TOURISM, TERRORISM AND NATION-STATE: SEVIL SOMNEZ RECONSIDERED

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Similarly to the assumption that politics are war by other means, we argue in this conceptual paper that tourism and terrorism are linked and sometimes tourism is terrorism by other means. In sharp contrast to the studies that focuses on terrorism as the main threat of West, we try to explore the historical roots of terrorism from an all-encompassed manner. We therefore, exert a criticism to the Sevil Somnez´s text and provide with an alternative view for policy-makers, scholars and students interested in these types of issues.

INTRODUCTION

Developing countries need from tourism as a primary activity to boost their economies. Nonetheless, the architecture of resorts and hotels sometimes are built following the patterns of tourist-originated societies (developed societies). The advance in technology facilitated the physical displacement connecting people of diverse sites and cultures. Travels opened the doors to an encounter that not always was friendly. The specialists agree the cultural shock, produced by tourism, in the encounter between hosts and guest triggers some pathological problems. Visitors are more vulnerable to be kidnapped or even killed simply because they are not familiar with the soil. The combination between resentment, poverty, unfair wealthy distribution and economic dependency can be very well result in political instability and unhappiness. Terrorism undoubtedly can be seen as a part of this problem where two cultures are placed in proximity (Spanou, 2007; Jalil, 2010), even under some circumstances, tourism contributes to peace (Shin, 2006); the volatile nature of this industry and experience create serious losses for these countries because of their higher dependency and the stagnation of demand. Risks and terrorism have transformed in serious concerns for specialists in tourism

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and hospitality (Bouzon and Devillard, 2010; Abdel-Azim, 2010). Televised in the media for thousand million of viewers, terrorism scares further by its effects than its reasons. Efforts placed to solve the problem not only fail but also aggravate the situation to the extent of leading industrialized-societies to a paradox. Whilst West advanced exponentially their technological supremacy over the rest of the world in means of mobility, transport, trade and information, one of the characteristics of terrorism seems to be the unpredictability of next attacks. Demonized in last years as the "axis of evilness", terrorism becomes in a serious challenge for radicalized-West unable to bolster an honest dialogue with otherness.

TERRORISM VS TOURISM

After 9/11, the world saw religious fundamentalism a serious challenge to defeat, but not only this, terrorism became in a threat for the activity and well-functioning of this growing industry. Even though terrorism existed before this event, even there are chronicles dated from the first century B.C that describes how Roman travelers were attacked during their journeys by a bunch of insurgents, US learnt how much vulnerable are armies against these types of unexpected onslaughts. Undoubtedly, WTC caused a serious commotion in the public opinion worldwide. The advances in transport means that before were the prides of US were now manipulated and directed against Americans. One of the most pervasive consequences of terrorism in US was not by their damages, but the narrative they created. Post 9/11 US tightened the security in the borders, and performed two preventive wars not only spending a millionaire sum of money but also gaining international condemnation. The republican order and democracy showed to the world that in some circumstances, big fishes (under the right of stronger) can invade military a country without any consensus.

In this conjuncture, 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 if Somnez´s research, entitled Tourism, Terrorism and Political instability was published at Annals of Tourism research in 1998, 3 years before World Trade Center's attack, his developed passed the proof of time and seems to be now widely quoted in other related studies. For that reason, we are needed to exert certain criticism on her view because it represents the existent discourse in United States respecting to Third World and Terrorism.

In her work, S. Somnez 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 innocently considers terrorism as a form of political expression based on the violence exerted against civilians; a sort of violence that must be condemned. One of the most frightful aspects of terrorism seems to be associated to its thirst for killing innocents and unarmed citizens in order to generate a high emotional impact. Following this, the mass-destruction weapons are one of the most important worries of Western states. The relevance of media in the configuration of terrorist's message is conceptualized by means of three elements: a) a transmitter of message (who is denominated as terrorist), b) 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 anticipate where and under what circumstances the next attack will take shape. For Somnez, Marxist/Leninist movements 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 terrorism. 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 goals achievements and publicity of their acts are associated to a downright ideological resistance to hedonism. Depending on their goals, terrorist cells are classified in revolutionary or sub revolutionary. Their goals differs from ideological (put in long-range encouraging a national revolt), tactical (short range and moved by particular interests) towards strategic for denoting long-simmering interests. Since terrorists vindicate often a stance which is unheard by a stronger State, they camouflage among local population and make of western tourists their primary target in order for their claims to be

seriously taken in consideration. For Somnez, tourism represents the most important aspect of capitalism and its decline allows terrorists to impose their political advantages unilaterally. Following this reasoning, Somnez explores the liaison between development failures and political discontents to conclude that in part development does not take for granted resentment but encourages the inter-class division creating friction and discontent. In accordance to Aziz, tourists and local actors are fully dissociated by languages, style of lives, class-behavior and other ethnic-barriers. This sentiment of bitterness is also engendered by cultural values and particular attitudes which would be incongruent with Islam. Here is important to note that fundamentalism has nothing to do with Marxism. While the latter were enrooted into the capitalist logic, the former one represents a counter-response to modernity. If one accepts, modernity standardized the consumption beyond the limits of West, this symbolic expansion contrasts with traditional forms of life.

