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David Mc. A Baker
dmbaker@tnstate.edu

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Recommended Citation
doi:https://doi.org/10.21427/D7VX3D
Available at: https://arrow.tudublin.ie/ijrtp/vol2/iss1/9

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The Effects of Terrorism on the Travel and Tourism Industry

David Mc.A Baker
Department of Business Administration
Tennessee State University, US
dbaker16@tnstate.edu

The impact of terrorism on the travel and tourism industry can be enormous. It can lead to unemployment, homelessness, deflation, and many other social and economic ills. The contribution of tourism for many countries is so great that any downturn in the industry is a cause of major concern for many governments. The repercussions are left in many other industries associated with tourism like airlines, hotels, restaurants and shops that cater to the tourists and allied services. Terrorism is an enigmatic and compelling phenomenon, and its relationship with tourism is complex and multifaceted. This paper aims to clarify this relationship and examines the relationship between selected factors and tourists’ decision-making process for destination choice. Tourists’ risk perception associated with terrorism served as a basis for the analysis.

Key Words: terrorism, fear, impacts, travel, tourism, effects
launched a terrorist campaign to drive the Romans out of Palestine (Poland, 1988; Schlagheck, 1988). Terrorism recurred from 116-117 A.D. and again from 132-135 A.D. until the Jewish population was driven out of Rome. The term did not officially enter political vocabulary until the 18th century, when Edmund Burke criticized the ‘reign of terror’ following the 1792-94 French Revolution, when the French government used systematic terror to intimidate and eliminate its enemies (Murphy 1989; Poland 1988; Schlagheck 1988).

On and off, the use of terrorism can be traced to the present day. International terrorism increased rapidly during the late 1960s and early 1970s; after a brief lull in activity, the 1980s began and ended with terrorist violence. By the end of the decade, terrorism had become commonplace (D’Amore and Anuza 1986; Richter and Waugh 1986). Comparatively fewer terrorist incidents have been recorded for the first half of the 90s; however, their nature and magnitude are not easily comparable to those of past years’ events as indicated by the US Department of State, the overall threat of terrorism remains very serious, ‘the threat of terrorist use of materials of mass destruction is an issue of growing concern . . . ’ (US Department of State, 2013:1). There are many external influences on the tourism industry and on the flow of tourists; many of them have a significant impact, such as natural and human-caused disasters. However, the possibility of potential threat that accompanies terrorism causes a more severe reaction. For some countries, however, persistent terrorism tarnishes the destination’s positive image and even jeopardizes its entire tourism business. Tourism suffers in particular when prolonged terrorist attacks affect tourist perceptions and when terrorist organizations specifically target the travel and tourism industry.

Risk Theory

The element of risk as a component of tourist decisions has received limited attention (Um & Crompton 1992; 1990; Sonmez & Graefe 1998b). Potential tourists are often exposed to media coverage of international political violence. The volatile relationship between tourism and terrorism is magnified by the media in a manner to cloud actual probabilities of being targeted by terrorists. To date there has been no theory of terrorism, and of course its complicity with the media and tourism (Korstanje, 2010; Korstanje & Clayton, 2012; Korstanje & Skoll, 2012; 2013). As a result, perceived risk may outweigh reality in forming attitudes toward destinations. Travel risk should be studied in terms of real and perceived risk and in relation to destination image and tourists attitudes, because it is crucial for destination marketers to understand perceptions and attitudes in order to devise promotional strategies to address concerns and to alter negative and reinforce positive perceptions. Although previous studies have not explored perceived risk in relation to Cohen’s tourist typology, several studies have identified other factors that vary among individuals and can influence perceived risk.

Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992) classified tourists into three groups based on their perception of risk:

- risk neutral;
- functional risk and;
- place risk.

The risk neutral group did not consider tourism or their destination to involve risk. The functional risk group considered the possibility of mechanical, equipment, or organizational problems as the major source of tourism related risk. The place risk group perceived vacations as fairly risky and the destination of their most recent vacation as very risky. Although no attempt was made to link these categories with Cohen’s tourist role typology, an interesting similarity is evident. The risk neutral group emphasized more of a need to experience excitement and adventure when on vacation than the other two groups. Furthermore, the authors proposed that these tourists may be able to frame uncertainty (or risk) as part of the excitement of tourism. This suggests a quest for novelty similar to the explorers and drifters of Cohen’s typology.

