Image, Destination And Terrorism: Sevil Somnez Reconsidered.

Maximiliano E. Korstanje
University of Palermo Argentina, Argentina

Abstract

After 9/11 the definition of terrorism flourished inside and outside of US. However, terrorism and taking hostage were so old so imperialism. In this paper, we examine critically the argument of a senior Scholar of tourism and hospitality fields, Sevil Somnez. Based on the paper Tourism, Terrorism, and Political Instability, we highlight not only her findings, because she was a pioneer in these types of studies, and merits credit for that, but also painstakingly delve our attention into the limitations, flaws or misunderstanding of her text. From Somnez´s onwards, many scholars have proposed to take tourism-industry as a peace-promoting resource in order for states to eradicate terrorism. But what would happen if tourism would be terrorism by other means?. This and other troubling points will be critically explored in this essay review.

Key Words: Terrorism, Risk, Hostages, Tourism, Muslims, Islam.

Introduction

The conventional wars are aimed not to cause direct damage or death on non-combatants. Although over years many scholars have discussed not only the doctrine of just wars and non-combatants immunity, but also the role played by international peace-keeping organisms in the warfare itself. Following this, warfare may be understood as a much deep-seated issue that accompanied human beings from ancient times. This begs a more than interesting question, what is terrorism? A Bellamy (2006) says that terrorism characterizes by the usage of force deliberately directed against civil targets. The acts typified as acts of terrorism are ended to cause the major fear in the civil society. This presents an instrument of extortion respecting to a sate stronger, but unable to find the next attack. These tactics look to change the loyalties of citizenships. At some extent, the message seems to be simple, the state is hand tied to give its citizens the necessary sense of safety to the societal order not to be broken. This not only induces to a paradoxical situation, because pain and panic surface if the more vulnerable agents are injured, but also terrorism employs the technologies of Empires to fight against them. Also, we may overtly admit that terrorism is a result of imperialism. While West expanded its boundaries by the imposition of particular forms of trade, mobilities and marketplaces, terrorists make from this advantage a real disgrace. Therefore, it is not surprising to see how two airplanes are directed to the most powerful Center of International Commerce. At least, this explains why tourists are targeted as potential victims of terrorist cells. The vulnerability or lack of familiarity of the tourist respecting to the visited destination are two key factors to determine its attractiveness for terrorists. Anyway, what more important is, tourism exhibits a symbol of economic progress, status, and distinction between first and third worlds. Terrorism would affect the tourist destination image in order to destabilize the governments beyond this industry. If developing states adopt tourism as a primary reliable source of economy, this would create a great circle of dependency at a later day. Terrorists exploit the benefits of this reality. In this context, this essay-review explores the contribution of Sevil Somnez, a brilliant scholar who has done the right to put the pro-tourism discourse in the lens of scrutiny. However, we strongly believe that his argument, although eloquent, are flawed by two errors. These points led him involuntarily towards an ethnocentric viewpoint. Rather, our thesis is that terrorism serves at a counter response (reaction) to the advance of capitalism in traditional societies. Tourism is terrorism by other means. What is important to remind here seems to be that the logic of capitalism is sustained

thanks to the conceptualization of development. As a growing industry, modern tourism seems to be now a commodity conducive to expand US hegemony across the world. Surely, this does not mean all forms of tourism are linked to imperialism. Terrorist attacks, following Putra and Hitchcock are ideologically justified by a biased interpretation of history. For example, the concept of Jihad may be applied on diverse context according to specific or individual interests. Based on the attacks to Bali in 2002 and 2005 respectively, authors contend that the prosperity of this international tourist destination, which meant the presence of many Western travelers, was a major strategy to attract the attention of West. (Hitchcock, 2007: 92). Violence is an important part of terrorism but not determinant. Surprise and terror are other two elements that scholars should seriously keep in mind at time of studying these types of matters. This text is a sociological approach to enrich the existent studies respecting to terrorism and tourism.

The Terrorism vs. Tourism Industry

In recognition to the above noted debate, André Glucksmann (2005) argues that terrorism can be defined as the violence exerted to unarmed population. Civilians are suddenly surprised without possibilities of defense are randomly assassinated as a sign of strength. The style of war seems not to be new, Gluckmann adds, but conditions the lack of sensibility in involved stakeholders respecting to suffering. From many senses, the boundaries between imperialism and terrorism blurred. From Hiroshima or Bomb H, the humankind has passed to human-bombings. The despotic governors allude to terrorism to define their strategies of domination. After a destination suffered a terrorist attack, its attractiveness rises exponentially. Ground-Zero gained notable international attention years after the 9/11. If capitalism coined the belief that anyone has a price, this leads society to think citizens may be commoditized as products, ready to be consumed in 24 hours. After World Trade center not only politics, but the world has changed forever.

Habermas & Derrida have provided pungent conclusions to understand how terrorism and capitalism converge. An illustrative discussion has been gathered by G. Borradori in her book Philosophy in a Time of Terror. Certainly, for the former the modernity engenders a great communicative glitch that goes to fundamentalism and intolerance. Unlike Max Weber, Habermas is a proponent of rationale which brings important benefits and technological advances for nations and democracies. Nevertheless, modernity still is an inconclusive project wherein the religious and traditional societies are left in a quandary, very difficult to overcome. Religions are based on a dogmatic core, a rigid system of beliefs that makes religious possible. In a process of reflexibility and equality as modernity ensures, religions should face serious challenge at competing with others in the same scenario. This triggers an state of confrontation of violence that feeds the political instability. At the opposite to Habermas, Derrida thinks that terrorism may be equaled to a immunological disease, in other words, an autoimmune disease. Following this metaphor, Derrida puts three stages for the evolution of terror, ranging from the Cold War, September 11 to the war on terrorism. The attacks again the World Trade center paved the ways for the disappearance of any logic, of any type of framework to understand events. This lack of reference produced immediately a counter-balance where the uncertainty is relabeled into new forms, the war on terror. As a major disrupting event, 9/11 entailed two things; first, events have boundaries, beginning and end, but secondly, this type of attack perpetrated against vulnerable civilians may not happen again. However, what makes 9/11 a fear-mongering event is the belief that the worse is coming. Nobody knows what will occur in the next years and this degree of unpredictability works in both sides as a political indoctrination resource. The goals of terrorism for Derrida are aimed at destabilizing other political governments creating double

side effects. On one hand, terrorist policies undermines the support of citizenry to their leaders, which may be viewed at voting process but on another hand, it affects seriously the order in Middle East. Many other Muslim secular States are now experiencing riots and confusions because on the subtle hand of Al-Qaeda (Borradori, 2004).

