Guest Editorial: Americans Post 9/11: From Pride to Terror

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Globalization and tourism are based on technological mobile societies. The acceleration of transport system has both prompted and facilitated the encounter of diverse cultures. Some scholars suggest that this meeting determines zones of conflict and discrepancy because of religious or cultural incompatibilities. Undoubtedly, the attack perpetrated on the World Trade Centre in 2001 suggested that globalization has a dark side but, this has remained unexplored by specialists. What this editorial explores is not only the historical connection between terrorism and tourism but the sentiment of paranoia many Americans feel at a time of abandoning by their homeland. The psychological fear instilled by the media post 9/11 pointed to religion as a key factor to explain terrorism. Those specialists who embrace this thesis ignore that the Muslim and Christian Worlds have peacefully coexisted for centuries. Another aspect to keep in mind is that many of those terrorists were educated in the best Western universities. This suggests that terrorism corresponds with a political tactic that has nothing to do with religion. Fundamentalists are often acquainted with the ways of the secularized world, and frequently are not familiar with violence. However, fear of terrorism and the actual acts of terrorism result from an overwhelming sense of uniqueness (ironically, coined by the principles of the Founding Fathers in the US), which raises a more than interesting question, why Anglo-American tourists are afraid of terrorism?

Quite aside from this, recent applied research shows that Americans are more prone to risk perception than other nationalities. Dominguez Baguette & Bernard (2003), explain that 9/11 was the main event that determined a strange fear in the US for visiting other overseas destinations. As a result of the international interventions of their respective states in the Middle East, Americans and British travellers have developed more aversion to visit international destination than other groups. David Steiner has suggested that even though nationality may be a predictable variable of study in risk, under some contexts, further examination is needed. Alternating empirical research with a rich bibliography Steiner argues that the place of residency is more predicable than nationality. Based on the fact that 9/11 instilled fear everywhere, irrespective of tourists' national affiliation, he considers that the constant bombarding of terrorism-related news creates an atmosphere to de-sensibilize the potential for mediated threats. Following Steiner´s account, Americans take fewer risks than other groups (Steiner, 2007; 2009). Fuchs & Reichel (2004) conducted an innovative investigation and concluded that religion plays a crucial role at the time of perceiving risks. Nationality, they suggest, has less correlation with risk-perception, unless by means of attachment to religion. Catholics and Protestant showed as more prone to risk than other samples. A closer look at the history of Christianity and Islam, shows that religion was not a problem for Western and Eastern civilizations unless politics is introduced (Korstanje, 2013).

Studying terrorism highlights two important responses. Internally, the general public - worker unions etc. - will adopt the policies fixed by government and the market and do not interfere with the governance in warfare. Externally, industrial powers will reserve the right to intervene in the autonomies of other countries to maintain stability. These archetype responses to terrorism seem to be supportive of the elites, whereby the citizenry accept policies which would otherwise be rejected.

In this vein, Korstanje & Olsen (2011) have examined the genre of the horror movie to consider that 9/11 not only has created a serious shock to American culture, but has also changed the ways of making terror in cinema. Based on a deep examination of movies such as *Hills have Eyes*, *Hostel* and *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, they argue that 'Americanism' exhibits a combination of pride and fear. Americans are viewed as the axis of good civilization, while at the same time, their existence in this world is compromised by sadists whose main satisfaction is the torture of innocents. This principle of evil seems to be inextricably intertwined into the lack of hospitality. With this backdrop, the world beyond the boundaries of the US is presented as a dangerous place to visit. This leads to the creation of a deep-seated ethnocentrism which the audience cannot see with clarity. However it does affect how the non-American is reconstructed.

As a society, the USA was built under the doctrine of exceptionalism which reserves the right to be nominated as a selected people. In a recent seminal book, Phillip Greven (1988) acknowledges that the protestant temperament was of paramount importance in establishing a cultural archetype in civilized America. To expand the current understanding of Protestantism, we have to delineate a model with three subtypes, each one represents diverse forms of adaptation to life: a) evangelical, b) moderate, and c) genteel. While evangelicals were dominated by an underlying hostility to self, and all terrene manifestations, moderates preferred to accept the body's desires as part of the life. Evangelicals, to some extent, emphasized the experience of a new birth because the world is a dangerous place to live. As extremist in eternal war, evangelicals prioritized the spirit over other expressions. The evangelical world has thus, been based on two relevant aspects, fear and love.

Particularly in relation to threats, Americans have developed a symbolic cocoon corresponding to a world which remains hostile in their cosmology. With the passing of time, this has generated a strong 'ethnocentrism' that over-valorized inner life and pride for self, but pathologically engendered a terrible fear to everything beyond the boundaries. Glassner (1999) has convincingly argued that Americans and other Anglophones, especially those in Britain and the settler countries, Australia and Canada, have produced a culture of terror, which induces a generalized fear among the populations. With a focus on the United States, we argue that the culture of fear has evolved from the kind of fear associated with the anticommunist hysteria in the years following the Second World War and its predecessor Red scares, to its current incarnation of 'terrorism obsession'. While recognizing popular participation in constructing this culture of fear, we further re-consider the fact that elites at the centre of world capitalism have fostered its construction with planning and deliberation. As discussed earlier, psychological fear is conducive to keeping in control internal conflict and unionization in America.

