). Tourists should be addressed directly and words avoided which may cause alarm by highlighting a crime problem. The combined use of positive and negative messages as Winkel (1989) suggests is therefore less appropriate in the context of tourism as is Fogg's (2009) contention that persuasive messages should emphasise the pleasure and pain and hope and fear aspects of the target behaviour. Indeed, Barthe (2006) states that a campaign which addresses car theft should not state 'we are working to drive car thieves out' but should instead say 'car

thieves are in for a ride – straight to jail'. The incorporation of positivity within CP messages is important.

However, whilst the content of CP messages is highly influential in persuading tourists to act upon the information presented, it is also necessary to tailor messages to a specific target audience and to consider how accessible it is (see Figure 1; Langenbacher and Klofas, 2012). For example, a tourist-oriented campaign designed to reduce car break-ins by mailing fliers to local residences is not appropriate as it will not reach the intended audience. Likewise putting up posters aimed at reducing car theft at tourist honey pot sites within areas not commonly frequented by tourists or during the out-of-season months is also unlikely to reach the intended audience. In both cases, a better campaign might be to focus on displaying CP publicity at tourist accommodation, at tourist attractions and/or hotspots and on holiday and accommodation booking websites. In short, audience accessibility should guide the campaign's direction (Barthe, 2006). Consequently, it is important for police agencies to use good tourism market research which provides detailed information on where tourists stay and where they visit whilst at the destination. Additionally they should also be aware of their target audience's demographic composition. Publicity messages cannot be efficient if people cannot understand the basic content. Furthermore, timeliness is also crucial to a campaign's success (Barthe, 2006; Fogg, 2009). The release of targeted messages should occur when a particular crime is a particular problem, with this decision based on the outcome of a thorough assessment of the situation.

Alongside the message itself, Figure 1 highlights the key role of the tourist and their awareness, motivations and attitudes toward CP and the persuasiveness of the information conveyed. This is because these factors influence whether tourists are mindful or mindless, and consequently, the extent to which they process information about what is going on in their setting, and impacts on the control that they may weald over their own behaviour and the situations they find themselves in (Langer, 1989). Consequently, investigating tourists'

previous victimisation experience, fear of crime, motivations to engage with CP, opinions of the importance of CP, intentions of performing CP measures and factors influencing behaviour, including perceived barriers to behaviour change at home and on holiday will enable the most salient determinants to be identified (see Figure 1). The ability to perform CP is also highly relevant and extremely individualistic (Fogg, 2009). Thus, it is necessary to gauge how simple tourists feel that CP is to perform, whether they feel that they have sufficient time available to undertake necessary measures, whether there are monetary costs attached, whether they feel that such behaviour is going against the norm, whether it is non-routine and therefore not simple to perform, and whether the tasks required are too mentally taxing.

The impact of the message and the cognitive and attitudinal attributes of the tourist converge within the setting as illustrated by Figure 1. This refers to the destination itself or the specific site and immediate surroundings where the tourist is frequenting, in which a host of peripheral cues further influence the persuasiveness of CP messages. It is in this particular context that according to the ELM, tourists think about and process issue-relevant information (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). Of interest here are tourists' perceptions of safety and security at the destination, attitudes towards CP whilst on holiday, their familiarity with the destination, their awareness of existing CP initiatives at the setting, and their views of the simplicity of performing CP actions.

As well as the setting itself, as captured by Figure 1, the tourists' cognitive and affective states within the setting are also important to gauge, particularly as activity, control, interaction, novelty and personal interest have all been found in previous mindlessness research to be related to more effective receipt of information (Langer, 1989). The extent to which the tourist exhibits a high degree of personal responsibility, their awareness of the benefits and consequences of CP, their ability to assess personal safety and their desire to conform to social norms will influence whether they perform the target behaviour. Ultimately

however it is the tourists' level of interest and involvement with CP messages at the setting, or in other words whether they are mindful or mindless whilst on holiday, which will determine the persuasiveness of publicity CP messages. Such interest of course can be heightened by the implementation of Fogg's (2009) three triggers – spark, facilitation and signal – which may enhance the ability to perform the behaviour by making it easier to do or by amplifying the motivation for doing so. The goal at this stage of the process is to ensure that the timing of the message occurs at the very same moment that action is required thereby culminating in the final stage of this conceptual framework, the outcome. Quite simply this is the performance of the actual target behaviour.