Sevil Somnez in Review

Even if terrorism, has been previously defined as an act of violence focusing on the dissuasion of State, it is important not to loose the sight of the role of fear in the same process. In next, we will first describe the main argument of Sevil Somnez about tourism and terrorism. Secondly, it is important to reconsider how the previous studies in social science do exert influence in Somnez´s development. We are not attacking Somnez the woman, but the argument of a secularized civilization. Although terrorism existed from many centuries ago, scholars envisaged that after 9/11 this represented a serious threat for the style of life of industrial countries. Some scholars exerted considerable criticism against this message, others, as Somnez, were proponents to declare terrorism the challenge of the next millennium. The latter one did not appreciate the right connection or evolution of tourism. Its social nature was confused according to its possibility to generate profits, and well being. The economic view of tourism echoed the old positive theories to cut the world in two, democracy (and tourism as an instrument to bring peace) and terrorism and enemies of America.

Under such a context, Sevil Somnez, assistant professor of Arizona State University, was indeed one of the most recognized scholars who have explored the connection between terrorism and tourism. Even though, her valuable research entitled Tourism, Terrorism and Political instability was published at Annals of Tourism research in 1998, 3 years before World Trade Center's attack, her developed passed undoubtedly the proof of time. Many other specialists cited and explored Somnez´s findings in the successive years. For that, she merits attention and recognition.

This paper explores in the approaches and limitations of Somnez´s development who originally introduces readers to the history of terrorism from Ancient Roman Empire in Judea and other colonies up to date. Taking her cue from the US department of State, she considers terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against civilians and unarmed military personnel by sub national groups…usually intended to influence an audience, and international terrorism as involving citizens or the territory of more than one country" (Somnez, 1998: 417). In other words, terrorism, viewed as a form of political expression, resulted from the discontent and structural poverty. One might speculate that if poverty is still universal, also terrorism may traverse all cultures and times. If this happens like poverty, terrorism is transformed in a universal hazard.

One of the most frightful aspects of terrorism seems to be associated to its thirst for killing innocents and unarmed civilians in order to generate a high emotional impact. Under this conjuncture, the mass-destruction weapons are one of the most important worries of Western states. The relevance of media in the configuration of terrorism's message is conceptualized by means of three elements: a) a transmitter of message (who is denominated as terrorist), b) the recipient or audience of the message (target of attack) and c) the resulted feedback between terrorists and popular wisdom. The role of experts is more than important to predict where and under what circumstances the next attack will take shape. In this vein, Somnez goes on to say "experts speculate that terrorists will continue to select vulnerable –soft- targets, that their attacks will become more indiscriminate, that terrorism will become

institutionalized and spread geographically as a method of armed conflict, and that the public will witness more terrorism than ever before due to the media´s improved ability to cover terrorist incidents" (ibid: 419). Respecting to the reasons of terrorism Somnez precludes that Marxist/Leninist motives set the pace to "Islamic Fundamentalism".

This new wave of violence will cover many under-developed and undemocratic pour countries for what the nations around the world should join "forces" in counter-terrorism strategies, law enforcement and policies. There was unfortunately an inextricably interconnection between turmoil, political instability and terrorism. Frequently, those countries where civil wars and ethnic disputes predominate are a fertile source for the surface of political violence and even terrorists. Many examples validate the idea that prolonged terrorist attack against a certain target not only affect the destination-image but also impinges on tourism industry as a whole. As the previous argument given, Somnez enumerates a set of diverse countries where terrorists acted ranging from Egypt toward Northern Ireland or Mexico. Even though she accepts previously terrorism varies on the culture and country where it is hosted, from this perspective, Somnez confuses the social forces of terrorism in countries that remain serious differences each other. This moot point leads her development to combine statistics whose sources are not appropriately quoted with ad-hoc hypotheses.

Logically, terrorist goal achievements and publicity of their acts are associated to a downright ideological resistance to tourism. *"Terrorism against one own citizen may in fact go unquestioned by a media controlled by the hostile government. The reason is simple and obvious and has been demonstrated by numerous incidents: when nationals of other countries become involved, new coverage is guaranteed. This way, terrorist know they will secure media attention while curtailing their government's ability to censor new content. When tourists are kidnapped or killed, the situation is instantaneously dramatized by the media, which also helps the political conflict between terrorists and the establishment reach a global scale. Terrorists achieve the exposure they crave and the media increases its circulations and/or ratings"* (ibid, p. 424-425).