Even though risk perception theory has gained considerable acceptance within cognitive psychology and has developed for more than 40 years, it was only after September 11, 2001 that scholars in the tourism field showed increased interest in the topic. Defining risk as an exposure to certain threats or dangers (Reisinger and Mavondo, 2005), considering safety in travel is enrooted in the belief that the decision-making-processes at the time of choosing a destination are manifold. Seven different types of risks can be identified:

- a) financial,
- b) social,
- c) psychological,
- d) physical,
- e) functional,
- f) situational and finally
- g) travel risks.

Korstanje has written extensively about the sociology of dangers, threats and risks (Korstanje, 2009; 2010; 2011; Korstanje & Tarlow, 2012), noting that scholars have long asked the question: how do we define the notion of threat and what determines that something (or someone) is a risk? Defining threats and risk is not a simple matter. Authors have long sought to define the concept and to determine when and how a risk becomes a threat. To further complicate the issue, Korstanje evidences that threats carry risk and risks may produce threats. Thus, there is a symbiotic interaction between risk and threat. Furthermore, there is no agreement on what conditions produce a risk. With the advent of the Internet, our highly complex world composed of real, partial and false information both the scholar and the tourists are rarely sure of reality.

**Terrorism and Tourist Behavior**

The ambiguity of a definition of terrorism is demonstrated by the various definitions offered by the different governmental departments in the USA. The U.S State Department defines terrorism as:

*Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetuated against non-combatants targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.*

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), defines it as:

*The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives* (both definitions cited in Whitaker, 2003: 1).

Enders and Sandler (2002: 145-146) define terrorism as:

* . . . the premeditated use or threat of use of extra-normal violence or brutality by sub-national groups to obtain a political, religious or ideological objective through intimidation of a huge audience, usually not directly involved with the policy making that the terrorists seek to influence.*

International terrorism disregards any concept of delimited areas of combat and has little respect for neutral territory. Accordingly, terrorists have repeatedly taken their often parochial struggles to other, and sometimes very distant, third party countries and there deliberately involved people including tourists completely unconnected with the terrorists’ cause or grievances in violent incidents designed to generate attention and publicity.

Generally it is true that terrorist groups that constitute real threats to a society cannot be created in countries where there are no major causes for complaint and no dissident groups have appeared. Of course, events such as recessions, globalization and modernization and wars will generate sufficient dissatisfaction for some residents of many societies, and potential dissidents can then find plenty of people to draw upon for recruits and support in attacks (Lutz and Lutz, 2008), this has been evident in the current Syrian conflict which has spread into Iraq. In general, scholars have concluded that religion, is neither the chicken nor the egg when it comes to creating terrorists. Rather, religion is one of many factors in the explosive brew of politics, culture and psychology that leads fanatics to target the innocent and take their own lives in the process. Likewise, there is no evidence that poverty is linked with terrorism in any systematic way even though it obviously is a factor in some circumstances (Horgan, 2005; Maleckova, 2005).

Terrorism exists because the politically weak and disenfranchised have no other means by which to realize their objectives since they will not be taken seriously by the normal population. Terrorism, therefore, can place political change on the agenda (Crenshaw, 1998). Violence can also be fuelled by the lack of opportunity for political participation in a society (Crenshaw, 2003). There are some factors that have been shown to contribute to the occurrence of terrorist violence in many circumstances. Economic globalization has caused inequality among states as well as within countries and while it may be generally advantageous for a country, not every group will gain or gain equally; this is known as the issue of ‘relative
deprivation’ (Enders and Sandler, 2006). Economic recessions and depressions generate economic anxiety and dissatisfaction that in turn can breed terrorism. In addition to direct economic problems, globalization and modernization can place great stresses on societies in other ways. Globalization can also lead to significant challenges to local cultures and generate strains within society, such as tourism.

