

## Opiniones y ensayos

# The spirit of Terrorism: Tourism, Unionization and Terrorism

**Maximiliano E Korstanje\***

University of Palermo (Argentina)

**Abstract:** Over the last years, a great variety of terrorist cells have perpetrated bloody attacks against tourist destinations in diverse parts of the globe. This woke up the concern and curiosity of practitioners and academicians. The specialized literature agrees to point out that terrorism is the great threat of West today. Nonetheless, a much deeper look suggests that there is a historical relationship between both. The goals of this conceptual paper are related to address the sociological connection between terrorism and tourism to provide readers an all-encompassed state of the art. It is important to decipher the message of terrorism to exert coercion to Nation-States by hosting consumers. This extortion remains into the core of capitalism through the strike. Even though the paper focuses on a one-sided gaze all voices have been taken into consideration, the thesis that the existent economic dependence among developing and developed countries paves the ways for the advent of resentment and material asymmetries is avoided. The division of work leads tourism to relegate some stakeholders towards peripheral positions while investors accumulate for them the resulted incomes. This has been capitalized by anarchism (similarly-minded as terrorism) to bring beneficial improvements in the working condition of former centuries. If we agree modern tourism resulted from this process, scholarship must be accepted that tourism is terrorism by other means.

**Key Words:** Tourism, Vulnerability, Terrorism, Consumption, War. **Códigos JEL:** N4, O4, F6, J2, J1

### La lógica del Terrorismo: Conexión entre Turismo, Sindicalización y Terrorismo

**Resumen:** En los últimos años, diversos grupos terroristas han atentado contra objetivos turísticos en diferentes partes del globo. Ello ha despertado la atención y preocupación de varios académicos y profesionales del sector. La literatura especializada no dubita en señalar al terrorismo como la principal amenaza de Occidente en este nuevo siglo. No obstante, una mirada más profunda sugiere que existe una relación dialéctica entre terrorismo y turismo que aún no ha sido estudiada. Dentro de los objetivos del presente ensayo se encuentra revelar esa conexión histórica con el fin de darles a los lectores un estado del arte completo sobre el fenómeno. Es importante también descifrar el mensaje implícito del terrorista para extorsionar a un estado siempre más fuerte utilizando un rehén. Este razonamiento se encuentra enraizado en la lógica propia del capitalismo y del derecho a huelga. Si bien se toman en cuenta todas las voces y consideraciones sobre este problema, la tesis de que la dependencia económica de los países periféricos respecto de los industriales puede generar cierto resentimiento que es funcional al terrorismo es descartada de raíz. Desde lo interno, la división internacional del trabajo ha llevado al turismo a relegar a ciertos actores a posiciones subordinadas del orden que se establece, el anarquismo (considerado como terrorismo) ha capitalizado esas asimetrías organizando la lucha sindical y trayendo con ello ciertos beneficios para la fuerza laboral. Si partimos por afirmar que el turismo moderno ha sido resultado de ese proceso de legalización de los derechos laborales, tenemos que asumir que el turismo es el terrorismo por otras vías.

**Palabras Clave:** Turismo, Vulnerabilidad, Terrorismo, Consumo, Guerra

\* Editor in Chief of International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism/Hospitality and International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism. Professor at Economics Department University of Palermo (Argentina). Staff member of International Society for philosophers, Sheffield United Kingdom; E-mail: mkorst@palermo.edu

## 1. Introduction

In major or minor degree, events are symbolically created and negotiated by the interests of status-quo. Like many decades before, Pearl Harbor's episode, the World Trade Center marked the beginning to a new era where the psychological fear predominates not only within United States soil but also beyond. After an event of this caliber, many studies focused on negative impacts of terrorism in the industry of tourism and hospitality. The discussion seems to be far away to be closed simply because a new wave of criticism recently criticized the existent terrorism-related literature. In order for expanding the understanding of this issue, this conceptual paper explores the existent connection between terrorism and tourism from an interdisciplinary perspective. The goals of this paper are a) to criticize the existent literature respecting to terrorism, b) to reconsider the role played by tourism in a global era, and c) to explain the connection between terrorism and tourism from a sociological point of view. The first section is aimed as debating from sociological and anthropological literature the roots and causes of terrorism and how fear is manipulated by State to gain more legitimacy. Secondly, we assessed the message encrypted in the appalling acts of terrorism and current political and cultural impossibilities to decipher it. To conclude, our main thesis is that terrorism does not affect tourism in such; rather, the latter seems to be the prerequisite for the advent of the former. At a first glance, both tourism and terrorism endured more than thousand years up to date. This troubling and polemic thought is sustained by a robust theoretical framework that should be kept in mind for future empirical studies. Though, this essay review reaches diverse points, our main argument is that terrorism is tourism by other means.

## 2. The Modern Terrorism

The crippling events of September 11 certainly pushed many countries to adopt harder policies to control and reinforce security alongside their boundaries. Abundant literature has emphasized on the connection between terrorism and trade world-wide (Barro, 1991; Pollins, 1989; Abadie and Gardeazabal, 2003; Phillips, 2008). Those countries that shared with US similar experiences such as Spain, England, and Australia gave their unconditional support aligning to an international coalition to defeat what was called as the "axis of evilness" (Altheide, 2009; Bassi, 2010).