Depending on their ends, terrorist are classified in revolutionary or sub revolutionary. This classification depends on the pursued goals, when the achievements are put in long range terms by moving a national-being, we find an ideological typology of terrorism. Rather, if the ends are placed looking to instant individual interests, a tactical terrorism emerges. What terrorists vindicate often is ignored by the state, a stronger state which situates insurgents in a peripheral position. Starting from the idea, state should protect citizenry to keep its legitimacy, terrorists will look to cause the damage enough in order for their claims to be heard. The vulnerability of tourists is an aspect that seriously affects the credibility of nation-states. For Somnez, tourism represents the most important aspect of capitalism, but it may be considered as a resource for expanding peace to the world. Without tourism, democracy has no opportunity of survival. The failures of development are not flaws coined by the system or the ideology, but aftermaths of the local discontent and resentment. States and scholars must devote considerable efforts and money in order for destination not being in decline. If this happens, the cycle of discontent accelerates the frustration engendering more violence. Like other scholar Aziz, Somnez said that tourists and local stakeholders who encouraged tourism may find not only linguistic but religious barriers. Some cultural values linked to hedonism, sex, drugs abuse, are restricted by fundamentalist and Islam. Also, the problem with terrorism is associated to short-circuit in the communicative process.

Somnez alerts that "*simply put, the literature demonstrates that tourism can be the*

message as well as the medium of communication initiated by terrorists. Tourism can inspire terrorist violence by fueling political, religious, socio-economic resentment and be used as a cost effective instrument to delivery a broader message of ideological/political opposition" (ibid: 426-427). Unless otherwise resolved, tourism is negatively affected by terrorism, statistics and ciphers say this if we adopt the comparative-related techniques. The process of decision making, she adds, is changed or altered whenever the travelers perceive potential risks. Even though this has not been appropriately researched, reaction to terrorist attacks involved not only the target but also the neighboring countries too.

From this perspective, Somnez introduces to the discussion a new concept, risk. As a negative and constraint, it does not allow the business and market success. Agents if in danger are prone to modify their attitudes and cancel their reserved travels. Involuntarily, this suggests that people is a rational agent able to maximize their benefits at time their disbenefits are minimized. Of course, as rational consumer, any tourist avoids those zones fraught with political instability or violence. Since tourism ensures stability, she considers that represents a good instrument for peacekeeping. Not only risk is conducive to terrorism, but also to the economic losses of tourist destinations. The specialized literature emphasizes on the idea that Mass-media influence in the coverage of tragedies and terrorist events at the time it gives strategies and policies to absorb its costs. In recognition to this, one should accept that *"most crises are difficult to prevent, due to their unpredictable nature –especially those resulting from terrorism or political problems. Furthermore, each crisis situation is different and difficult to resolve with simple formulas. Destinations need to prepare a plan of action specific to their needs. Having such a blueprint merely promises to save valuable time, energy and other resources when a destination is faced with a crisis. In light of societal and global complexities, no destination is immune to negative occurrences; thus adhering to an it can't happen to us philosophy is naïve, if not reckless"* (ibid: 443).

The risk perception depends on many factors but it remains still enrooted in culture: *"a final point of interest in the discussion of tourist response to terrorism involves cultural differences in reacting to risk. Cross-cultural studies of risk perception have demonstrated differences not only in ranking risks but also in the magnitude and source of perceived situations. Similarly, international tourist country of origin was found to predict their reaction to terrorist threat"* (ibid, 430). Readers who like to understand this should take in mind Somnez prefers to see in risk to terrorism a valuable frame-work to give scientific solutions. Nevertheless, what she ignores is that the dichotomy risk/science is conducive to the logic of market and capitalism that created previously that risk we are trying to mitigate. Secondly, if we insist that Americans are mobile targets of Muslim's rage, we accept two things, one is that the context and its conditions that generated 9/11 are trivialized. Besides, even if terrorism may be considered as a global threat for all travelers, Americans are the primary target. They are privileged witnesses of financial disparities of capitalism. This belief facilitates a hierarchal re-categorization of human beings, American on the top, due to their value respecting to other groups. To explain this, she adds: *"this characterization of Americans as fickle is rather unfair when one considers that a significant portion of past terrorist activity specifically targeted US citizens"* (ibid, 430). In view of this, Somnez´s argument seems to be ethnocentric. Why American citizens are further sensible to terrorism?, why an American tourist is worth much further than an afghan?, we are creating a new type of hierarchal racial order?.

In some way, globalized terrorism gives to "United States" a reason to be victimized as well as over-valorized. The tourist-experience constitutes a second element employed to quantify and legitimate the finding of this (discriminatory) study. Since travel is or should be

an enjoyable experience any hazard, as terrorism, can be immediately dysfunctional to the apprehension of deep emotions as fear and angst. The publicity of tourism entail peace and safety coupled with democracy or development, both makes from this industry an efficient instrument for betterness. Beyond its political nature, tourism works as a witness that shows to the world what is happening in an undemocratic country, first and foremost when the human rights of locals are vulnerated. Conducive with the belief that tourism encourages peace, Somnez precludes ingeniously that "*these events clearly demonstrate that the opportunity to witness events in another country – afforded by tourism- can be utilized as a political tool involving information gathering and communication of political activities on behalf of those trapped and brutalized by it*" (ibid: 432).

Last but not least, destination-image seems to be the third element in importance to protect the tourism and developing a stronger industry that eliminates the war and political instability. For Somnez (and many other scholars else who are not aware about the anthropological literature of wars), the peace and trade contributes to the safety of nation-hoods. Its potentiality is often associated to the possibility to establish democracy as primary priority. At some extent, she recognizes (but does not give further explanation about the reasons) that tourism and terrorism are inextricably intertwined: "*war is a negative influence on tourism demand. This can be viewed positively or negatively, depending on the country's position -since safer countries not involved or less involved in hostilities- might gain visitors lost by the most dangerous destinations.. a second dimension of war-tourism relationship involves the creation of a new kind of tourist, attracted by the conflict (tourism of war)*" (Somnez, 1998: 436). In this discourse, unfortunately, the line between tourism, war, technology and development is not duly continued.