Modernization can also disrupt social structures by de-emphasizing old patterns of respect and social interaction as new economic and social elites develop (Lutz and Lutz, 2008). The importance of modernization and globalization in contributing to terrorism has been demonstrated by the fact that any symbol of modernization becomes a legitimate target of attack such as the World Trade Center Twin Tower - New York. A further factor involved in facilitating outbreaks of rampant terrorism in the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa, for example, has been the presence of weak governments and failed states (Cilliers 2003: 102). Weak states often means ineffective law enforcement and such circumstances make it easier for terrorists to operate (Schmid, 2005). Bobbitt (2008) argues that terrorism exists because it is a negative externality of our borderless world. Modern terrorist organizations are thus, a natural response to the end of the era of the nation state. The new terrorist groups, such as Al-Qaeda, mimic and are a product of the decentralized, outsourced, privatized, globalized, networked world of what Bobbitt labels the new ‘market state’. Market states are wealthier and offer more opportunities than traditional nation states. However, they are more vulnerable, and part of their vulnerability lies in the ‘commodification’ of and trade in Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). The new terrorist groups know their enemy. They have no interest in national identity or territory; they have a ‘global’ ideology; and their aim is to disable the market state by causing mass deaths and creating terror among the civilian populations.

Understanding terrorist goals may help untangle the relationship between terrorism and tourism. Not all may agree on terrorists’ motives, but several studies attempt to explain the nature of the terrorism-tourism relationship. It is evident from the literature that targeting tourists or the industry is quite deliberate and helps terrorists achieve several goals (i.e., publicity, economic disruption, and ideological opposition to tourism). In one of the earliest articles on the topic, Richter and Waugh (1983) illustrate the symbolic nature of the terrorism - tourism relationship by drawing parallels between peaceful international tourism and diplomatic relations. They suggest that tourists are targeted because they are viewed as ambassadors for their countries, as soft targets, and often because of their ‘symbolic value as indirect representatives of hostile or unsympathetic governments’ (Richter & Waugh 1983; 1986). Accordingly, terrorism involving citizens of other countries may be a response to strict limits on political expression: ‘terrorism against one’s own citizens may in fact go unmentioned by a media controlled by . . . hostile government’ (1983:328). The reason is simple and obvious and has been demonstrated by numerous incidents: when nationals of other countries become involved, news coverage is guaranteed. This way, terrorists know they will secure media attention while curtailing their government's ability to censor news 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 (Richter & Waugh, 1983) and the media increases its circulation and / or ratings.

Terrorists’ goals are classified broadly as revolutionary (narrow or broad, antigovernment, including overthrow of the regime) or sub-revolutionary (including policy and personnel changes). More specifically, objectives are classified as ideological, tactical and strategic (Richter and Waugh 1986). Ideological objectives are long-range in nature and may involve a national struggle. Tactical objectives, which are short-range and motivated by legitimized concerns, often involve robberies and choice of targets from affluent tourism locations, tourists themselves who are vulnerable to attack, and resort areas at which socioeconomic and political elites reside, strongly resembling everyday criminal activity. Richter and Waugh suggest that terrorists target tourists to achieve strategic objectives and that attacking them can provide terrorists with instrumental advantage by disrupting industry and assuring publicity. Thus, terrorists gravitate toward inter-national tourists and facilities to satisfy their own resource needs. Large groups of foreign-speaking and -looking tourists provide camouflage and safety while offering various opportunities and choice of targets. Terrorists can also circulate among tourists and carry out financial transactions in foreign currencies without arousing suspicion (Richter & Waugh 1986).

Viewed differently, terrorists target tourists in order to achieve ideological objectives, punish nationals for supporting the government, and strengthen claims to political legitimacy by making the government look weak (Hall and O'Sullivan 1996). The inherent logic of the belief that terrorism impacts tourism negatively has
been tested by researchers who have quantified the relationship using complex methods and computer models to ascertain changes in tourist activity i.e. terrorism changing tourists behavior. The conclusions are consistent: that the potential of risk significantly impacts tourist behavior. The influence may begin with the decision-making process (Cook 1990; Sonmez and Graefe 1998a). Studies have found that tourists modify their behavior, a type of protective measure during travel (Hartz, 1989); substitute risky destinations with safer choices (Gu & Martin 1992; Enders and Sandler, 1991; Enders, Sandler and Parise, 1992; Mansfeld 1996); attribute terrorism risk to neighboring countries not directly affected (Enders, Sander and Parise 1992); demonstrate a delayed reaction to terrorism (Enders and Sandler 1991; Enders, Sandler and Parise 1992); and exhibit cultural differences in their reactions to risk (Hurley 1988; Tremblay 1989; Wall 1996). Some tourists who perceive terrorism risk in one country tend to presume the entire region to be risky and attribute risk of terrorism to neighboring countries which are not directly affected by terrorism. More recently, Drakos and Kutan (2003) concluded that although following a terrorist attack, neighboring countries may be considered as immediate destination substitutes, there is always a negative impact on tourism demand for the wider region.