Following this, Robertson (2002) described terrorism as the primary security threat for West in 21st century. This suggests that a current definition of what terrorism means is at least necessary. Weinberg, Pedazhur & Hirsch-Hoefler (2004) found 22 different items linked to a diversity of other studies regarding working definition of what terrorism is. Some of the most relevant characteristics were violence, force, political, fear, terror, threat, psychological effects, victims, extortion. Nonetheless, it is clear how this issue typifies two contrasting responses in scholarship. Whilst some scholars emphasize on top-urgent needs the Government should take a proactive counter-terrorism policy in view of the threat that represents Muslim culture for West (Fukuyama, 1989; Huntington, 1993; 1997; Kristol and Kagan, 1996; Vargas-Llosa, 2002; Rashid, 2002; Kepel, 2002; Fritting & Kang, 2006; Keohane and Zeckhauser, 2003; Susstein, 2005; Pojman, 2006), other scholars argue that World Trade Center's episode was functional to the economic and politic interests of aristocracies which manipulated the fear in lay-people to create what Baudrillard denominated "a spectacle of disaster" (Somnez, 1998; Altheide, 2006; 2009; Sontag, 2002; Said, 2001; Holloway and Pelaez, 2002; Zizek, 2009; Bernstein, 2006; Baudrillard, 1995a; 1995b; 2006; Kellner, 2005; Gray, 2007; Smaw, 2008; Fluri, 2009; Corey, 2009; Wolin, 2010). The manipulation of pictures, films and TV programs worsened the effects of terrorism to the extent to visualize terrorists the main threat of Western style of life (Howie, 2009). This quandary poses a question very hard to answer. ¿Is terrorism a result of populist policies or the thread of dictatorships?, or simply a mere ¿reaction before to the late-capitalism?, can its negative aftermaths be reversed?

At a first glance, Goldblatt and Hu (2005) define terrorism as the illegal usage of force or acting of violence against persons or their properties in order to intimidate its own Government, the citizenship or any other segment of society. However, this modest definition has many problems to be digested. Some privileged groups in democracies exert similar or greater violence against others with downright impunity. Furthermore, R. Bernstein (2006) argues that Democracy is more than a ritual accomplished every four years but a style of life. Existent Power paves the pathway towards voluntary domination epitomized in a vertical upper position; it refers to necessary abilities human beings should develop for transforming jointly their own environment. For this instance, Bernstein clarifies that George W. Bush's administration

not only looked for expanding a spirit of freedom and democracy -in Iraq and Afghanistan- by means of a downright military interventions but also he is heavily convinced that God supports his crusade.

Following this, Zizek (2009) recognizes that religious fundamentalism has nothing to do with current suicidal attacks to civil population. What certainly characterizes the modern terrorism seems to be a clear resentment against Western culture. The effects of terrorism feed back the hegemony of US in the world and vice-versa. A well-documented case of Kabul, Afghanistan examined in a paper written by J. Fluri (2009) suggests that the liberal democracy is not certainly intended to create an atmosphere of cooperation and freedom but an ongoing state of exclusion and exception among local residents and first-world workers. Attracted by higher-salaries, workers from USA and Europe come to Afghanistan where the special division respecting to locals is being enlarged. "First-World-like" style of consumption and commodities are erected in isolation with the rest Muslim population. This process of spatial segregation not only does not resolve the inter-ethnic conflicts post-invasion, but also generates spaces of escape and hedonism that contrast notably to local customs. This seems to be a little example, of many others, as how tourism, work and market are interrelated. Similarly, these bubbles of leisure can be seen as the precondition for the upsurge of resentment in local inhabitants.

In this vein, G. Skoll (2007) agrees with Zizek that terrorism works as a virus going from one to other hosts in so far is predisposed to infect an unprepared victim and so forth. Scholars should make the pertinent endeavors to prevent this virus continues its propagation. As the previous argument given, Schmid (2004) contends that the tourist victimization is often perceived as sign of sacrifice which alludes to attacking a more vulnerable person to dissuade a stronger enemy. The meaning of sacrifice, also, is crucial to understand the logic of terrorism. It has nothing to do with religion or Islam. Terrorism is inextricably intertwined to rationale and capitalism.

Examining in advance the historical roots of Islam, B. Hoffman (2002) surmises that terrorists and O. Bin Laden should be something else than a hate-filled maniacs who want to destroy America. The issue seems to be deep-seated in a broader dynamic that social scientists should unearth. Underpinned in the proposition that terrorism is a psychological warfare whose strengths are the fear and intimidation, this insight work focuses on describing the phenomenon of martyrdom as a discourse coined 700 years back whenever "Assassins" fiercely fought against "Christian crusaders". Conceptualized in respect of a sacramental act, the martyrdom ensured a life of happiness in heaven for all warriors who give their life in sacrifice. However, modern terrorism not only appears to follow some ancient religious dogma but also show certain proximity with the managerial literature of western organizations. The event of 11/09 has been characterized by a perfect planned-orchestration following what managerial literature of organizations suggests. J. Baudrillard (1995a; 1995b; 2006) envisaged that terrorism is reluctant to embrace the love of progress propagated by West but works under a similar logic because their message of fright seems to be elaborated, tergiversated and disseminated by Mass-Media by gaining more legitimacy. In last years, the war on terror became in a precondition for the expansion of trade and democracy in the world; creation of new democratic regimes in Afghanistan and Iraq corresponds with a profound need of stimulating the liberal market beyond the boundaries of West. This point reminds readers that the state of war is strongly related to the doctrine of mass-consumption.