Principles for persuasive design

So far, this paper has outlined an integrative framework which incorporates factors which influence the persuasiveness of CP messages on tourist behaviour. Those targeted need to be exposed to information that will influence their future decision-making. Therefore at the heart of any effective campaign is the design of messages which are targeted at specific audiences (Barthe, 2006). This inevitably involves an in-depth understanding of tourists' perceptions and opinions of CP and their level of involvement with the issue and the conveyed messages. The theoretical discussions outlined in this paper suggest that there are several key principles that should underlie persuasive CP messages, which include the following for example:

1. Avoid scare tactics and peripheral cues about crime problems;

2. Contextualise the incidence of crime at a destination;

3. Convey the CP message in a novel and engaging way;

4. Frequently renew the content of CP messages;

5. Establish CP as a social norm;

6. Stress the simplicity of undertaking CP actions;

7. Issue CP advice from a credible, trustworthy and authorative source;

8. Personalise CP by highlighting its relevance and importance; and,

9. Devise a series of triggers which provide a timely prompt to tourists' to perform CP.

Great emphasis is placed on the nature of the message and of the importance of understanding the salient determinants of behaviour. In turn, such knowledge will inform the selection of mechanisms and tactics, most notably distribution channels, to persuade tourists to take preventative measures against crime.

According to Poyner (1989), doorstep campaigns by the police are very successful, an idea which can easily be adapted to focus on the breadth of tourist accommodation which exists within a destination.   Beedle (1984), O'Keefe (1985) and Bowers and Johnson (2005) identified public service announcements and publicity as being effective means of disseminating information that promotes positive behaviour. Moreover, Riley and Mayhew (1980) contend that the exposure to multiple types of media increases the likelihood of positive change. These strategies may also be used with tourists being the intended audience. Irrespective of the method of information dissemination however, success is highly dependent on the availability of human and financial resources to achieve the desired outcome. Additionally, publicity campaigns should always compliment police initiatives and police departments should be wary of relying on publicity alone to combat crime. The Police

should also remember that repeatedly relying on campaigns designed to deter offenders without implementing concrete programs or enforcement is essentially 'crying wolf' and may harm police-community(-tourist) relations and result in no reduction of crime (Barthe, 2006).

CONCLUSION

The management and policing of tourist destinations may be substantially improved by the careful design of CP messages that encourage tourists to perform the intended target behaviour which, in turn, reduces the incidence of crime. Those targeted by the intervention (offenders and victims alike) need to be exposed to information that will influence their future decision-making (Barthe, 2006). But it is not enough to just increase awareness of CP at a destination as tourists' attitudes and behaviour change also needs to be tackled. Thus, it is important that tourists have greater appreciation and understanding of their surroundings and the associated risks, and realise the consequences of their actions so that they may behave in ways that reduce their risks of becoming victims of crime.

Persuasion theory, the theory of mindfulness, Fogg's Behaviour Model and the ELM all provide detailed insights into the salient determinants of behaviour. Their integration into a conceptual framework provides new and novel theoretical and practical perspectives on the persuasiveness of CP publicity messages targeted at tourists, and of the factors influencing their likelihood of performing the intended behaviour. This is achieved through a focus on the process of attitude and behaviour change or in other words on the message, the recipient, the setting and the interaction between these three components. In doing so, it highlights what makes a message persuasive and how tourists are likely to respond. This knowledge is important since it enhances the design of more persuasive CP publicity campaigns and facilitates a more in-depth assessment of their effectiveness. More importantly however, the utility and value of this conceptual framework is potentially far more wide-reaching since assessment of a message and of recipients' attitudes, intentions and

behaviour, can be adjusted easily to focus on any issue, irrespective of context. Such applicability is highly useful particularly since tourists come to relax and don't necessarily want to be presented with rules and regulations. Persuasion therefore may provide a more effective means of communicating appropriate behaviour and reducing their risk of becoming victims of crime.

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