**Link Between Terrorism and Tourism**

International terrorism and tourism are paradoxically connected via their mutual characteristics such as both crossing national borders, both involve citizens of different countries, and they both utilize travel and communications technologies, (Schlagheck, 1988; cited in Sonmez & Graefe, 1998b). The relationship between tourism and terrorism first gained international notoriety in 1972 during the Munich Olympic Games. The Palestinian attack on Israeli athletes left eleven people dead and introduced a global television audience of nearly 800 million viewers to terrorism (Sonmez and Graefe 1998a). Since then, international tourists have been acutely aware of this relationship. Despite a series of terrorist incidents, since 9/11 the total number of people worldwide that have been killed by terrorists is about the same as the number of those who have drowned in bathtubs in the U.S (Bobbitt, 2008). This suggests that tourist’s fear of terrorism is not parallel to the low level of risk. The mid-80s demonstrated tourist reactions to terrorism with a sharp decline for tourism in London due to the Irish Republican Army (IRA) bombing campaign in England. Even though the threat of terrorism is very much real, due to the incredibly low chance of one being affected by a terrorist incident, the ‘fear’ of this threat is a reality for today tourists. Though the risk is low, the threat for tourists from terrorism is very much real as tourists are very appealing to terrorists because they are soft targets and easily identifiable symbols of the enemy, whilst tourist destinations are perfect strategic targets to carry out attacks. Some may argue that we live in a secular post-modern age where we are bombarded with information and lack the ability to place terrorist events into their historical context. On the other hand, Foucault argues we live in a post-modern age of chaos where life defies rational thought. As a result we cannot judge the real risk associated with terrorism. This initiates a new form of experience for travelers in which there is a positive element to risk where tourists have the excitement of ‘danger’ from terrorism, (Giddens & Pierson, 1998; Foucault, 1991).

**Economic Effect of Terrorism on Tourism Demand**

Sedigghi et al. (2001) and Stafford et al. (2002) state that the effects of terrorist attacks might cause political instability, which leads to the decline or disappearance of tourist arrivals in some tourist destinations. The literature and statistics all confirm that terrorist attacks alter tourism demand patterns, indicating an increasing demand to cancel travel or holiday plans particularly just after the 9/11 terrorist attack (Chen and Noriega, 2004; Floyd, Gray and Thapa, 2003; Kingsbury and Brunn, 2004). Even prior to 9/11, examples demonstrated the impact of terrorism on tourism, with Enders and Sandler (1991) concluding that a typical terrorist incident in Spain resulted in the reduction of 140,000 tourists. A further example is evidenced in 6 million Americans visiting Europe in 1985. At the time, it was projected that 7 million would visit in 1986. However, as a result of increased terrorist activity at the time, 54% cancelled their reservations. That year, a Gallup poll reported that 79% of Americans would avoid overseas destinations that summer (D’Amore and Anuza, 1986). In that same year the World Tourism Organisation attributed a loss of $105 billion in tourism receipts to terrorism, (Sonmez & Graefe, 1998c).

The terror attacks of September 11, 2001 had an immediate and substantial impact on worldwide travel. The attacks induced substitution away from air travel generally and caused a shift in the preferences of travelers for particular destinations. The United States in particular experienced an immediate and precipitous drop in arrivals of international visitors, particularly from those flying in from overseas. The initial drop in arrivals immediately following 9/11 in part reflected widespread concern about the safety of international
air travel. Economic factors most likely also played a role in reducing travel to the United States in the aftermath of 9/11. Between 2001 and 2002, for example, the global economy experienced a recession that reduced demand for air travel generally. In addition to safety concerns and deteriorating economic conditions, the perception that US visa policy became more restrictive in the wake of 9/11 may also have negatively impacted arrivals. Such perceptions prompted concern within the travel industry that the United States was becoming a less attractive travel destination and was damaging its image abroad (Alden, 2008). Although visa policy itself did not significantly change after 9/11, the security screening procedures that are part of the visa application process were standardized and intensified (Yale-Loehr et al., 2005).