Although a scientific definition of terrorism is difficult simply because this depends on many socio-historical and political perspectives, Modern terrorism sometimes has its origin in an injustice, involving groups which are not able to correct for their own. By utilizing mass-form of transport such as airplanes, trains or buses, terrorists seek to create a state of disorder that drives governments to renegotiate their demands. This troublesome issue can be contemplated in three different subtypes: revolutionary, repressive and narco-terrorism. Whilst repressive terrorism is geared to preserve the status-quo (a characteristic always present in dictatorships), revolutionary terrorism violently fights against stronger enemies with non-conventional methodologies. This is exactly the example of Al-Qaeda or Muslim terrorism which denominates themselves as "fighters for freedom". Ultimately, narco-terrorism operates in ungoverned spaces wherein the drug-trafficking activities predominate (Phillips, 2008). One of the most palpable effects of 11/09 has been the rise of insurance and coverage rates as well as the slump of several bookings in hotels of US and Caribe. Tourism and hospitality industry as well as agriculture were two of most sources immediately constrained because of terrorism.

With the benefits of hand-sight, John Holloway and Eloisa Pelaez (2002) argue that the competition in modern capitalism allows a faster indoctrination of citizenry. Amidst a war between two States, the inter-state conflict is rechanneled to gaining more legitimacy achieving a new re-structuration of social relationships. Concepts as Discipline and Surveillance are difficult to be applied in a world characterized by the ever-changing displacement of capital and resources. This suggests that in peace-times, the state

of war sets the pace to tourism which encourages the mobility across the world. When the existent degree of materiality reaches a dead-lock point, conflict and war connect citizenship with their governments.

### 3. What does a real Terrorist look like?

Globalization plays a pervasive role since at a first glance homogenizes the domination of technology, economic linkages and rationalization while on another hand it entails a process of re-territorialization based on a bipolar logic of inclusion / exclusion. At the time, tourism triggers the displacement worldwide the center recently has erected walls and barriers to prevent the entrance of peripheral workers. Most certainly, the poverty and lack of perspective pave the ways for the upsurge of national movements. Even though terrorism can be part of social discontent, some other alternatives within the law are possible. See the example of Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) which have their representation in the Parliament (Del Bufalo, 2002). Nonetheless, it is clear that in one moment the violence overrides pacific diplomacy (Connolly, 1994).

The message of terrorism follows exclusively a political nature. A. Schmid (2004) sets forward a theoretical model to understand how terrorism works. Defining previously the state of war as a continuation of politics by other means and in consequence, terrorism as the continuation of politics, Schmid suggests that this issue should be examined under five lenses: a) terrorism/politics, b) terrorism/warfare, c) terrorism/communication, d) terrorism/crime and e) terrorism/fundamentalism. The thread of this argument portrays that Roman legal tradition compounds two aspect related to crime, "Mala Prohibita" (wrong merely because prohibited), and "Mala Per Se" (evil itself). The former refers to an offense that is outlawed while the latter means to a premeditated act of crime irrespective of the societal legal system as the example of terrorism.

An assumption of this caliber leads French philosopher P. Virilio (2007) to admit habits for discoveries proper of modern mobility brings a temporal myopia. The mediated comfort and the standardization of production push viewers to access only to cut information. Following this, war and ethnic conflicts are transformed in show-cases wherein the spectacle and fear converges. Glaeser and Shapiro (2001) have reassumed the Virilio's contributions noting that urban sprawl and megacities are fertile sources for international terrorism. The human concentration in these places entices violence and mobility with greater degree than rural zones. Paradoxically, inasmuch as the societies embrace for technology, their vulnerability increases. Victims also serve as a message-generator to dissuade the political power about certain claim otherwise remains unresolved (Schmid and Jongman, 1988). Terrorism seeks to call the attention of State.

Based on geertzian theory of rituals and performances H. Johnston (2008), from San Diego State University, gives an insight background respecting to cultural values and concerns of Chechen National Movement. The process of identity of Chechens has been based in sharp contrast to Russia. This can be exhibited in their lore, religion, beliefs, and customs. Afterwards the forced migration conducted by Stalin wherein thousand of Chechens were expatriated to Central Asia, nowadays the urban sprawl has transformed the way of life of these expatriates. Under this conjuncture, a radical movement emerged by claiming for the return to ancient customs and heritage. This type of return to founding customs is associated to a much broader fierce rivalry in respect to Russia. What for secularized Russian State is an act of intimidation based on terrorist interests, for others become in a heroic symbol to obtain their freedom. This explains further about the multi-facet nature of terrorism and its persistence in the threshold of time.

### 4. The connection between Terrorism and Tourism

An interesting column in New York Time published in 2007 emphasized the proliferation of phobias, panic attacks and other psychological pathologies associated to WTC's episode<sup>1</sup>. For social science in general terrorism and 11/09 became in a topic of study and interest. The social impact of this event resulted comparable to Pearl Harbor (Kepel, 2002) but in one sense, both episodes take different characteristics. Whereas Pearl Harbor was an attack against a military base with conventional weapons, WTC echoes how the proper means of transport and technology that distinguished West from the rest of the world are symbolically utilized against the same State. In recognition to this, many tourist destinations substantially declined their attractiveness; above all Middle East.

Several studies focused on the relationship of terrorism and tourism as well as the perceived risks of travelers regarding certain foreign destination (Somnez, 1998; Weber, 1998; Domínguez, Burguette and

Bernard, 2003; Aziz, 1995; Castaño, 2005; Robson, 2005; McCartney, 2008; Schluter, 2008; Floyd and Pennington-Gray, 2004; Floyd, Gibson, Pennington-Gray and Thapa, 2003; Paraskevas and Arendell, 2007; Sackett & Botterill, 2006; Kuto and Groves, 2004; Essner, 2003; Araña y León, 2008; Bhattarai, Conway and Shrestha, 2005; Goldblatt and Hu, 2005; Tarlow, 2003; Hall, 2002; Prideaux, 2005; Kozak, Crotts and Law, 2007; Paraskevas, 2008; Wong and Yeh, 2009; Yuan, 2005; Korstanje, 2009). It is clear that tourism and hospitality was one of most affected industries by World Trade Center's onslaughts. At time of searching information travelers were typically scarier than other moments. Peattie, Clarke, & Peattie (2005) call into question respecting two different relevant points that determine the risk research: safety and security. Whereas the former characterizes to any physical harm that can be directed against tourists in accidents, the latter refers to the potential damages in which case a visitor can be involved as for example an assault or direct onslaught. To some extent, one can admit that tourists are potentially vulnerable to risk because they are strangers (Peattie, Clarke & Peattie, 2005). Travels open a new channel towards unknown that re-symbolize the epicenter of vulnerability placing people out of home. For that reason, foreign travelers are often taken as target by insurgents and other separatists. However, what for ones is dangerous can attract others.