Even though, her development passed the proof of time, broadly cited by many scholars dedicated to terrorist studies, there are some limitations that merit being re-visited. In next, we will discuss in sharp the conceptual and methodological limitations of her theory which lead involuntarily readers to the boundaries of Western ethnocentrism. It is noteworthy the criticism seems not to be against Sevil Somnez whose reputation, trajectory and intellectual honesty should not be in discussion, but to the "American discourse" some scholars involuntarily nourishes. Surely, Somnez perhaps envisaged the future of September 2001 but not its consequences for democracy in long terms.

What is important to discuss seems to be that tourism and terrorism alternates cycle of peace and conflicts that not always remains clear. Those places and lands where terrorist attacks have taken room did experience millionaire losses during one or two seasons but after a lapse of time, destinations significantly recovered. A point like this suggests how the cycles of tourism are in fact sensible to terrorist attacks but sites as Bali and Egypt faced a notable rise of the travelers improving their profits in a short run. Furthermore, some victims adopt a pervasive role justifying their practices by the loss they previously suffered. Any tragedy, whatever their nature and causes are destined to become an attractive tourist destination (Stone, 2005; 2011; Wise, 2012). After Pearl Harbor, the attack to 9/11 returned to Americans a pretext to feel themselves as very special, they after all are the targets of international terrorism. Paradoxically, the attack to New York opened the dichotomy that founded US, we and the world. During days, terrorism wakened up signs of patriotism and loyalties as never before. But things are very complex. In doing so, the anti-America discourse promoted by terrorists engendered a widespread sentiment of fear, which was politically manipulated by the government to justify their international policies in Middle East (Bernstein, 2006) (Chomsky, 2004) (Altheide, 2006) (Baudrillard, 1995) (Corey, 2009). This vicious circle has been brilliantly examined by B. Ettiene and Virilio.

Problems in Somnez´s work

Despite the abundant material and examples provided in this text, we have found that its argument rests on shaky foundations. Of course, Somnez was the first, a pioneer but not the unique scholars to present a thesis that overtly defend the tourist-market. There are four points, which are relevant to be discussed.

1) Tourism is an activity that brings peace and prosperity. Of course, although in some countries this industry causes some problems or asymmetries, they may be explained by means of cultural differences respecting to the West-matrix.

2) Tourists select their destination according to risk-avoidance criteria, if some risk is found or broadcasted by the media, the destination image should be jeopardized.

3) Terrorists hate tourists because of their advanced style of life. In view of this, the experience is a psychological asset to be controlled, designed and mediated following business goals.

4) Homeland safety should be considered as a valuable tool for expanding development to other non-western nations.

5) American & British tourists are more valuable for terrorist than other nationalities (thesis of exceptionality)

These four aspects, enrooted in Somnez´s argument, echoed a national sentiment that accompanied the terrorism-related studies of next years. In tourism and hospitality fields, many scholars devoted efforts in adopting this system of thought. To this new, turn of mind, we will name, the "precautionary discourse of post modern nationalism". This discourse fabricated illusory but fearful risk to impose now specific policies which unless otherwise would not be accepted by citizenry. Nevertheless, these risks do not exist; they are hypothesized and amplified in the social imaginary. These types of policies lead governments to create a symbolic barrier that prevent the dialogue with other states, and also to undermine the democratic institutions. The design of policies historically in charge of states set the pace to the products of market, such as insurances, technology, and training of skilled work-force. The primary limitation of this theory depends upon the focus put on the perceptual factor to understand social issues. Things are depending on how consumers see them. Following this, no matter than how safe a city may be, if consumers perceive a city is unsafe, policies of intervention are due. Similarly to the movie Minority Report where "precogs" predicted a crime before being committed, as Baudrillard put it, the modernity not only fabricates future events, that never has taken place in present, but also justifies the preventive coactive actions.

From our end, Somnez is convinced that terrorism poses as a primary threat for tourism industry focusing exclusively on the economic losses of terrorism in lieu of understanding the forces that leads the political system to terrorism. She seems to be more concerned to protect tourist destination from terrorism than in knowing further about this phenomenon works. To this critique, Somnez would reply that, *"tourism actively halts in the short term when travel agents stop suggesting the destination to potential tourists, when border closures intended to prevent tourism activity both to and from the country are implemented, and when the delivery of tourism services is suspended or canceled"* (ibid: 435). The perceptual factor is of paramount importance at time of designing the destination

image. This one-sided gaze suggests incorrectly that tourism is only an industrial expression of travels, a commoditization of pleasure, landscape, and experience, instead of a much broader social fact. Pro Status-quo definitions of terrorism, Somnez develops a conceptual framework that does not shed light on the problem. Put all cases in the same box, she presents terrorism as a hazard for business and tourism. Of course, Northern Ireland and Basque terrorists has few or nothing to do with the advent of radical Muslim cells. Somnez´s, rather, emphasizes on Muslim's terrorism, only one type, to project her finding universally to other settings and contexts. Like Bush declared the war against terrorism, this means all types of terrorisms; Somnez is inclined to think all terrorists kill tourists. Similar cognitive shortcuts are chosen when she argues that media should be controlled so that terrorist's message not to disseminate in other democratic nations. This text focuses on the pervasive role played by the media in covering the terrorist attacks, but it is polemic to present the media as the problem. Although they may potentiate the neither effects, nor journalism neither the media is the reason for terrorism. Rather, the terrorist attacks, as Derrida and Habermas put it, is a result of capitalism.

