Examining the Connection between Tourism and Terrorism : A New Academic Perspective

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Abstract

This concept paper's goal is to provide the reader with a bridge connecting terrorism and tourism through sociological theory. This theoretical work focuses on two main aspects. The first area in which this paper focuses is deciphering what violence symbolizes by connecting consumerism to violence. The second aspect is to expand our understanding of how terrorism operates within modern societies. The paper questions if resentments caused by asymmetrical national economies has a part to play in terrorism. The cond question examined is if tourism's vast economic differences between the investor and administrative portions of the tourism equation and frontline personnel may not create the background for anger and hate that eventually morphs into terrorist cells. Other studies begin with the assumption that terrorism represents a real threat to the tourism industry; this paper's working hypothesis is that tourism may be terrorism by another name.

Key-Words: Tourism, Vulnerability, Terrorism, Consumption, War-fare, Dark-Tourism.

Introduction

Elite interests interpret the symbolism of events, just as in the case of the bombing of Pearl Harbor in the mid XX century, so too did the attacks against the World Trade Center mark a new era, both for the US and the world. The fact is that there were many works that focused on terrorism's negative impacts on tourism prior to this event. Those studies the damage that terrorism caused tourism (Somnez, 1998; Weber, 1998; Domínguez, Burguette and Bernard, 2003; Aziz, 1995; Castaño, 2005; Robson, 2008; McCartney, 2008; Schluter, 2008; Floyd and Pennington-Gray, 2004; Gibson, Pennington-Gray and Thapa, 2003). We may surmise that terrorist acts are not a new phenomenon. Throughout the centuries historians have noted

that armies at war often traveled rapidly through enemy territory, but with the return to peace war turned into trade. To state this in a clear fashion: the growth of Empires was made possible due to two favorable factors: (1) a supply of natural resources allowing for increased agriculture and (2) a more advanced infrastructure allowing for greater mobility. These insurgents or those opposing the government were able to use travel as a way to make their political desires known. It is unfortunate how tourism may have lead to increased terrorism.

As the previous argument given, this conceptual paper explores the existent connection between terrorism, mobility and trade from an interdisciplinary point of view. The goals of this conceptual paper are threefold: 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. Secondly, the message encrypted in the appalling acts of terrorism is in depth deciphered. To conclude, our main thesis is that terrorism does not affect tourism in a strict sense of the word; rather, the latter seems to be the prerequisite for the advent of the former. At a first glance, both tourism industry 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. Our main argument developed throughout this paper is that terrorism is tourism by other means.

Typically, a tourist destination gains more attractiveness after a disaster or tragedy. From the World Trade Center to the Tsunami in Sri Lanka, one might see how the human suffering works as a fertile source for the promotion of consumption. To some extent, it is important to think twice on the belief that tourism is a fragile industry and terrorism or other related disaster its primary threat. Basically, tourism plays as a key factor to generate terrorism but not only this, terrorism gives to tourism further strength after a couple of months. The "touristification of disasters" seems to be a relevant topic to be studied. Truthfully, the terms dark tourism and thana-tourism have been certainly coined to denote these types of slippery matters, but in one point, their focus should be changed since tourism and disasters (in

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these case terrorism) are two sides of the same coin.

Understanding modern Terrorism

The crippling events of September 11 many countries prompted to adopt harder policies to control and reinforce the security alongside their boundaries (Barro, 1991; Pollins, 1989; Abadie and Gardeazabal, 2003; Phillips, 2008). Initially, those countries that shared with US similar experiences such as Spain, England, and Australia gave their support in aligning to this power in an international coalition (Altheide, 2009; Bassi, 2010). Terrorism that way was identified as the main threat for West.