In this vein, Lepp and Gibson (2008) confirm that the travel seems to be circumscribed to two contrasting tendencies, the sensation or novelty seeking and risk aversion. As the nationality of tourists, the type of psychological personality plays a crucial role at time of determining the perception of risk. In addition, B. West (2008) considers the terrorist attacks in 2003 to Western tourists in Bali have been memorized by Australian Press emulating the archetype of heroism comparing this event with 11/9. This means that collective memory and crises are inextricably intertwined operating in the national discourse; the postmodern nationalisms legitimize the travel as a universal benefit of human kind which should be defended to any costs. Similarly, the narrative of terrorism emphasizes on the fact that enemies of democracy utilize foreigner tourists precisely because of their vulnerability (as an act of cowardice).

In foregoing, R. Bianchi (2007) insisted tourism plays a pervasive role functional to the hegemonic interests to center conditioning the risk perception (fear) as an efficient mechanism of social control over periphery. The ongoing state of insecurity created by the so-called "terrorism" corresponds with a politic logic of exclusion and discrimination of otherness. Basically, the integrity of tourism in a process of this caliber is being considerably jeopardized. The bridge between white (tourists) and non-white (migrants) travelers have been enlarged. Paradoxically, studies in risk perception threaten them-selves the goal of security they encourage. To some extent, the widespread believe that terrorism impinges on tourism should be at least revisited.

In doing so, J. M Castaño (2005) addresses statically the numbers of arrivals from 2000 to 2003 questioning the hypothesis that terrorism threatens tourism. Cities like Mombasa, New York, Madrid, London, Bali and Cairo have been experienced notable downfalls in the arrivals but recovered after a lapse of time. For other hand, Aziz (1995) argues that capitalism and mass-consumption are enrooted in modern tourism. As a result of this, attacks against vulnerable hotel chains should be understood as a reactionary form of protest. It is very interesting how the system itself reifies the previous imbalances that driven to the state of emergency to maintain the order. Dark-Tourism precisely vindicates tragedies (like WTC) that have taken room in past but blurring the real responsibilities of involved actors. The main cause of terrorist attacks is diverted to the most observable consequences. That way, terrorists are considered "demons" that are decisively obsessed to destroy the "American style of life"; a point of entrance well-debated and documented by Corey (2009), Bernstein (2006), Zizek (2008; 2009), Altheide (2006) and of course Baudrillard (1995). Mediated sceneries of disaster are daily disseminated by Mass-Media with the end of feeding back the ethnocentric values of West. Baudrillard, to put this in bluntly, denominates this as "the spectacle of disaster".

¿What are the similarities between terrorism and tourism?. Still, the first element terrorism and tourism share is the convergence between fears with the sentiment of belonging. In other terms, people is more proxy to feel attachment when are in danger. While terrorism discovers in this sentiment a powerful instrument to exert coercion, the boundaries created by Nation-State stem from the materialization of ethnic differences; even the international travels are done within some specific psychological frontiers that symbolically separate the civilization from barbarity. Sometimes the discovery of other lands is triggered by the presence of fear (escape) (Lash and Urry, 1998).

Probably, wars wake up a much broader sentiment of nationalism that can be inherited from the state of war (Young-Sook, 2006). The sacralization of certain sites after a terrorist attack or certain battle is certainly commoditized as a sacred-place. This aspect can be widely studied under the name of dark tourism (Strange and Kempa, 2003) (Miles, 2002) (Stone and Sharpley, 2008) (Smith, 2010).

If at some degree, tourism tends to mitigate the effects of wars converting the employed artifacts in sacred-objects to be exposed day by day in a showcase, in recent years sites related to horror, torture, tragedy, battles, concentration camps not only have emerged as prime tourist destinations but have enhanced human morbidity and sadism as primary forms of consumption. Dark tourism is a result of the commoditization of two significant aspects, fear of death and need of intellectualizing the contingency (this means what remains uncertainty but can be modified by work). By this side, the prone of enjoying for suffering and death is enrooted in humankind across history but, as Stone put it, little is known in specialized literature along with this uncanny obsession (Stone, 2005).

Reasons why visitors often recur to dark tourism as a form of entertainment are manifold: a) it can be considered as a reminiscence of the old fear of phantom during childhood (Dann, 1998), b) or as a new way of intellectualizing the logic of death in West (Stone, 2005), c) as a convergence of four basic emotions related to insecurity, superiority, humility and gratitude (Tarlow, 2005), or even because of d) the advent of social fragmentation proper of late-capitalism (Rojeck, 1997). The demonization of terrorism does not allow expanding the understanding of the issue. Inequalities that give origin to conflict still remain in so far a new episode of political tension takes appearance. That way, the moral boundaries between culprit and innocence are substantially tarnished. Movies and News about torture at hands of American and British soldiers are of course equaled to a public execution where an American tourist is decapitated on live. The mediated show of terrorism combines the performance of gaze and the subjects to be gazed. Starting from the premise the events work towards the democratization of performance, the spectacles based on war-weekends nourishes a national discourse wherein fantasy and reality are mingled (Wallace, 2007). Elaborated in a coherent good of consumption, the suffering of others becomes in a broader sentiment of sadism. It is unquestionable that the Anglo-American corporative democracy, anyway, does not strengthen the political institutions wherein they are installed. Functional to individual trade and interests, democracy S.A brings further problems than solutions. As a sign of conquest enrooted in the European sentiment of superiority, tourism revitalizes the dependency of some groups respecting to others engendering the possibility of civil war and inter-ethnic conflict. However, to here it is not clear when and how the terrorism and tourism merge.