Mindful of this, papers which form this special issue hold diverse views respecting terrorism and tourism, but they share the same concern respecting the protection of lives. Basically, the project of modernity has changed the basis of authority, whereby society holds the power. This is not different with terrorism. In earlier decades, terrorists targeted very important persons to cause a psychological harm to society. This ranged from politicians to celebrities. But now, things seem to be different. If the terrorist attacks in earlier centuries were directed against top-ranked politicians, today lay-people's integrity is compromised. Lay people are targeted by terrorists.

Why Tourists are Targeted?

Tourists, as capital holders, are attacked to cause a direct damage to nation-states. The lines of authority have not only passed from a linear to circular basis, but have also become more violent year by year (Moten, 2010). Nonetheless, what is clear is that tourists are victims of terrorism, or at least of supra-structure forces that vulnerate them. One of the conceptual limitations of specialized literature is given in the explanation of what terrorism is. Its historical evolution shows that religion does not correlate to terrorism, and those undertaking acts of terrorism have been educated in the best western universities. As Olivier Roy put it, Al-Qaeda has few influences in the Muslim-world because it represents a globalized radical force enrooted in the social imaginary of the West. Thus, we have to turn our mind to the internal forces that shape terrorist behaviour. This is where our issue attempts to make a substantial contribution.

The first paper in this edition, authored by Maximiliano E. Korstanje, Geoffrey Skoll and Freddy Timmermann focuses on the history of labour and modern capitalism. According to these specialists, tourism is terrorism by other means. The organization of labour in industrialising USA, adopted the ideology of anarchists to legalize benefits for workers. At the time, the more radical demands were repressed, but some were granted. Tourism not only resulted from the reduction of legal working hours and the introduction of holidays, but also from the rejection of terrorism as a tactic of extortion. What beyond the boundaries of nation states is labeled as terrorist attack, within society is called a strike.

The second paper by Erik H Cohen explores the levels of tourism demand in Israel, a country seriously affected by terrorism in recent years. He convincingly explains that despite the effects of terrorism affecting the organic image of the country, tourism continues to rise and only declines in times of attacks. Religion represent a key factor for thousand of US Jews to visit the land of their ancestors, but Cohen poses the belief that subcultures correlate directly with risk-perception.

In our third paper, Lorri Pennington-Gray, a finely-ingrained specialist in risk issues and her colleagues Ashley Schroeder and Kelly Bricker, present a convincing case study based on the terrorist attacks in Nairobi Kenya and their effects in the communication process. Far from representing a shock, this event has

long-term effects in the social imaginary. The lessons provided by the failures in communication and related silences are duly assessed by these experts. Terrorism is shown to not only kill tourists but to operate through communication crises in the tourist system.

If tourism has become a target for terrorists, Professor Luke Howie clarified how this has accelerated after 9/11. At the time, professionals, policy makers and managers of the industry planned to mitigate terrorism, and thus counter-terrorism surfaces in tourism. Howie argues convincingly that the act of protecting tourism destinations is possible if we pay attention to security professionals and their well-being. Despite of their low wages and unfavourable working conditions they put their life in danger to help others.

The disciplinary mechanisms of society have fabricated internal and external threats which are classified according to the production system. In their offering, Clayton, Cisneros Mustelier & Korstanje highlight the importance of understanding the effects of risk and terrorism. The complexity of risks in late-modernity leads us to misunderstand their nature and consequent evolution. The media and its interests sometimes disseminate a message that seriously affects the tourism industry. As a result of this, the efforts and time devoted by policy makers can be diluted in hours. Evaluating terrorism according to real and perceived consequences as well as its targets is the primary course of action in risk management. Often our minds over-valorize some risks which do not jeopardize our security, while ignoring others that may lead society to a disaster. Based on the contribution of Cass Sunstein, the authors explain why the neglect of probability is important in deterring the negative effects of terrorists.

David Baker presents a brilliant state of the art overview, respecting the effects of terrorism the and problems generated regarding the tourism industry. The effects of terrorism result in serious obstacles to the activity. However, policy makers should understand the real roots of terrorism to implement efficient steps to protect the tourist's integrity. At this time analysts emphasise the safety of the tourism destination, less attention is given to how risk may be a criterion of attractiveness for other tourists.

Last but not least, one of the fathers of tourism security, Peter Tarlow has been kind enough to close this special issue with a fascinating epilogue along with his thoughts and concerns for tourism security worldwide. Violence, crime and terrorism, as Tarlow put it, are cancers for the well being of nations and the tourism industry. Particularly, tourists are vulnerable

targets for some groups to impose tactics of extortion. Tarlow´s vast experience in the fields shows that Tourism Oriented Policing and Protection Services (Topps) serve to give major service to security forces in recent years. What one must debate is the superficial way in which text-books deal with this problem and the lack of interests of some governments.

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