Secondly, Somnez echoes on an impropriate meaning of risk. There would be a dichotomy (unstudied by academy) between hazards and risk. Whist the former represents any event that dangers the security and integrity of a person, the latter denotes the consequence of a previous decision. With the end of accruing interests, risk was a term originally coined by fixing the fleet-prices of transports in Middle East. Also, risk connotes a possibility that today has not taken place in the present. Any risk is based on two elements, contingency, this means the possibility to be avoided, and secondly, decision making process. In this token, Luhmann clarifies that accidents, natural disasters, terrorist attacks are not risk simply because they should not be avoided by victims. Generally, travelers who are targets of bombings have lower probabilities to infer in such aftermaths. Unless otherwise resolved, those who take the decisions and also generate risks are not the same who face the consequences. Following this reasoning the risk is something else than a term enrooted in economy. This reflects the hierarchal asymmetries of society that facilitated the things for the occurrence of disaster (Luhmann, 2006). To digest this better, an airplane accident constitutes a serious risk for owners who take the daily strategic decisions about the operations of the flights but not for tourists, who only are subject to the effects of owner's decisions. Also, for tourists, terrorist attacks, virus outbreaks and accidents are simple dangers.

It is unfortunate that the specialized literature emphasizes on international travelers are able to face and deter risks with their behavior, oddly by selecting the appropriate tourist-destination or simply because they were there, in a bad moment. A fallacy of this caliber not only darkens the causality between risk-generating and risk-avoiders but also blurs the ethical boundaries between the innocents (victims) and those who contributed to cause the situation (officials).

Third, Somnez are not familiar with the historical background of Islam and Fundamentalism and some paragraphs are confusing in this sense. For example, when she refers to terrorism is accepting that these acts are equaled to violence and crime. Islam is not a religion that promotes sacrifice, suicide or taking hostages. Indeed, Great Britain was the first Empire accustomed to take hostages, when revolts in Middle East arisen. Professor Walid Amin Ruwayha (1990) collected considerable evidence, documents and files that defy the widespread belief that Muslims coined the hostage as a primary policy of battle. This cultural custom was imported, extended and sustained in the threshold of time by Englanders. Without any type of doubt, this investigation proves how AFBO (British Foreign

Office) justifies holding Arabs as hostages to reduce rebellions. Involuntarily, terrorism was encouraged and promoted by British tactics. These comments are validated by Alex Bellamy (2006) who widely studied the role of Zionists, before Israel state inception, in perpetrating terrorist attacks against British Army. The history is witness how England did influence Zionists as well as Arabs in the tactics of taking-hostages.

On another hand, history shows that not all terrorists kill tourists. Many expressions of violence such as sexual harassments, drugs abuse and crime accompany tourism industry in its growth. Irrespective of their effects, the violence is understood as a political counter-response (not necessarily associated to aggression) to recover the lost power. Violence is not conditioned by economic discrepancies as resentment or unhappiness as Somnez put it. Rather violence, by means of fear, allows a profound restructuration of political order (Balandier, 2005).

Luke Howie, who painstakingly explores the roots of terrorism, confesses that the violence is not an enough condition. Terrorists needs from terror and not from violence to have success in their plans. "*Terrorism works this way for witness. If there was one way to describe the outcomes of the research that I have conducted for this book, I would say that terrorism causes people to feel terror. Terror is the name we give to the uncertainty we feel in the feel of global violence in some of the world's most populous cities. If Terrorism does not cause terror, it is not terrorism (p. 12).* To cut the long story short, Howie reminds that terrorism should be compared to a drama, a process of communication. The potential audience of terrorists should be terrified by their performance, by the credibility of attacks. Terrorists do not need acts of mass-destruction, they only need terrify by being witnesses. At a first glance, people in Western societies think not only Muslim and terrorism are inextricably intertwined, but also terrorists hate or seek to destroy their style of life. Secondly, security or home-land safety is a hyper-utopia. The sense of security is never 100% taken for granted. Security only can be feasible blocking the entrance, or restricting the risk but this engenders serious limitations to democracy. Paradoxically, all our acts are not free of danger, but we live as bad things will never happen to us. Based on the metaphor of emulation, Howie brilliantly acknowledges that terrorism holds two key features: witnesses see terrorism in an over- exaggerated way; secondly, terrorism should be re-defined as the ability to engender a wider audience which transcends the boundaries of affected countries. Technology poses a serious challenge because it creates the vulnerability terrorists employed in 9/11 attacks. The obsession for safety is not only mining the democracy in US, but its political foundations. The attractiveness of western cities, their glamorous style of life, the consumption, even the so called technological superiority is carefully selected by terrorists to cause a serious damage (Howie, 2012). This raises the question to what an extent is safety a human right?

Last but not least, the construction of homeland safety that specialists suggest as a universal right, should not be led by Nation-states. The ontological sentiment of security, of course, corresponds with a negotiated complex process among many stakeholders. Human security put as a policy agenda find no fewer problems to be operationalised appropriately. Besides, security seems to be determined by history, culture and ethnic differences that transcend the Western values. Unless otherwise resolved, the universal western sense of security appeals to the protection of Western State. A scientific diagnosis of security issues should seek the historical evolution of security sense based upon an objective examination of facts. Many examples showed in past how rule and constitutional shifts are of paramount important to re-construct the meaning of security where each actor subscribes. Security undoubtedly is political since its goals follow a political mandate. Therefore, the discourse of

security must not be framed under the agreement of all involved actors and not by Nation-State exclusively (McDonald, 2002). Ultimately, there is a strong connection between terrorism and tourism but not for the motives argued by Somnez. Both are global processes determined by the economic order of production and distribution of goods.

Modernism and Middle East's Turmoil.

In the religious literature and terrorism, Bruno Etienne (1996) corresponds with the best platform in this debate. His thesis points out convincingly that Islam radicalization should be studied coupled to the advance of modernity and imposition of Western-city with its benefits and problems. Whether Coram refers to politic fields a sacred space, its exemplary hero, the prophet Mohammad had the capacity not only to create the community (umma) but also of gaining the necessary power (mulk), to articulate a corpus of lessons and learning that formed the first doctrine of Islam. Based on a traditional view of the city, Islam may be reactionary to the advance of post-modern cultural values. But unlike other religions, the problem seems to be that these lessons have never been coded under an encompassing viewpoint.