## 5. Why Modern Tourism is terrorism by other means

After further examination, the precedent sections explored the meaning and message of terrorism as well as the socio-cultural aspects that determine to what an extent mass-media creates, elaborates and disseminates an all-encompassed narrative of terrorism that sometimes nothing has to do with reality. At some extent, one might speculate that terrorism as a social construe is aimed at offsetting the imbalances that mobility generates. With this in mind, the lines of reciprocity that sustain the State are channeled towards the core of Nation-State tightening the control in the peripheral boundaries. Centered in a symbolic manipulation of what the evilness and good represent for social imaginary, the Nation-States deposit in certain minorities a set of negative stereotypes with the end of reducing the angst for otherness. Foreigner tourists are the main target of terrorists whereas migrants play a similar role in the so-called "civilized countries". The creation of an external foe allows aristocracies to consolidate their hegemony and power over the rest of society. Sociologically speaking, globalization and free trade augments the levels of mobility worldwide to the extent of creating inequalities and material asymmetries. Displacement, migration and tourism are part of a broader economic and social system. Under certain circumstances, the current mobility jeopardizes to dissociate the loyalty of citizens to their nation-state, when this happens: the system attempts to reinforce its legitimacy by introducing psychological fear. Terrorism in these terms selects and finds target that entails a high impact for public opinion.

Let explain that terrorism is not a simple consequence of resentment but an untangled issue that paves the preconditions for the advent of trade and tourism. This means of course that sites of terrorist-attacks like Bali and other else are often commoditized to be exposed and reminded. What other scholars denominated as dark-tourism seems to be a clear example of what we have mentioned. Possibly, tourism is more than a resilient industry as the specialized literature suggests; rather, tourism appears to be part of the broader process of resilience post-disaster contexts. From the Ancient Rome onwards, historically Empires have devoted considerable efforts and financial resources in building a net intended to encourage mobility within their boundaries as a sign of their superiority over the rest of barbarian world. An unexpected onslaught against travelers not only represented an offense for their image but also a political defiance to its hegemony. As the previous argument given, identities of

empires needed for the co-presence of an alter-ego to fabricate fear as an efficient way of control. But to what an extent may we say that tourism is terrorism by other means?

To respond this question, M. Korstanje (2009; 2010; 2011) and M. Korstanje & A. Clayton (2012) have explained that terrorism and tourism has historically linked. Not only the terrorist attacks are perpetrated looking for certain compliance by local authorities and mass media, but also the instilled message is not aimed at destroying an entire civilization. Rather, terrorism looks for political instability to re-structure the economic demand. In tourism fields, the attraction generated by violence and terrorism, far from being avoided by tourist, seems to create two different effects. At a short run, a much broader public audience is shocked by the event, redirecting their desires toward other destinations, but at a long run, the demand of affected places recover their attractiveness with more strength. This cycle based on the natural economy of empires shares with terrorism commonalities which have not been studied by classical literature.

To understand better the connection between tourism and terrorism we may delve into the history of American labor and worker-unionization. James Joll (1979) has traced back the roots of anarchism in western thought. From its inception, anarchists struggled to achieve a climate of cooperation and harmony eluding the role of politics. They, over decades, represented a serious problem for European states. It is important not to lose the sight that nation states have expanded their legitimacy based on two disciplinary mechanisms, the violence and economy. The organization of labor in US, which consolidated the expansion of capitalism, was characterized by moment of extreme violence and conflict. Raw-material exporters such as US, Argentina and Australia received a great variety of migrants whose ideologies ranged from liberalism to anarchism. The new-comers faced not only a lot of obstacles in their working destinations but were left to live in pauperism. Socialism and anarchism organized in America promoted radical changes in politics and economy. These claims were rejected by capital-owners and officials. The anarchist ideology looked for the eradication of civil asymmetries caused by the economy. So, they planned a direct attack against politicians, and security-forces. The climate of instability triggered by these groups, led the government to implement broader policies to track and deport these dissidents. Labeled as “terrorists”, these actors not only terrorized America but became in the public enemy. Nonetheless, other anarchist waves opted not to perpetrate violent attacks against state. They preferred to spend the time organizing the struggle of worker unions what generated a new metamorphosis between exploiters and the exploited. With the passing of years, anarchists worked hard to organize the workforce’s claims such as less working hours, productive bonuses, and annual paid holidays. While the state accepted the worker union discrepancies to expand the economy, workers received a legal protection for their concerns (Joll, 1979). If we agree that modern tourism resulted, in this moment of history, from the combination of further leisure time and a long-simmering technological revolution, we must accept that terrorists have much of credit in the process. The work-force pressed state not only to legalize these forms of protest (through the strike), but also facilitated the socio-economic factors for the surface of modern tourism. However, the roots of anarchist’s ideology and its violence never eradicated were. In the onset of capitalism, Government and state disciplined anarchism by absorbing its most negative effects. As a result of this, the nation reserved the right to legal strike throwing terrorism toward the boundaries. This is the reason, why we hold that modern tourism is terrorism by other means. Paradoxically, strike and terrorist attack share three grounding commonalities such as extortion, surprise-factor, and the instrumental value. At a closer look, both recur to host the weaker to dissuade the stronger. In doing so, extortion plays a crucial role as an instrument of great pressure. Stranded tourists in international destinations are often hosted by worker unions whenever their demands are unheard. The other lacks of ethical force unless by its value or instrumental value for terrorists/workers. Neither the terrorist nor the worker on strike is sensitive to other’s suffering. Last but not least, the surprise factor is of paramount importance to grant the success of the strike (attack). It is common to see how worker unions plan suddenly their strikes in context of mega-events or high-season to affect the interest hotel-owners and government. That way, they not only maximize their capacity to cause damage, but elude the mandatory early conciliation issued by Work-ministry.