The impact of 9/11 on travel and tourism flows to the United States has been evaluated in several studies. Lee et al. (2005), for example, evaluate the initial impact of the 9/11 attacks on the demand for air travel to the United States using a time series intervention model and found a significant overall drop in demand. Similarly, Blunk et al. (2006) evaluate whether post-9/11 US airline travel volume returned to its pre-9/11 trend and found that it had not by 2004. A more disaggregated analysis is provided by Bonham et al. (2006) who quantify the initial impact of 9/11 on tourist arrivals to Hawaii and their subsequent recovery using a Vector Error Correction model (VECM). The results indicate that substitution away from foreign arrivals and towards US citizen arrivals took place in Hawaii and that the positive shock to US citizen arrivals offset the negative shock to foreign arrivals. By 2003, the Hawaiian tourism industry had fully recovered from the initial 9/11 shock. In addition to assessments of air travel, studies have also quantified the costs of 9/11 due to substitution away from air travel. Blalock et al. (2009), for example, quantify the increase in the number of auto driving fatalities due to substitution away from airline travel after 9/11. Despite the well-documented decline in foreign arrivals to the United States after 9/11, the negative post-9/11 trend in arrivals eventually began to rebound during the 2002 to 2007 period.

Effect of Terrorism on Destination Image

There is very little research on the impact of terrorism on destination image. However, Witt and Moore (1992) investigated whether or not promoting special events created enough tourism interest to outweigh Northern Ireland’s negative external image caused by terrorism. They concluded that there was a need for Northern Ireland to pay more attention to overcoming their negative image and the need to increase inbound tourism. Unfortunately, they only advise on increasing visitation instead of solutions to overcome the nation’s negative image. In a study of flows of United Kingdom (UK) travelers to a variety of air passenger destinations, Coshall (2003) found that the highly attractive destinations for UK travelers experience rapid recovery in the aftermath of a crisis. This can be demonstrated by the rapid decrease of the impact of the Libyan bombing on air travel between the United Kingdom and the United States. This supports the findings of other authors that travelers are highly willing to substitute insecure images for secure ones once a situation has simmered down (O’Neill and Fitz, 1996; Mansfeld and Kliot, 1996).

The industry must conduct recovery marketing or marketing integrated fully with crisis management activities. Because it is often the first casualty of violence, a destination image makes recovery marketing imperative. Media coverage of terrorism or political upheaval has the potential to shape individuals’ images of destinations. It is argued that a symbiotic relationship exists between terrorists and journalists and that terrorism is both a symbolic event and a performance that is staged for the benefit of media attention (Weimann and Winn 1994).

Socio-economic and Cultural Reasons
Tourists are Terrorist Targets

There are various studies that propose logical socioeconomic and cultural explanations of the terrorism-tourism relationship. In a study of terrorism in Egypt, where Sharm el-Sheikh is located, Aziz (1995) counter-argues the misconception that Islam is against foreign tourists outright with his socioeconomic rationalization. He argues that tourists and local people are separated not only by language but by social and economic gaps too. When locals facing hardship are forced to co-exist with wealthy international tourists enjoying luxuries, friction is inevitable. This supports Richter & Waugh (1983) suggestion that travel styles can be representative of ideological values, class behavior and political and political culture of tourists and their countries. Therefore, tourists may be the targets of terrorism because of their tourism styles which may demonstrate conspicuous consumption. Inevitably, resentment that is created against tourism can turn into dangerous forms of bitterness. A further reason for friction between tourists and locals can be clashing cultures or values. Certain tourist behaviors, such as the consumption of pork in an Islamic country, drinking alcohol, gambling and Western dress styles can be
Incongruent with local values. This theory is put forward as a possible explanation for Egyptian frustration with tourism, (Aziz, 1995).