Following this, Robertson (2002) describes terrorism as the primary threat for Western State's security in 21st century. First and foremost, this point of view suggests that a current definition of terrorism is needed simply because the polysemous nature of the term. Pedahzur et al. find 22 different conceptual meanings linked to terrorism where predominates violence, force, political, fear, terror, threat, psychological effects, victims, extortion (Pedahzur et al., 2004). The dichotomy about terrorism is based on two different ideas. Whilst some scholars encourage in order for nation states to take faster and proactive counter-terrorism policies (Fukuyama, 1989; Huntington, 1993; 1997; Kristol and Kagan, 1996; Kepel, 2002; Vargas-Llosa, 2002; Rashid, 2002; Kepel, 2002; Fritting and Kang, 2006; Keohane and Zeckhauser, 2003; Susstein, 2005; Pojman, 2006), other group is aimed at arguing that World Trade Center's episode was functional to the economic and politic interests of United State to generate 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) (Howie, 2009).

At a first glance, Goldblatt and Hu (2005) define terrorism as any illegal usage of force or acting of violence against persons or their properties in order to intimidate its own or other Governments. Nonetheless, this modest definition has some problems to be digested because presents a false dichotomy between democracies and dictatorships or religiosity and secularism. For example, in democracies elites exert similar or greater

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violence against some minorities than dictatorships. That way, the linkage between religiosity and terrorism should be revisited. 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 that it is enrooted in a much deeper sentiment of resentment against West but at some extent it is true that the effects of terrorism feed back the hegemony of US in the world and vice-versa. Furthermore, Fluri (2009) reminds 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. Moved by earning higher-salaries, specialized workers from USA and Europe come to Afghanistan looking for better opportunities. This encounter between unskilled and skilled workers opens the doors for the advent of resentment and unhappiness. Since the "First-World-like" style of consumption and commodities are erected in opposition to the rest Muslim population, a much broader process of spatial segregation takes place post-invasion. Last but not least, G. Skoll (2007) agrees with Zizek that the political violence works as a virus going from one to another guest expanding the infection. As the previous argument given, Schmid contends that *"the terrorist victimization is often perceived by the terrorist as a sacrifice. The sacrifice can consist of attaching innocent people from the adversary's camp or of a terrorist blowing himself or herself up in the midst of a group of guilty enemies. In that case, he sees himself as a martyr. The dimension of martyrdom links it to the activity that some scholars see as the most fundamental form of religiosity: the sacrifice"* (Schmid, 2004, p. 210).

The Martyrdom

Undoubtedly, one of the aspects that concerns scholars and experts in terrorist issues is the martyrdom. Ranging from theories based on psychology where terrorist are considered as disturbed towards anthropological studies which start their analysis from a biased interpretation of Coram, many books, papers and movies over-emphasized on mental pathologies of terrorists. Rather, B. Hoffman (2002) surmises that terrorism seems to be more than a psycho-pathology that shows a downright sentiment of anger against "America". Neither Bin Laden nor the members of Al-

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Qaeda should be considered as hate-filled maniacs as the specialized literature says. Of course, terrorists are or would be insurgents whose interests are articulated by means of the extortion and fear. Hence, the existent discourse of martyrdom, which was coined 700 years back whenever "Assassins" fiercely fought against "Christian crusaders", is of paramount importance to expand the understanding of how terrorism works. Conceptualized in respect of a sacramental act, the martyrdom ensured a life of happiness in heaven for all warriors who would give their life in sacrifice. However, it is not surprising the modern terrorism had learned much from managerial literature at Western universities than the Coram. The event of 11/09 has been characterized by a perfect planned-orchestration with the accuracy enough to have success where former attempts failed. Management and business logic not only train potential terrorists but also act as conduits for the imposition of democracies in Middle East. Following this, J.Baudrillard (1995a; 1995b; 2006) demonstrated how the war on terror became in a precondition for the expansion of trade and democracy world-wide. The inception of new democratic regimes in Afghanistan and Iraq corresponds with a profound need of stimulating the liberal market beyond the boundaries of West what reminds readers that the war-fare and mass-consumption are inextricably intertwined. Although a scientific definition of terrorism is difficult to materialize simply because this depends on many socio-historical and political views, Modern terrorism sometimes has its origin in a supposed injustice or an act of victimization where two or more parts are involved. By utilizing mass-form of transport such as airplanes, trains or buses, terrorists seek to create a state of disorder (panic) with sufficient strength for their demands to be re-negotiated (Phillip, 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) present a promising hypothesis that contrast with the majority of studies in these fields. The psychological fear corresponds with a much broader sentiment that allows the competitions among corporations. Whenever two or more companies enter in competitions, their members adjust their own behavior to theorganization interests. Similarly, the inter-state conflict achieves a new

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re-structuration of social relationships in order for States to gain further legitimacy. Concepts as Discipline and Surveillance are difficult to be applied in a world characterized by the ever-changing mobility of capital and people. Given this, the terrorism, and of course the fear this activity wake up, would correct the unexpected effects of mobility and globalization by enhancing the liaison between citizens and their states.