## 6. Conclusions

The reasons of state as well as the fear as political mechanism for indoctrination have been historically themes that concerned philosophers and scholars worldwide. Terrorists undoubtedly were educated and trained in the core of western civilization. The facility to host innocent is not an invention, proper of Islam or Muslim religion. This legacy comes from the labor-unions and their right to strikes. To what an extent a strike is considered a legal mechanism to present certain claim while terrorist attacks are

discouraged seems to be a matter that specialists do not examine properly. A closer view reveals that there are similar process in both, a strike and 9/11. As the vaccine is the inoculated virus, encrypted to strengthen the body, strikes are process of discontent that mitigates the negative effects of conflict but takes the consumers as hostages. To be more precisely, whenever passengers are stranded at an airport or train stations because of problems between owners and unions, the sense of urgency facilitate the things for weaker ones. Workers or terrorists are not concerned by the vulnerability or needs of passengers. The latter one are manipulated as means for achieving certain goals. In a world designed to create and satisfy psychological lacks, consumers as beholder of capital, are of paramount importance for the stability of system. The threat that represents the consumers and the derived economic loses are enough to dissuade owners from the worker's claims. We honestly think this first effort will shed light on terrorism-led scholars to understand the origin and consequences of this issue in future decades. What this essay review reminds is that modern tourism is terrorism by other means.

## References

- Abadie, A and Gardeazabal, J.,  
2003, The economic costs of Conflict: a case study of Basque country. *American Economic Review*, 93 (1): 113-132
- Altheide, D,  
2006 *Terrorist and the Politics of Fear*. (1st Ed) Oxford, Altamira Press.
- Altheide, D,  
2009 Moral Panic: from sociological concept to public discourse". *Crime and Media Culture*, 5 (1): 79-99.
- Araña, J and León, C.  
2008 "The Impact of terrorism on tourism demand". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35 (2): 299-315.
- Aziz, H,  
1995 "Understanding attacks on tourists in Egypt". *Tourist Management*, 16: 91-95.
- Barro, R.  
1991 "Economic Growth in a cross section countries". *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 106 (2): 407-443.
- Bassi, C.  
2010 "The Anti-Imperialism of Fools: a cautionary story on the revolutionary Socialist Vanguard of England post-9/11 Anti War Movement". *ACME: an international E-journal for Critical Geographies*, 9 (2): 113-137.
- Baudrillard, J.  
1995a *The systems of the objects*. (2cd Ed) Mexico: Siglo XXI.
- Baudrillard, J.  
1995b *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*. (1st ed) Sydney: Power Publications
- Baudrillard, J.,  
2006 Virtuality and Events: the hell of power. *Baudrillard Studies*. Vol. 3 (2). July. Availabe at <http://www.ubishops.ca/BaudrillardStudies/>. Bishop's University, Canada. Version translated by Chris Turner.
- Bernstein, R.  
2006 *The Abuse of Evil. The corruption of politics and religion since 9/11*. (1st ed) Buenos Aires: Katz.
- Bhattachai, K, Conway, D and Shrestha, N.  
2005. "Tourism, terrorism and Turmoil in Nepal". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32 (3): 669-688.
- Bianchi, R,  
2007, "Tourism and The Globalization of Fear: analyzing the politics of risk and (in)security in global travel". *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 7 (1):. 64-74.
- Bufo, Del E.  
2002 "La Reestructuración neoliberal y la globalización". In *Guerra Infinita: hegemonía y terror mundial*. Ceceña, A. and Sader, E. Buenos Aires: CLACSO. Pp. 39-62.
- Castañó, J. M.  
2005 *Psicología Social de los Viajes y el Turismo*. Madrid: Thomson Ed.
- Connolly, W.  
1994 *The Terms of Political Discourse*. (1st ed) Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Corey, R.  
2009 *Fear, the history of Political Ideas*. (1st ed) Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.