Etienne is not wrong when he admits that the prophet reveals the legacy of God to be communicated to others who should be circumscribed to a profound reform (islah). By expanding the learning of Mohammed is the primary duty of all Muslims. Many Western scholars think in Islam by means of its effects but this, Etienne adds, is a mistake. The radicalized-Islam is the product of certain unmet needs and promises made by European powers that historically resulted in the exclusion of Arabs pushing them into poverty and marginalization. Under this conjuncture, the call (daawa) is aimed to be heard by all Arabs paves the ways for the consolidation of "Jihad".

Struggle and efforts were two of the mandates to reach the *umma (known as a sate where the community of all believers lives in harmony).* From an historical perspective, let us remind readers that assumptions of this calibre were surely coined in a moment wherein the Mohamed scrambled with other neighbours to impose the Islam alongside the Arabic Peninsula. Although once Mohamed has gone these points were being subtly shifted, they exerted considerable pressure in the life of Muslim societies. One might speculate that Islam can be deemed as a counter-strategy exerted before-to the advance of dominant-powers. Since there is no clear definition as to who are such powers, many interpretations are subject to political manipulation. The attacks of Soviet Union to Afghanistan enabled these defensive beliefs in order to call all Muslims-warriors to the jihad in order for invaders to be repelled. The Soviet Union's invasion not only put in danger what the Muslim world knows as *the Umma* but also emulated the needs to articulate a broader defensive strategy.

Intervention, as any other intervention, of Soviet Union in Afghanistan generated that thousand of holy-warriors wanted to be part of the fight against invaders. The list that included all these new soldiers was called Al-Qaeda. This does not necessarily mean that Coram promotes terrorism as Somnez thinks. Unlike the Christianity or Catholic Church that achieved successfully the creation of a dogma typifying the New Testament as an all-encompassed code, the overt-interpretation of sacred-texts in Muslim-world leads some radicalized-groups to manipulate the meaning of Mohammad legacy. The Islamization of Arabs can be understood as a combination of many factors as the poverty, exclusion, the corruption of local rich monarchies, as well as the thirst of European powers for the local resources of Middle East or the on-going failures of Marxists to dissuade population that the history equals to the fight of classes (unlike in Latin America where these theories acted as

conduits in politic struggle). The call represents in this way more than an attempt to be redeemed in a war, as it has been misunderstood by European intelligence; it triggers the spiritual transformation necessary to become a "better person". Of course, it is truthfully certain groups appeal to this religiosity to convert pilgrims in an efficient army by means of the stimulation of old stories linked to Crusades. Like in West, many ideologists envisage the history in their own benefit triggering the radicalization of Islam. As the previous argument given, Etienne argues that the Jihad as it us heard on TV seems to be an unresolved problem for Muslims. Bin Laden declared the war to US for the same reason. This country stranded its army-machinery in Arabia after the Gulf-war; this was seen as a subtle strategy to take the oil resources of the region, as an invasion by which all Muslims should be gathered in a Jihad. Even though, Bush's administration was alerted several times about the possibilities of an attack in American soil, these warnings are trivialized. Nevertheless, in view of the facts, it is necessary to re-consider for what does jihad really mean?.

At a first glance, the term jihad does not mean "holy-war" but is threefold: a) the struggle against self, b) the struggle against unbelievers and c) a more profound fight to expand the Islam worldwide. The reading and interpretation of holy-texts plays a pivotal role in the sanctification of warriors. Undoubtedly, the modern terrorism based on Muslim cells that immolate themselves in their attacks is associated to the lore of assassins. Even though the Muslim culture has serious problems to accept the otherness, there is no before the local disputes for territories and power that led some monarchs to hire "killers" (assassins) to finalize the rivalries. Over centuries, these mercenaries formed a selected-body (elite) under the promise to defend the society before the attack of outsiders and imperial powers. The goals of assassins were twofold, for one hand they were compromised to fight against usurpers and traitors. One another hand, they were the soldiers of God against the external invaders. Following this reasoning, assassins were called as "Fidji", a term that means "the sacrificed". This new class of executors based on the belief the "bad Muslims" should be punished gave origin to the principle of martyrdom. The eternal happiness was one of the supreme goals these watchers pursued. Like Christianity with Inquisition, some Muslims, as Etienne showed, are interpreting an incorrect lesson from Coram. Nor Muhammad neither Islam would justify suicide or the attacks to civilians in our days. As G. Friedman accepts, G. Bush did the bad thing in declaring the war against terrorism, because this was as declaring the war to nobody (defying the grounding rules of war-tactics). He would move their troops to fight against the radical Islam, in doing so, many Muslim countries would have support his cause (Friedman, 2011).

The Economy of Terrorism

Following the Marxian theory of the struggle of classes, Norbert Elias presented a more than illustrative thesis respecting to the connection of conflict and technology. The cyclic evolution of wars and peace would correspond with the evolution of civilization. Science and expertise have in some extent made from earth a safer place to be leaving behind the religion and superstition. The development and technological advance has been created a more evolved and civilized society but violence not only remains but also is exploited to open the door to a new state of war which should be understood as a form of communication among human beings. The competition for surviving in a certain lapse of time gives to community a specific meaning which is expressed in terms of myths, customs and of course the lore aimed at encouraging their own ethnocentrism. With this background in mind, Elias deems that the history would be the evolution of different conflicts between two or more parts. Based on a forced stereotype of otherness, Empires (as Macedonia, Rome, Spain, United Kingdom and of course United States) in bipolar terms construct a pretext to

legitimize their territorial expansion. This discourse is built on a false sentiment of superiority, which ensures the legitimacy of some groups over others (Elias, 2002). The political and economic asymmetries proper of capitalism are sublimated beyond the boundaries of nation state. Empires needs for hate to constructs their hegemony. On doing so, the internal enemy is sublimated towards the boundaries. When Americans point out how danger international terrorism is, they ignore the historical conflictive relationship between worker union and industrial democracy. After all, strikes and terrorist attacks are inextricably intertwined. Both shares similar conditions respecting to speculation, dissuasion and extortion. One is legitimate, the other criminal.