The message of Terrorism

Globalization plays a pervasive role because for one hand it homogenizes the domination of technology, economic linkages and logic of instrumentality while on another hand it entails a process of re-territorialization based on a bipolar logic of inclusion / exclusion. The state of mobility that warrants the modern tourism has showed serious problem to integrate the entrance of peripheral workers to central countries. Unfortunately, some important material asymmetries have not yet resolved by the promises of globalization. Even though the trade seems to be expanded throughout the world, the human mobility was strictly constrained engendering serious social pathologies as poverty and undervelopment (Del Bufalo, 2002; Connolly, 1993). However, it is important not to loose the sight that terrorism is not an exclusive reaction of poverty but exclusion.

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, Schmid considers that terrorism should be seen 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 outlawed offense while the latter means to a premeditated act of crime irrespective of the societal legal system.

There would be a universal concept of evilness which traverses all cultures and times. 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 partial information. The war and ethnic conflicts are framed in show-cases wherein the morbidity of viewers is commoditized in a show of disasters in a combination of of cynicism, indifference and fear. 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 rises. The victims of terrorism serve as a message to dissuade a stronger State that things come worse to worst (Schmid and Jongman, 1988). Terrorism seeks to call the attention of State in a particular manner.

Centered on geertzian theory of rituals and performances H. Johnston (2008) gives an insight background respecting to cultural values and concerns of Chechen National Movement. The process of identity of Chechens has been forged in sharp contrast to Russia. This can be exhibited in their lore, religion, beliefs, and customs. After the process of migration forced by Stalin where thousand of Chechens became in expatriates, terrorism was historically associated to the promise of a return to home. Underpinned in the proposition that heritage and lore were key factors to understand the Chechen isolationism respecting to Russia, this case explains further the multi-facet nature of terrorism as well as its consistency in the threshold of time. What for ones can be viewed as an act of terror for other seems to be the fight for independence.

The profundity exhibited in the work of Jean M. Dupuy merits at least to be discussed. Far away of seeing in the panic a factor of disaggregation, our French philosopher emphasizes on the contributions of E. Durkheim along with the crime. Societies, no matter the time, are united by means of an invisible hand. This bondage was undoubtedly the panic enrooted in the collective unconsciousness. The panic would work as a symbolic mediator between the mass and trade. By the articulation of narcissist sacrifice, the libidinal liaison is personified under the mask of a leader who works as an escape-goat for achieving the cohesion of community. Similarly to this explanation, the market (as the leader) functions as a self-regulated mechanism by drawing the line between the hate and love. Precisely, in a

society where religion is setting the pace to instrumentality, the market and trade, which are anonymous, tend to inhibit the social fragmentation by indoctrinating the individual minds. In doing so, the free play and impersonality that characterize the market gives as a result a sublimated predominance of instrumentality over emotions. Following this, Dupuy argues that the panic, a product of socialization, seems to be encrypted by the market and sublimated in a new type of nuanced hazard, the risk. Nonetheless, the panic is not ripe to disappear, it remains occulted until the leadership (of market or other leader) is broken (Dupuy, 1999).