By the combination of statistical and quantitative methods, it would be widely showed that terrorism and other disrupting events affect negatively tourism industry. The consistency of their findings is significant in comparison with the potential risk in tourist behavior. The process of decision making, Somnez adds, is changed or altered whenever the travelers perceive risks. Even though this has not been appropriately researched, reaction to terrorist attacks involved not only the target but also the neighboring countries too. Dysfunctional to business, risk should be examined and understood by scholars. From this perspective, Somnez introduces to the discussion a new concept: the risk. As a negative and constraint, risk perception would affect the development of local economies and tourism as-well. The existent psychological literature applied on management showed that people when are in danger modifies their attitudes and cancel their reserved trips. Involuntarily, this suggests that people is a rational agent able to maximize their benefits meanwhile their disbenefits are minimized. As rational consumer, the tourist avoids in visiting zones of political instability. . Implicitly, the risk perception not only is functional to terrorism but also to destination-substitution and economical losses.

To some extent, Mass-media exerts influence in the coverage of terrorist attacks emphasizing at their effects but not their causes. Basically, terrorism gave to "America" a reason to be victimized and over-valorized. The tourist experience seems to be as the second element she employs to quantify her ethnocentric theory. 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. More than a political mechanism, 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. Last but not least, destination-image situates as 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 improve the homeland safety. Its potentiality is often associated to the possibility to establish democracy as primary priority. She recognizes (but does not give further explanation about the reasons) that tourism and terrorism are inextricably intertwined. For this stance, the prosperity of Nation-state depends upon tourism and development.

It is unfortunate that the continuity of tourism, technology advance has not been tackled off by Somnez. Rather, her development anyway passed convincingly the proof of time and broadly has been utilized by many scholars who are concerned in terrorism issues worldwide. Nonetheless, in the following lines, we will discuss in sharp the conceptual and methodological limitations of her theory which lead involuntarily readers to a one-sided discourse. 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 ethnocentrism" some scholars (as Somnez) involuntarily nourishes. Surely, Somnez perhaps envisaged the future of September 2001 but has not further details on respecting to their consequences in the world.

Despite the abundant material and examples provided by Somnez, we have found her text rests on shaky foundations. At a first glance, she views terrorism as a threat of tourism industry in lieu of understanding the reasons behind the phenomenon. Her stance is aimed at giving to policy-makers of valid ideas to absorb the negative effects of terrorism. Based her assumptions in managerial literature, which are more concerned to protect their products than agreeing a sense of what terrorism represents, Somnez intends to provide with an all-encompassed framework to understand terrorism as the main troublesome threat for business. Secondly, it is important not to loose the sight that she 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 one is only elaborated as a construe determined by a previous decision.

Third, Somnez are not familiar with the historical background of Islam and Fundamentalism and some paragraphs she seems to confuse terrorism with violence. Irrespective of their effects, the violence is understood as a political counter-response (not necessarily associated to aggression) to recover the legitimacy. 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). That way, fundamentalists often are convinced of their own faith and do not need to react against external powers (indifference). Terrorists, if we pay attention, have been educated in the best American and British universities and lived long time in these countries. Not only they are familiar with Western culture but also disappointment seems to be the sentiment that moves their hate (once again, they are not religious fundamentalists). Last but not least, there is a strong connection between terrorism and tourism but not for the motives argued by Somnez. Both are processes that form the societal orders and alternate for the technology advance of humanity. Needless to say in next every point and idea will be discussed in depth.

Introduction to Islamic Terrorism

After the terrorist attacks perpetrated in many countries of the world, even in US soil, Americans posed as the epicenter of panic. A much broader sentiment of fear immobilize the American society with serious risks to lead towards a culture of narcissism where specialists are more preoccupied to prevent the next attack than understanding the complexity of the issue. Americans believed not only they were immune to terrorists attacks but also the solution to the conflict in Middle East. 9/11 waked up a crisis within US that immediately was manipulated by State in its favor. Unlike other examples in Argentina or Spain, in US terrorists were treated as enemies of Republic and important resources were re-channeled by Bush's administration in the war on terror (Klein, 2007).