Wahab (1996) and Tarlow (2005) agree that tourism is targeted by terrorists because it is seen as outsiders representing a mode of neo-colonialism or a threat to their social norms, traditions and religious convictions. One of the most infamous acts of terrorism against tourists occurred in Egypt in 1997 when gunmen killed 71 tourists outside of Luxor. Wahab (1996) furthermore explains that Egypt’s terrorist attacks against tourists actually represent their aspiration to revive traditional Islamic societal rules to oppose the corruption that modernity brings, which is seen as a divergence from traditional Islam. This supports Richter and Waugh’s (1986) claim that the tourist industry is blamed for destroying indigenous cultures. Their perception is that tourism development that does not benefit locals can provoke violence. Lea (1996: 124) supports this by stating:

a failure on the part of tourist developers to design, locate and manage their projects in a way that ensures community support will ultimately lead to community opposition and likely violence’.

The link between terrorism and tourism reveals that tourism is not only the medium of communication instigated by terrorists but it is can be the message also. Tourism can incite political, socioeconomic, cultural or religious resentment as well as being used as a cost effective instrument to deliver a broader message of ideological or political opposition. It is evident that terrorists choose tourists intentionally as the symbolism, high profile, and news value of international tourists are too valuable not to exploit, (Sonmez, 1998).

Conclusion

The rapid growth of the world wide tourism industry has been attributed to a number of factors, among which are strong economic growth, increase in disposable income and leisure time, easing of travel restrictions, successful tourist promotion, and recognition by governments. According to the World Travel & Tourism Council (2014), travel & tourism forecasts over the next ten years look extremely favorable, with predicted growth rates of over 4% annually that continue to be higher than growth rates in other sectors. Capitalizing on the opportunities for this travel & tourism growth will, of course, require destinations and regional authorities, particularly those in emerging markets, to create favorable business climates for investment in the infrastructure and human resource support necessary to facilitate a successful and sustainable tourism sector. At the national level, governments can also do much to implement tighter security, more open visa regimes and to employ intelligent rather than punitive taxation policies. If the right steps are taken, travel & tourism can be a true force for good. Despite tourism economic strength, terrorism and political turmoil present major challenges to the industry. Weimann & Winn (1994), in their book, The Theatre of Terror, suggest that terrorist activities have a major impact on international tourism of a country and are the largest economic factor in the equation between terror and foreign tourism. This means terrorism, no doubt, has an effect on the flow of foreign exchange into a country because of its negative impact on international tourism.

The risk perception of terrorism may cause travel anxiety towards a destination. Different levels of risk perception together with other internal factors may determine a tourist’s motivation to travel, their awareness of destination alternatives, the level of concern given to safety and terrorism threat, the extent of their information search, evaluation of alternatives, and therefore their destination choice. Attitude is one of the main determinants of tourist buying behaviors. An individual with negative attitudes toward a destination due to a terrorist incident may exhibit high levels of concern for safety, and this is likely to result in a negative outcome for the travel decision. External factors related to terrorism, such as media reports about a terrorist incident or treats, tourism authorized advisories, the recovery campaign and so on, have an influence on tourists’ perceptions of the affected destinations, their attitude towards travel and their image of the destinations. Where there were formerly attacks or hijacking which affected individual tourists, we are now seeing a disturbing trend where terrorism is directed against tourists and tourist destinations. Terrorists use the tourist system to attract global media attention through spectacular attacks on tourists or the tourist infrastructure. As a result, tourists avoid these destinations, which again impacts the travel and tourism industry. The greatest impact on tourist demand comes from terrorist attacks where tourists and locals are the direct target or victims of the attack.

Terrorists are improving their sophistication and abilities in virtually all aspects of their operations and support. The aggressive use of modern technology for information management, communication and intelligence has increased the efficiency of these activities. Weapons technology has become more
increasingly available, and the purchasing power of terrorist organizations is on the rise. The ready availability of both technology and trained personnel to operate it for any client with sufficient cash allows the well-funded terrorist to equal or exceed the sophistication of governmental counter-measures. Today, most experts believe that certain parts of the Middle East, Pakistan, Afghanistan and sub-Saharan Africa are turning out to be the main power centers for terrorism. Decades of lawlessness and corruption have seen terrorist groups fill the power vacuum in these regions which continue to turn out an alarming number of motivated terrorists. Terrorists threats are increasing and the possibility exist for them to get WMD, so, as the tourism industry continues to grow so does the treat of terrorism and its impacts.

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