Echoing the contributions of M. Foucault who saw in politics the continuation of war by other means, we strongly believe tourism and terrorism follows a similar dynamic. The borders are certainly drawn by the exertion of power and coactions over citizens constituting a discourse based on the tergiversation of past-time. The sense of security is inextricably intertwined to the sense of sovereignty and territoriality. Both stems from the economic principle of shortage. For Foucaultian view, the conflict always remains in the core of society. Whenever the conflict is diverted towards the external boundaries (this means against an external foe), the lay-people strengthen their solidarities but when the state of war ends, this violence is encapsulated within the limits of society in forms of illness, crime, and other pathologies. What is important to not here in this dichotomy, is the fact that State's legitimacy rises by the struggle of its members. Under such a context, for Foucault the history works an as a fertile source to impose a biased narrative that maintains people under control (Foucault, 2001; 2006). An argument of this nature coincides with the N. Elias´s development about the relation between civilization and war. Following the Marxian theory of the struggle of classes, Elias considered that the Second War was the epicenter for a new era for humanity. The cyclic evolution of wars and peace corresponds with the evolution of civilization. The 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, tradition and of course the lore aimed at fagocitating their own ethnocentrism. With this background in mind, Elias deems that the history would be the concatenation of different conflicts between two or more parts. Based on a biased depiction of otherness, Empires (as Macedonia, Rome, Spain, United Kingdom and of course United States) construct a pretext to legitimize their territorial expansion. This excuse given in form of discourse is widely replicated in all spheres of society denoting certain ascription to some aspects that marks the superiority of ones over others (Elias, 2002). In our modern times, the mobility and travels are sings of status and social distinction.

The connection between Terrorism and Tourism

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, 2008; McCartney, 2008; Schluter, 2008; Floyd and Pennington-Gray, 2004; Gibson, Pennington-Gray and Thapa, 2003; Paraskevas and Arendell, 2007; Sackett y 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). It is clear that tourism and hospitality were ones of most affected industries after the World Trade Center's attacks. In perspective, Peattie, Clarke and Peattie calls 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 y Peattie, 2005). Mobilities open a new channel towards unknown that re-symbolize the epicenter of vulnerability placing people out of home.

The questions related to nationality and nationhood play a pivotal role in the inception of terrorism (Lepp and Gibson, 2008). 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 to this logic, the same discourse emphasizes on the fact that enemies of democracy (terrorists) take advantage of tourist vulnerability as an act of cowardice (almost always related to feminity).

The supposed weakness of trade and tourism respecting to terrorism should be at least revisited when one reviews the annual flows of tourists in the world. For instance, J. M Castaño (2005) dwells on the numbers of arrivals from 2000 to 2003 questioning the previous belief that terrorism threatens tourism. Cities like Mombasa, New York, Madrid, London, Bali and Cairo have been experienced notable downfalls in the arrivals but recovered considerably after a lapse of time. For other hand, Aziz (1995) argues that capitalism and mass-consumption are enrooted in mass-tourism. The attacks suffered by hotel chains should be understood as a reactionary form of protest and political discontent. 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. Based on the assumptions that risk-related theories generate a sentiment of paranoia which is self-defeating for destination images, Bianchi considers that the bridge between white (tourists) and non-white (migrants) travelers have been enlarged afterwards 11/09.

It is very interesting to denote how the previous imbalances that driven to the state of emergency are reified in order for the system to keep the order. The Dark-Tourism precisely vindicates tragedies (like WTC) that have taken room in past but blurring the real responsibilities of involved actors. The main reasons that generated the event (in this case the terrorist attack) are framed by Mass-media into a specific discourse which broadcasts on the aftermaths instead of the causes. That way, mass-media demonizes terrorists who often are presented as maniacs obsessed to destroy the

"American style of life"; a point of entrance well-debated and documented by Corey (2009), Bernstein (2006), Zizek (2009), Altheide (2006) and of course Baudrillard (1995). The mediated landscapes of terrorist attacks are daily broadcasted with the end of feeding an ethnocentric narrative that vindicates a supposed moral superiority of West over the rest of globe.

¿What are the similarities between terrorism and tourism?. Still, the first element that terrorism and tourism industry share is the convergence of psychological fears with a sentiment of brother-hood. The ordinary-people seems to be more proxy when perceive the danger. Following this, terrorism develops the psychological fear as an instrument to exert coactions against the nation-states which capitalize their strength based on inter-ethnic differences. In the passing of years, Empires historically have constructed their mythical archetype of civilization around their ability to be mobile. Following this, the mobility was and is a value associated to rationale, light, power and knowledge. The gap between tourist-delivering and tourist-receiving countries can be explained by means of Lash and Urry´s theory (1998) that showed convincingly how the material ways of production leads investors to create certain spots to develop hedonism and consumption. The symbolical border between a tourist-destination and non-tourist destination is marked by the juxtaposition of fear with security.