In this vein, Richter and Waugh recognize that the connectedness between tourism and terrorism is related to the vulnerability of travelers and importance that West gives to this industry. The fragility of tourism respecting to politic tension is unable enough to explain the strange seduction of tourism by terrorists. More than a foreign style of life (imported), tourism generates attraction and attention from world public opinion; an attention that terrorists fails to achieve by other means. The

travel, as previously discussed, engenders the possibility of an encounter with otherness that not always is nice and pleasant. Philosophically speaking, hospitality and hostility share a similar root. The technology that makes possible the mobility can be the most serious weakness to be capitalized by terrorism.

Starting from the premise that the spirit of terrorism mutates from one State to other at time US exert the violence, O. Ianni suggests that terrorism should be defined as an acting of political violence wherein some or more interests are at stake. Terrorism works as means for the achievement of certain goals. As this given, H. Saint-Pierre (2003) argues that terrorism follows three interconnected facets: a) tactic, b) strategic and c) politic. Whilst the tactic facet of terrorism refers to the fact of gaining more attention from State achieving as maximum of victims and destruction as possible, the strategic level operates in a symbolic spectrum wherein survivors and spectators experience a deeper sentiment of invulnerability because the event reminds that the State was unable to protect the citizenship from an outsider attack.

Furthermore, the vulnerability of potential victims is of paramount importance for terrorism for two main reasons. The first and more important is that victims remind the impotence of nation-state to defend their own citizens. Therefore, the vulnerability of western-tourists often is highlighted as the precondition for terrorism to shorten the axis of power to negotiate directly with the State. Certainly, B. Etienne suggests convincingly that Islam radicalization should be studied coupled to the advance of modernity and imposition of Western-city. If Coram refers to politics conferring to the exemplary hero, the prophet Mohammad, the capacity not only to create the community (umma) but also of gaining power (mulk). In recognition to this, fundamentalism should be understood as a counter-response before the advent of modernity and capitalism. The prophet reveals the legacy of God to be communicated to others who should be circumscribed to a profound reform (islah). 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" (holy-war).

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 the battlefield, as it has been misunderstood by European intelligence; it triggers the spiritual transformation necessary to become a "better person to live a better life" but once imperial powers arrived at Middle East, the die was cast. Terrorism, in sum, was a combination of many factors but imperial intervention and the current opened meaning of Coram are of paramount important to understand the phenomenon. Unlike Christianity where the doctrine is determined by an exhaustive code (text), Muslims around Coram structured several senses for interpreting the events. With the passing of centuries, this created a strange situation of internal conflict (among Muslims) that is suspended and unified in case of an outside invasion.

Tourism as a form of Resilience

Why people are being captivated by the disaster and suffering of others represents one of the most striking aspects of dark-tourism. Even though in last years, a countless studies have focused on mass-death as a form of cultural entertainment for West in tourism and hospitality fields (Lennon and Folley, 2000; O'Rourke, 1988; Miles, 2002; Laws, Prideaux and Chon, 2007; Stone, 2005; 2011) Dark tourism can be seen as the legacy of a thanatopic tradition whose roots cannot be yet determined with accuracy by experts. Some scholars consider the current fascination for death stems from Middle Age and the habit by visiting craves and cemeteries during XVIIIth and XIXth centuries (Seaton, 1996; 1999) while others dwelled on the role played by mass-media as the prerequisite for creating tourist-spot with concentration in disasters and human catastrophes (Lennon and Foley, 2000). For some scholars, dark tourism shows a strong dependency of identity and ethnic affiliation because confers to certain group a sentiment of belonging and meaningful experience enrooted in the heritage and lore (Foley and Lennon, 1996). For others dark-tourism can be seen as a simple adaptation to unpredicted situations that connotes a principle of resilience in society. The resilience allows intellectualizing the uncertainty post-disasters.