Returning to the economy of technology, P. Virilio said that mobility brings a temporal myopia because the machine reemplaces the human sense. Mass-media exerts considerable influence in shaping how events are perceived which is often beyond of any control. Not only the efforts in controlling mass-media are fruitless but also facilitate their hegemony over public opinion. In order for media to gain further legitimacy, the news seems to be often broadcasted taking from fear the primary source of exploitation. The acceleration of the mass-transport means triggers an state of confusion for what the present and future are blurred. Starting from the premise that physical distance holds the legacy of ancestors, laws and tradition, the speed will facilitate a converse state of indifference characterized by the condensation of present. The technology of transports and the way people travel are more complex forms of hegemonies that should be somehow reversed. Ultimately, Virilio admits, techniques in terms of transport and information are a result of the war. It is important to note here that journalists and militaries do not vouch by their acts in the sphere of morality. In perspective, one of Virilio´s contributions to philosophy of tourism seems to be that any displacement entails a temporary blindness. Innovation and systematization of transport empties the meaning of present of landscape setting the pace to a new movement, the globalization (Virilio, 1991; 2007).

As afore-noted, the globalization has been widely expanded to all nation-states worldwide. J. Holloway and E. Pelaez argue that in the market two organizations compete directly to gain further segments. Based on the premise of the struggle of classes, two companies in competence allow their members to re-channel their solidarities to the in-group conferring a considerable hostility toward the boundaries of group. One of the aspects more important to define the cosmology of wars is the social relationships of participants. The most important outcome of war does not seem to be the victory in such but the enhancement of legitimacy. Terrorism, 11/9 and the War on terror define the solidarities of both groups regulating the asymmetries generated by globalization. To be more precise, a world characterized by the predominance of travels and mobility, the sentiment of belonging and the legitimacy of States are in declination. Internally, all states start to experience an increasing political instability that jeopardizes the institutional order. Since the capital and capital reproduction have eroded certainly the social bondage in peace-times, terrorism can be understood as a counter-strategy to correct the unexpected effects of globalization, the migration. By means of the imposition of fear, the mobility of persons suspends while the capital traverses the world guised in the army-machine to reinforce the questioned hegemony of US (Holloway and Pelaez, 2002). Unlike Somnez, Holloway and Pelaez are convinced that political insatiability is aimed at reinforcing the authority of nation-states over their citizens.

In this vein, Gambina is not wrong when writes that capitalism needs not only for exploitation of local resources but also the workers internalize the normalcy of the process. In doing so, the ideology would play a crucial role in colonizing the mind of workers

(Gambina, 2002). Cultural entertainment, and tourism are today one of the most vivid mechanism of indoctrination that allows the internationalization of capital worldwide. Once Union Soviet slopped down, the capital strengthened it-self by the creation of a universal currency (euro) and the convertibility system that characterized the economies of developing countries. The hegemony of loans in 90s brought a series of adjustment that created a radicalized and widespread sentiment of anti-Americanism, even in Middle East.

Enzo del Buffalo considers that globalization created rich and pour countries. The problem lies in the number of pour under-developed countries and their annual projection. The global order has created a state of internationalization of debts that resulted in an accelerated accumulation of capital in few hands. The international trade based on the division of labor understands that those countries which have nothing to offer would be labeled as dangerous and hostile to the progress of civilization. This type of criminalization is being accompanied by the expansion of financial powers. The neo-liberalism in 90s was financed thanks to an unabated indebtedness to trigger the mass-consumption. The introduction of new technologies in transports was functional to the generation of multiples mortgages (home equity loans). This economy of mass-consumption based on a strong demand contributed to a paramount reduction in savings. To address these shortcomings, US internationalized the capital to other peripheral countries to generate a virtual demand by accelerating the physical encounter of people. The old Nation-state should set the pace to these international companies in the next years. However, this shows a cost, because the debts of pour countries will be impossible to settle off (del Buffalo, 2002). The inflation of commodities, real-estate, unemployment and depreciation of currency determined the principle of a crisis without precedents for US. As a result of this, the globalization of financial powers is conducive with the poverty of the world and the resulted political unhappiness. The point of entry in this discussion seems to be ¿is terrorism the sign of US declination or an attempt to recover the lost hegemony?

For the American economist, Jaime Estay (2002), the war on terror functions as pretext in order for US to consolidate their world hegemony. Suddenly, the psychological fear imposed by terrorism modified the basis of international trade and services as hospitality and tourism. Under this harsh context, the performances of regions as Africa or Latin America that have their own crises need further attention. Once United State bet to invest in the preparations for war, the under-developing countries are one of the most affected by terrorist attacks simply because for many families remittances still are a source of stability. After all, specialists deem not only that US international policy against terrorism ensures the military primacy to prevent new attacks on America, showing its capacity to be faster elsewhere and anytime but also confirms certainly their rights to take intervention in any countries where the human rights are violated preserving the basis for a new international order enrooted in democracy, trade and neo-liberal policies. From 1960 to 1970, the US economy and its exports dropped considerably. For 1971 the balance between imports and exports is negative. As a result of this, the Gold Reserve slopped down to the extent to eliminate the system Bretton Woods. The consequent devaluation to compete directly with Europe leads US with a set of different economic adjustments.