However, in some extent this sentiment of fear becomes in attraction for some segments. As it has been previously hypothesized in this text, wars wake up a much broader sentiment of nationalism (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 or Thana-tourism strongly associated to sites of mass-death and suffering (Strange and Kempa, 2003; Miles, 2002; Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Smith, 2010). Starting from the premise that tourism tends to mitigate the effects of wars converting the employed artifacts in sacred-objects -ready to be exposed day by day in a showcase-scholars have recently turned their attention to the how 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 would be a result of the commoditization of two significant aspects, fear of death and need of

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intellectualizing the contingency (this means what remains uncertainty but can be modified by work). By this side, the penchant of enjoying for suffering of others is enrooted in humankind across history and cultures (Stone, 2005).

Reasons why visitors are often attracted to dark tourism destinations 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. The mediated spectacle of terrorism combines the performance of gaze and the subjects to be gazed. These events work towards the democratization of performance nourishing a national discourse wherein fantasy and reality are mingled (Wallace, 2007). Elaborated in a coherent good of consumption, the suffering of others wake up a broader sentiment of sadism in consumers.

Long time ago, Joseph Campbell wrote that cultures need from Wars and peaces in similar conditions. From the onset of homo-habilies, carnivorous specie from where the current humans descend, the question of death was a bit troublesome. At a first hand, the humans are a "beast of preys" paragraphasing to Spengler. This means that only in the war the humankind can create all things. When we examine the ancient mythologies, we realize that there is a conflictive relationship between the death and live. For some reason, there remains a need to assassinate to continue living. In fact, this is the principle of Darwinian competition. Almost all rites and myths worldwide are based on the belief that the blood of hunted-prey is useful to revitalize the fertility in earth (this is the principle of sacrifice). By the way, those animals that are used as resource of food are venerated to the extent of being considered sacred-entities. Quite aside from this, what is important to note here is that the principle of peace need to be preceded by war. This works as a form or instrument of cleanness that allows a restructuration of local economy cycles. Under this premise, the peace would be the symbolic

wall to remind how destructive can be the humankind. Anthropologically speaking, the war is one of the more relevant industries of human beings. The killing is for the hunting tribes a way for expanding the life. Following this reasoning, we can understand the war similarly to the prerequisite (sacrifice) for the peace. For some reasons, the tribes evolved in tropical, plain and rural zones that marked the life in Europe and United States are enrooted in the belief that the civilization seems to be born from the decadence; and of course this is the myth in West (Campbell, 1997). In this vein, the war resolves many problems associated to over-crowd, the excess of demands and overpopulation as well as deficiencies of economy whenever there are not sufficient arms for the work. Personally, this is the primary point of discussion in this paper. From a Malthusian perspective, the fertility of a civilization is often regulated by viruses and other illnesses to the extent of experiencing needs of infrastructure for the new babies. Whenever the environment constraints the expansion of civilizations, it surfaces some unexpected pathologies as the poverty and famine. The arms for the work are proportional to the consumption of resources. In so doing, the involving civilization is bereft two alternatives, a) to make the war to appropriate other resources as well as sublimating to part of their population or b) to reduce the existent degree of fertility. If civilization takes the step B, the local economy decreases to the extent that the existent elite can seriously loose its legitimacy. For that reason, civilization in expansion historically has recurred to war as their main sources for extending their economies. The connection between tourism (industry) and terrorism (war) not only can be explained by means of this model but also the unquestionable contributions of wars in the technological advance of Science.

Conclusions

After further examination, the present conceptual paper 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. Terrorism as a social construe is aimed at offsetting the imbalances generated by mobility. 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. Most certainly, 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 boundaries between civilization and barbarity are coined in the social conflict and the differences of status that the degree of mobility entails. The World Trade Center's attack coined a new narrative in West that posed terrorism as its primary threat. The process of production in late-capitalism accumulated intangible assets (money) which mediated among human relationships. Starting from the premise that globalization opens the door for the advent of mobility (tourism) world-wide, terrorist cells, far away of being religious fundamentalists, feel a great admiration for West. Many Muslims are annually received in Europe and United State for educational purposes. For many reasons which have been widely discussed in this conceptual paper, this admiration becomes in a much wider resentment. This raises an interesting question, why?.