- Dann, G.  
1998 "The Dark side of Tourism: etudes et Rapports". L Aix en Provence. Centre International de Reserches et d Etudes Turistiques.
- Domínguez, P, Burguette, E and Bernard, A.  
2003 "Efectos del 11 de Septiembre en la hotelería Mexicana: reflexión sobre la mono-dependencia turística". *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo*, 12 (3-4): 335-348.
- Essner, J.  
2003 "Terrorism's impacto n Tourism: what the industry may learn from Egypt's struggle with al-Gama'a al-Islamiya". *Security and Development*. IPS 688.
- Floyd, M. and Pennington-Gray, L  
2004 "Profiling Risk: perception of tourist". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31 (4): 1051-1054.
- Floyd, M. Gibson, H. Pennington-Gray, L and Thapa, B.  
2003 "The Effects of Risk Perception on Intention to Travel in the Aftermath of September 11, 2001". *Safety and Security in Tourism: relationships, Management and Marketing*., 15 (2): 2-15.
- Fluri, J.  
2009 "Foreign Passport Only: geographies of post-conflict work in Kabul, Afghanistan". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*., 99 (5): 986-994.
- Fritting, M and Kang, H.  
2006 "International Terrorism, International Trade and Borders". *Research in Global Strategic Management*., 12 (1): 203-223.
- Fukuyama, F.  
1989 "The End of History". *The national Interest*, 16 (1): 4-18.
- Giucci, G.  
2007 *The Cultural Life of Automobile*. (1st ed) Quilmes: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes.
- Glaeser, E. and Shapiro, J.  
2001 Cities and Warfare: the impact of terrorismo on urban form. *Harvard Institute of Economics Research*. Paper 1942. Massachusetts, Harvard University, Material Disponible en [www.post.economics.harvard.edu/hier/2001papers](http://www.post.economics.harvard.edu/hier/2001papers).
- Goldblatt, J. and Hu C.  
2005 Tourism, teorrorm, and the new World for Event Leaders". *E-review of tourism Research*, 3 (6): 139-144.
- Gray, C. S.  
2007 "The Implications of Preemptive and Preventive war Doctrines: Reconsideration. Department of the Army, Department of Defense, US Government". Available at <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/Pubs/display.cfm?pubid=789>
- Hall, M.  
2002 "Travel Safety, terrorism and the media: the significance of the issue-attention cycle". *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5 (5): 458-466.
- Hoffman, B.  
2002 "Rethinking Terrorism and Counterterrorism since 9/11. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. Vol. 25 (5), pp. 303-316.
- Holloway, J and Paláez, E.  
2002 "La guerra de todos los estados contra toda la gente". En *Guerra Infinita: hegemonía y terror mundial*. Ceceña, A. y Sader, E. Buenos Aires: CLACSO. Pp. 159-166.
- Howie, L.  
2009 "A Role for Business in the War on Terror". *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 18 (2): 100-107.
- Huntington, S. P.  
1993 *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Oklahoma: Oklahoma University Press.
- Hungtinton, S. P.  
1997 *The Clash of Civilizations: Remaking of World Order*. New York: Touchstone Book.
- Johnston, H.  
2008 "Ritual, Strategy and deep Culture in the Chechen National Movement". *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1 (3): 321-342.
- Joll, J.  
1979 *The Anarchist*. London: Methuen.
- Keohane, N and Zeckhauser, R.  
2003 "The ecology of Terror defense". *Journal of risk and Uncertainty*, 26 (2-3): 201-229.

- Kellner, D.  
2005 "Baudrillard, Globalization and Terrorism: some comments in recent adventures of the Image and Spectacle on the occasion of Baudrillard's 75th birthday". *Baudrillard Studies*, 2 (1): 1-19
- Kepel, G.  
2002 "Los Hechos del 11 de Septiembre de 2001". In *El Mundo Después del 11 de Septiembre de 2001*. (Editor). Barcelona: Editorial Península. Pp. 25-43.
- Korstanje, M.  
2009 "Re-visiting the risk perception theory in the Context of Travels". *ERTR: e Review of Tourism Research*, 7 (4): 68-81
- Korstanje, M.  
2010. "El 11 de Septiembre y la Teoría de la Percepción del Riesgo". *Pasos: revista de turismo y patrimonio cultural*, 8 (2): 389-402.
- Korstanje, M.  
2011. "Why Risks, why Now?. Conceptual Problems around the Risk Perception in Tourism Industry". *RBTUR: Revista Brasileira de Pesquisa em Turismo*, 5 (1): 4-22.
- Korstanje, M. & Clayton, A.  
2012. "Tourism and Terrorism, Conflicts and Commonalities". *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 4 (1): 8-25
- Kristol, W. and Kagan, R.  
1996 "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy". *Foreign Affairs*. July /August issue.
- Kozak, M, Crotts, J. and Law, R.  
2007 "The Impact of the pereption of risk on international Travellers. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 9 (4): 233-242.
- Kuto, B. and Groves, J.  
2004 "The Effects of Terrorism: evaluating Kenya's tourism Crisis. *E-review of tourism Research*, 2 (4): 88-95.
- Lash, S. and Urry, J.  
1998 *Economías de Signo y Espacio: sobre el capitalismo de la postorganización*. (3d ed) Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Lepp, A. and Gibson, H.  
2008 "Sensation Seeking and Tourism: tourist role, perception of risk and Destination Choice". *Tourism Management*, 29 (1): 740-750.
- Mccartney, G.  
2008 "Does one culture all think the same?. An investigation of destination image perceptions from several origins". *Tourism Review*, 63 (4): 13-26.
- Miles, W. F. 2002, Auschwitz, Museum interpretation and Darker Tourism". *Annals of Tourism Research*. Vol. 29 (4), pp. 1175-1178.
- Paraskevas, A. and Arendell, B.  
2007 "A strategic Framework for terrorism prevention and mitigation in tourism destination". *Tourism Management*, 28 (1): 1560-1573.
- Paraskevas, A.  
2008 "Towards Safer Special Events: a structured approach to counter the terrorism threat". In *International Perspectives of Festivals and Events*. Ali-Knight, J Robertson, M, Fyall, A. and Ladkin, A (Editors). Elsevier: Electronic Version.
- Peattie, S. Clarke, P. and Peattie, K.  
2005 "Risk and Responsibility in Tourism: promoting sun-safety". *Tourism Management*, 26 (3): 399-408.
- Phillips, D. E.  
2008 "Terrorism and Security in the Caribbean Before and After 9/11". In *Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution: sociological perspectives*. Caforio G, Kummel G & Purkayastha, B (eds). Westyorkshire, Emerald, pp. 97-138.
- Prideaux, B.  
2005 "Factors affecting bilateral tourism Flows". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32 (3): 780-801.
- Pojman, L.  
2006 *Terrorism, Human Rights and the case for World Government*. (1st ed) Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Pollins, B. M.  
1989 "Does trade still follow the flag?". *American Political Science Review*, 83 (2): 465-480