The progress of financial liberalization started with the derogation of constraints on loans and deposits as well as the controls for developing countries to qualify to earn a loan. The internationalization of production was historically associated to the precocity of unemployment. Promptly the surplus given by this international would be placed in the production of technology and mass-transport. Following the interest of capital, many companies installed in peripheral countries to reduce their costs by repatriating cynically the

profits to their nations. This strategy that has not controlled by international Financial Funds as World Bank or IMF accelerated the impoverishment of World. Paradoxically, the freedom for investors have not equaled to the restriction imposed to unskilled workers who migrated from periphery to center in quests of better opportunities. This accentuated the accumulation of capitals in United States and Europe to create a new legal framework to control the role of secondary economies. The leadership of US during 90s was associated to the inception of monetary regime that loans to accrue high rate of interests paving the pathways for the advent of a neo-colonialism (Arceo, 2002). More precise, like many other situations the trade between periphery and center will be saturated because the asymmetries given. When this happens, the capital flows find in army-machine a fertile source to survive. The expropriation of lands in Middle East by United States works as fresh air for the matured economy. Meanwhile and like in other centuries, the leisure and demonstration effects socialize the new subject in creating the need of belonging.   Empires historically took presence in peripheral zones to extract their resourced in order to import later an elaborated product based on hedonism and conspicuous consumption. Under such a context, tourism industry plays a crucial role in colonizing the minds of hosts worldwide.

Most certainly, R. Ornelas (2002) warns on the role played by the international American companies to destabilize the China's economy based on a strategic positioning in long-term. The concept of hegemony seems not to be simple to define. Nowadays one of most universal meaning refers to hegemony as a social construe that achieves a much broader voluntarily consensus while the dominated are under duress. The World Hegemony can be defined as the ability of certain agents to transform their own project in a wider platform that serves as universal belief. The hegemony constitutes by four dimensions, a) army-politics, b) geography, c) culture and d) economy. The history of economy learn us that after the Second War World, Europe and all obliterated countries were assisted financially by US to accelerate the recovery process. This growth provokes a downright competence between American and European companies. Originally, some scholars have known this facet of world-trade as the declination of United States but 90s characterized by a new transformation of US leadership in all sub-fields of economy, such as tourism, mobility, and hospitality. The problem with this policy (centered on the financial internationalization of capital) was the inflation of commodities, unemployment, dropping the GDP insofar it generated indirectly the rise of rates of interests. A recession of this caliber moved US to deploy a daunting military operation to mobilize the sloppy economy and divert the attention of public opinion. The American companies concentrate very well more than 38.6% of sales and 48.4% of profits in the world. From 2000 onwards, roughly 192 companies earn more than 250.000 million dollars overwhelming one to seven to other competitors in Japan. The electronic and information industry centralizes more than 34.8% of the sales in American companies relegating to transport and mobility to a second position. The petroleum industry, anyway, included a new process of exploration and conquest where 40% of sales were on hand of United Kingdom and United States. Even though, Brazil, China and Russia are direct competitors of US, simply because they have a rapid and sustainable growth in last years, U.S and its campaign in Middle East provided with important sources of supply to maintain their system of energy until 2050. This means that the virtualization of capital which traverses the world (in what some scholars say is a process of disterritorialization) comes across with a concrete policy of expropriation of lands (territorialization). The fight for oils and local resources in Middle East was waken up the concerns of specialist as a source of ever-changing instability. As the previous argument given, terrorism and the war on terror results in a financial line of control acting as a conduit for the expansion of US. Under premises as the clash of civilizations (see Huntington theory) or the "struggle for West Civilization survival" one might find a restructuration of American hegemony enrooted into

the doctrine of free-market and democracy (Ornelas, 2002). This is exactly the point Somnez replicates in her study.

Conclusion

In foregoing, we have substantially examined the argument of Sevil Somnez about tourism and terrorism. The decision to start with a war are a complex phenomenon with multiple variables but historians realized that war marks an inflection point of the war-peace cycle, and the decision to cease hostilities marks the end of a particular cycle. Comparative studies of war cycles can contribute to explication of facets of this decision-making process. Most relevant of these facets are those that help us to identify the preventable factors influencing the decision to declare (and to terminate) a war (Dewey, 1951; 1952; 1967). Unfortunately to the moment there are no algorithms and quantitative studies to focus on the relationship between war, peace, and capital accumulation (financial situation of banks) to determine relevant findings, but at some extent, most likely this was one of the merits of Sevil Somnez, we should not to loose the sight of the compliance between tourism and terrorism. This paper intended to discuss and exerting considerable criticism against Somnez´ development. Once again, we are not saying this well-recognized scholar promote racism and ethnocentrism. Rather, our main thesis is that Tourism, Terrorism, and Political Instability, published at Annals of Tourism Research shows the tendency of a society and its impossibilities to digest the otherness and the tendencies of international politics that ended with World Trade Center attacks. This event that shocked the international audience not only woke up Americans from the slumber they were but also accelerated their closure to the world.

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About the Author

As sociologist, **Maximiliano E. Korstanje** has specialized in the study of risk and mobilities from many interdisciplinary approaches. Recently, his interest was based on the impacts of 9/11 to tourism and local economies. As a result of this, in 2010 he founded the first journal dedicated to the study of safety in tourism, International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism hosted by The University of Palermo Argentina. His contributions led to co-editor important journals as Event Management and Int. Journal of Tourism and Travels and work as editorial board member for more than 20 journals in risk and tourism such as: Risk and Uncertainty, Journal of Tourism Anthropology, Journal of Risk Research, Rosa dos Ventos, Journal of Emergency Service Information, Journal of Disaster Resilience in the Built Environment, Studies and Perspectives in Tourism, El Periplo Sustainable, Tourism and Society and Int. Journal of Hospitality and Event Management. With more than 300 published papers and 13 books, Korstanje takes part of the Philosophical society of England, The international Society for Philosophers, United Kingdom and Int. Committee Research on Disasters, United States.

Area of Studies: Disasters, Resiliency, Risk, Mobility, Terrorism, Tourism, Dark Tourism, Cultural Tourism, and others.