When the process of accumulation is saturated or reaches a deadlock, a war marks the beginning of a new era. During a war-fare the involved nations not only transform their means of production but also innovate in a new system of transport. Historians of tourism have certainly agreed that, to some extent, cars and airplanes have been an historical product of the two Great World Wars during 1914s and 1945s. As the previous argument given, tourism industry and terrorism (as a new type of celebrating the war) seemed to be two sides of the same coin. An historical examination of this issue denotes that tourism and terrorism shared the following characteristics:

1) Indifference for the suffering of others (a couple of years back a new emphasized on the indifference of some Italian holiday-makers who sunbathe while a migrant's corpse lays at the beach next to them).

2) The state of fear represents one of their most powerful instruments for achieving their goals.

3) The advent of an ethnocentric and biased discourse aimed at highlighting the values of the own society. This means that tourism often appeals to ethnocentric discourse based on a false patriotism. After the 11/9 American officials called to their citizens to travel inside United States as

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a form of patriotism.

4) A profound psychological need of conquest for intellectualizing the principle of contingency. The dark Tourism not only reminds that the state of disaster is possible, but also reminds that the involved community has not fully devastated after all giving hope to survivors but leaving a message. This engenders a sentiment of superiority that not always brings the vessel to a safest port. Historically, Empires have recurred to the creation of narratives post-disaster in order to enhance their own legitimacy. These discourses, based on the festival and event-management emphasize on heroism, love, bravery, injustice and strength as primary characteristics of survivors. World Trade Center or Pearl Harbour's Memorials refer to a mediated discourse of historical facts (mutually construed and tergiversated) that sheds on some events but covers others. For that, reason, needs of symbolizing the presence of death (after a terrorist attacks) corresponds with the onset of ethnocentrism.

Sociologically speaking, globalization and free market increase 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 macro social system. Under certain circumstances, mobility jeopardizes to dissociate the loyalty of citizens to their nation-state. When this happens, the system moves the necessary resources to reinforce its legitimacy by the articulation of fear-based policies. Terrorism in these terms selects and finds target that entails a high impact for public opinion. Last but not least, terrorist cells appeal to make as much danger as possible to gain more strength in their process of negotiation. In so doing, the message is elaborated around the following discourse: "everyone is the prey" simply because "the attack can take room every time and everywhere!".

Let explain this in another way, 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 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, Empires have historically devoted considerable efforts and financial resources in building a net to encourage the mobility within their boundaries as a sign of their superiority, expressed in terms of trade, over the rest of barbarian world. The attacks against travelers not only represented an offense for the Empire's pride but also a political defiance to its hegemony.

The market engenders the principle of contingency and uncertainty where social institutions surface. The concept of risk (danger) is created by the elites and expertise which present their cure (solution to the problem) (Dupuy, 1999). The institutional design literature reminds us how the risk (a term used in Middle age to fix the rate of transport) evokes a much wider economical process based on shortage. For that reason, by understanding the process how risk and hazards are created, scholars can understand the socio-economic dynamics that previously determine the sense of security (as explained in a foucaultian sense). As the previous argument given, the Processes of peace and conflict are being alternated as efficient instruments of financial accumulation which finally are driven to the advance of new technologies applied on mass-transport and mobility. Needless to say, terrorism or war-state not only is functional to these economic cycles, but allows aligning the loyalties of citizenships to their States. In normal conditions globalization, mobility and tourism disperse the existent inter-ethnic relationships of travelers. The high degree of mobility that connects many cities in the world in a couple of hours runs the risk of accelerating the social-fragmentation because it dissociates the traveler's home or even its traditional sense of territoriality. To some extent, terrorism as social construe seems to be a sufficient pre-condition in order for Nation-States not to loose their legitimacy.

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