- Rashid, A.  
2002, Los Hechos del 11 de Septiembre de 2001". In *El Mundo Después del 11 de Septiembre de 2001*. (Compilación). Barcelona: Editorial Península. Pp. 13-23.
- Reisinger, Y. and F. Mavondo.  
2005 "Travel Anxiety and Intention to Travel internationally: implication of Travel Risk perception". *Journal of Travel Research*, 43 (3): 212-245.
- Robertson, G.  
2002 "The Role of military in combating terrorism". Paper presented at second Nato Russia-conference, Moscow, Russia
- Robson, L.  
2005 "Risk Management for meetings and Events". *Annals of Tourism Research*. 35 (3): 840-842.
- Rojeck, C.  
1997 "Indexing, Dragging and the social construction of tourist sights". In Rojeck and Urry, J. (Eds). *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge, 52-74.
- Sackett, H. and Botterill, D.  
2006 "Perception of International Travel Risk: an exploratory study of the influence of proximity to terrorist attack". *E-review of tourism Research*, 4 (2): 44-49..
- Said, E.  
2001, The Clash of Ignorance. *The Nation*. October 4. Available at <http://www.thenation.com/article/clash-ignorance>.
- Skoll, G.  
2007 "Meaning of Terrorism". *International Journal for The Semiotics of Law*, 20 (3): 107-127.
- Smaw, E.  
2008 "From Chaos to Contrarianism: Hobbes, Pojman, and the Case of World Government". *Essays in Philosophy*,. 9 (2): 4-18.
- Smith, W. W.  
2010 "The Darker side of Travel: the theory and practice of dark tourism". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37 (3): 867-869.
- Schluter, R.  
2008 *Turismo: una versión integradora*. (1st ed) Buenos Aires: CIET.
- Schmid, A.  
2004 "Frameworks for Conceptualizing Terrorism". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16 (2): 197-221
- Schmid, A. and Jongman, A.  
1988, *Political Terrorism*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- Somnez, S.  
1998 "Tourism, Terrorism, and political instability". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25 (2): 416-456.
- Sontag, S.  
2002 "Seamos Realistas". In *El Mundo Después del 11 de Septiembre de 2001*. (Compilación). Barcelona: Editorial Península. Pp. 59-61.
- Stone, P.  
2005 "Dark Tourism Consumption. A call for Research". *E-Review of Tourism Research (ERTR)*, 3 (5): 109-116.
- Stone, P. and Sharpley, R.  
2008 Consuming Dark Tourism, a Thanatological perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35 (2): 574-595.
- Strange, C. and Kempa, M,  
2003 "Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30 (2): 386-405.
- Susstein, C.  
2005 *Laws of Fear: beyond the precautionary Principle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarlow, P.  
2003 "Tourism Ethics". *E-review of tourism Research*, 1 (3): 39-41.
- Tarlow, P.  
2005, Dark Tourism: the appealing dark side of tourism and more". In Novelli, N. (ed). *Niche Tourism – contemporary issues, trends and cases*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 47-58.
- Vargas Llosa, M.  
2002 "La Lucha Final". En *El Mundo Después del 11 de Septiembre de 2001*. (1st ed) Barcelona: Editorial Península. Pp. 53-58.
- Virilio, P.  
2007 *La Ciudad Pánico: el afuera comienza aquí*. (1st ed) Buenos Aires: Libros El Zorzal.

- Wallace, T.  
2007 "Went the Day Well: Scripts, Glamour and Performance in War-weekends". *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13 (3): 200-223.
- Weber, S.  
1998 "War, terrorism and tourism". *Annals of tourism Research*, 25 (3): 760-763.
- Weinberg, L., Pedahzur, A., & Hirsch-Hoefler, S.  
2004 . "The challenges of conceptualizing terrorism". *Terrorism and Policial Violence*, 16 (4), 777-794.
- West, B.  
2008 "Collective Memory and Crisis: The 2002 Bali Bombing, National Heroic archetypes and the counter-narrative of Cosmopolitan nationalism". *Journal of Sociology*, 44 (4): 337-353.
- Wolin, R.  
2010 "The idea of cosmopolitanism: from Kant to the Iraq war and beyond". *Ethics & Global Politics*, 3 (2): 143-153.
- Wong, J. Y. and Yeh, C.  
2009 "Tourist Hesitation in Destination decision Making". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36 (1): 6-23
- Young-Sook, L.  
2006 "The Korean War and tourism: legacy of the war on the development of the tourism industry in South Korea". *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 8 (3): 157-170.
- Yuan, M.  
2005 "After September 11: determining its Impacts on Rural Canadians travel to U.S". *E-review of tourism Research*, 3 (5): 103-108.
- Zizek, S  
2008 "El Espectro de la Ideología". In *Mapping Ideology*. Zizek, S. (Editor). Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 7-42.
- Zizek, S.  
2009 *Violence*. (1st ed) Buenos Aired: Paidos.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Source: Murphy, Tim. New York Times. "For Fear of Flying, Therapy takes to the skies". 24 of July, 2007. Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/24/health/psychology/24fear>.

*Recibido:* 05/12/2013  
*Reenviado:* 07/07/2014  
*Aceptado:* 10/07/2014  
*Sometido a evaluación por pares anónimos*