After a traumatic event or a terrorist attack, the memorial of reconstruction seems to be related to a much broader-seated ethnocentrism. Survivors experience a sentiment of fault that is sometimes redeemed thinking that after all they survived because are specials. Throughout these kinds of rituals, the involving society highlights its own sentiment of superiority creating what specialists

denominated "the archetype of disasters". Accompanied with the mythical guidelines that explain how the community was reconstructed, tourism, festivals and event-management elaborate a specific narrative of how the events happened, a new story with emphasis on masculinity, outrage, heroism, and strength. As already explained, the needs of distinction that characterize these types of processes pave the ways for the surfacing of ethnocentric discourses. Unfortunately, this exacerbated discourse not only tends to preserve the power of status-quo but also ignore temporarily those concrete reasons that provoked the unexpected-disaster. As a result of this, societies or communities are inevitably condemned to suffer a similar tragedy again and again. This explains in part the reason why in spite of investing considerable amount of money and efforts in preventing terrorist attacks or natural disasters, the industrialized countries seem to experience more disaster as never before. The emergency is commoditized for tourism to be consumed after recovery process and so forth.

On another hand, tourism not only commercializes the local resources but also helps communities in their recovery process post disasters. In other terms, tourism plays a pivotal role in giving to society an all-encompassed meaning to understand the events and the sense of suffering. Places and lands where the disasters passed (even terrorist attacks) can temporarily experience millionaire losses during one or two seasons but once elapsed a considerable time, the involving place lures thousand of tourists. These visitors are certainly moved by their curiosity. The cycles of tourism are in fact sensible to terrorist attacks but at some extent, terrorism revitalizes and multiplies the attractiveness of involved tourist-destinations. Bali, Egypt and other destinations not only have not fallen in bankruptcy but also gained more strength with the passing of years. Of course, this penchant based on destruction/construction amplifies the economic cycle of capitalism aggravating the social problems and discontents afore-mentioned in other sections. Among the consequences of terrorism, aversion and hate against "Americans" engendered a widespread sentiment of ethnocentrism that gives more value to anglo-citizens than others. As explained, terrorism gives to Americans not only a reason to live and feel the pride of being Americans but a biased view of otherness. Potentially, this point makes them more vulnerable to the manipulation of fear by politicians (Bernstein, 2006; Chomsky, 2004; Altheide, 2006; Baudrillard, 1995; Corey, 2009). D. Harvey (2004) acknowledges that modernity alternates situation of construction with destructions in order for the capital can expand. The mass-consumption is being stimulated by means of cultural entertainment

and tourist landscapes world wide. The generalized consumption that characterized the life in post-modernity, lead societies to capital stagnant and crises which only can be resolved destroying and recycling the existent places. Wars and terrorism seems to be associated to this tendency and allows the formation of a new political doctrine where the state of emergency is the pretext for a new policy.

From Foucaultian view, the conflict that always remains in the core of society may be diverted towards her external boundaries (this means against an external foe), to achieve further legitimacy and move the necessary resources to enter in the battle; however, whether the state of war ends, this under-laying violence is permutated in forms of local crime, alcoholism, drug abuse, hooliganism and other social 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 keeping people under control (Foucault, 2001; 2006). An argument of this nature is based on what N. Elias´s called the evolution of conflict. From the Elias perspective, wars contribute to the instrumental advances, progress and civilization (Elias, 2002). Nowadays, travels are sings of status and social distinction.

The N. Elias´s upshot is that empires expand taking advantage of some economic, geo-morphological and demographic benefits which sometimes are circumstantial. The growth and expansions of these Empires need from mobility for their purposes. The conflict surfaces as a result of the encounter of imperial interests and local frustrations. One of the more efficient ways to transmit this sentiment of unhappiness is an indirect attack to travelers or citizens of Empire. This creates more ethnocentrism and enhances the sentiment of nationalism that aggravates the problem. The advance of technology and transport-means evolves jointly to a continuance of war and peace.

P. Virilio said that discoveries in technology and mobility bring a temporal myopia because the machine reemplaces the human sense. The techniques in terms of transport and information are a result of the war. 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, globalization has been widely expanded to all nation-states worldwide. J. Holloway and E. Pelaez explain that war, conflicts or any state of competition enhances the solidarity among in-group. The terrorism and consequent war on terror adjust the loyalties of

Americans for one side, and Arabs on other side, to fight a virtual battle where the only winner is the market (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.

CONCLUSION

In foregoing, we have critically examined the argument of Sevil Somnez about tourism and terrorism. The decision process made to conduct a war is complex and its roots remains unstudied by tourism and hospitality literature. Our thesis is that war-peace cycle not only revitalizes the problems of capital accumulations, real-estate and technical advance. 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 initiate (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 the paper *Tourism, Terrorism, and Political Instability* shows the tendency of American society as well as its problems to accept the presence of otherness. Problems and limitations in Somnez´s development has been widely examined and highlighted in this conceptual work in order for shedding light to scholars, practitioners, policy-makers, and officials interested in understanding terrorist issues.

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314