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THE ARCTIC  
UNIVERSITY  
OF NORWAY

Institutt for reiseliv og nordlige studier

# **Silent Consequences of Security**

*The impact of security policies in tourism contexts.*

—

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*Master's thesis in Tourism Studies November 2018*



“Our most effective defense against terrorism will come not from surveillance, concrete barriers, metal detectors, or new laws, but from our own virtue, courage, continued dedication to our ideals of a free society, realism in our acceptance of risk, stoicism, intelligence and the skepticism that comes with it, the avoidance of extremism, and the humanity and sense of community too fleetingly expressed when we mourn our dead.”

(Jenkins, 2001)

## **Acknowledgement**

First of all, I would like to thank the Institutt for reiseliv og nordlige studier at the Arctic University of Tromsø for giving me the opportunity to be part of a tourism-related projects during my degree. These projects provided me with valuable experiences and knowledge for my Master's thesis.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Britt Kramvig, for her insights and advice as well as her support during the writing process of my Master's thesis.

In addition, I would like to thank Gayle Jennings for proofreading my Master's thesis.

And, a special mention to my mother, brother, and partner, who have supported me and helped me to stay motivated throughout the entire process of writing my Master's thesis.

## **Abstract**

Terrorism is affecting all societies and industries. As tourism is implemented throughout the world it has become endangered by its consequences. Security policies are at the centre of the fight against such threat inducing fear from a customer perspective as well as with regards to sustainability risks for stakeholders. Moreover, the impact of policies implemented to counter terrorism on hosts and guests' relationships needs to be addressed. Using the work of post-structuralist Michel Foucault, this thesis focuses on meaning creation, as well as the power relations between actors in the context of tourism experiences. It aims to understand the direct impact of security policies on the meaning creation between actors and to analyse their consequences on the acceptance of tourism in a given destination. Current security policies are increasing unbalanced power relations between hosts and guests, along with the potential alienation of locals towards their identity. Paradoxically, this discourse is creation is re-creating a prolific context for violent political group. Subsequently transforming current security policies into a medium of propagation for these groups' political agenda. This thesis argues that society and the tourism industry in particular need to re-think the scope of security for a better fulfilment of hosts and guests needs. This will enable a long-term pattern of terrorism prevention by focusing on the root causes of terrorism instead of fixing its symptoms.

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# 1 Introduction

Terrorism is the greatest threat of the twenty first century. Its actions are globalised, potentially able to harm any part or aspect of society. When I chose the subject for my Master's thesis, the first reaction I encountered was: "[...] we just need to be more attentive and have more security [...]". As good intended as this advice was, it is far from reality. Terrorism is a complex socio-political phenomenon that has operated for decades, if not centuries. More security is not only ineffective on a long-term basis, it is also as Benjamin Franklin argued liberticidal: "Those who would give up essential Liberty, to purchase a little temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety." (Franklin, 2003)

The tourism industry thrives on freedoms enabled by the liberal economy, and more security would endanger its growth and sustainability. Moreover, more security would benefit terrorism which is known to heavily adapt to its environment, thriving on system's flaws and alienated individuals. In my Master's thesis, rather than adapting society to its threats, I advocate a pro-active approach to counter the root causes of terrorism.

## 1.1 Background and introduction

Travelling for leisure purposes has become an inherent part of the life of many individuals around the globe. With the tourist population in constant growth, tourism has become the fastest growing industry in the world (UNWTO, 2016). Therefore, unresolved issues related to travel security and the acceptance of tourism in a destination need to be addressed both by policies makers and by stakeholders.

Since its early days, the tourism industry has evolved to adapt to customer's needs and to the political and socio-economic environments. From the 1960s onwards, tourism has grown exponentially across the globe, and as a consequence connect cultures and individuals. During its rise, through various development programs, tourism has become connected to politics, as well as labelled as an ambassador for peace, stability (UNWTO, 2016) and supportive of the economic system (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). Meanwhile, during the 1960s another phenomenon appeared in the mainstream media and attracted public attention: terrorism (PE Tarlow, 2006), and particularly, its third wave (Rapoport, 2002). Terrorism promoted Marxism by using the Cold War and proxy wars between the United States of America and the USSR to facilitate the terrorists' operations. Since the collapse of the USSR, terrorism has been in its



fourth wave, and the terrorists' actions have directly and indirectly impacted both the societies around the world, and various industries such as tourism,

Nevertheless, security and the threats it stands against have been taken for granted (Cavlek, 2002) by stakeholders: Concerns about security and threats have been silenced by the tourism industry, or denied from public discussion to avoid propagating the fear of terrorism and a certain general feeling of paranoia with regards to travel. Emphasis has been on attempts to minimize any changes in consumer behaviour and protection the industry rather than protecting individuals involved in travel.

The world is witnessing its longest period of peace. Relative stability has been enforced since the end of World War II. However, many aspects of daily life have been and are affected by threats by violent political groups. The tourism industry is in a central position due to its connection to many other sensitive industries, such as transportation, and is dependent on the political, social and economic stability of not only the context of touristic experiences but also the context in which its consumers are living.

Being a tourist is a political stand (Bianchi, 2006), reaching any place in the world for its leisure must be understood in the paradigm of neo-liberalism where individuals and merchandises knows no borders (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). It is difficult for many to accept this paradigm (Harrison, 2008; Shone & Ali Memon, 2008), systemic economic and social changes have been known to create alienation and violent answers from certain segment of the population. The connection between tourism and terrorism is more complex than it first appears and needs to be studied, understood and mastered in order to include safety, security and economic viability into the academic debate (PE Tarlow, 2006). As their political agendas and perception of the world are in opposition, both tourism and terrorism developing contradictory discourse through their actions and development. Paradoxically, the same core concept is used by those phenomena, nostalgia. Such similarity makes tourism a sensitive industry towards terrorism as its understanding and commoditisation of nostalgia can be corrupted and turned against the industry by violent political groups.

This thesis argues that there is a need for stakeholders to break the taboo around the subject of security, and also around the topics of threats, terrorism, and unrests, in order to re-shape the operational pattern of security. Having a pro-active approach and a wider scope around security (Barnett & Adger, 2007) is of benefit the tourism industry, and also to society

as a whole in order to minimise the roots causes of terrorism. Such an approach requires an extension of the understanding of security towards the social and political consequences of the implementation of tourism in destinations, and the impact of current security policies themselves on society.

## **1.2 Research questions and hypotheses**

The intent of my Master's thesis was not to provide a critique of the contemporary tourism industry or the liberal system enabling it. Instead, I aim to describe another perspective on power relations between individuals, and agencies, in the context of tourism to understand the consequences of security policies on society.

Going through this topic, my overall goal is to create a new understanding around the concept of security in order to transform its actions from a repressive power (Pierre Bourdieu, Thompson, Adamson, & Raymond, 1991; Sheridan, 1977) to a pro-active tool ensuring social and political stability to result into a long-term security. My hypothesis regarding the topic are.

-The unbalanced power relations between individuals involved in tourism are reinforced by the current security paradigm;

-In addition, the current security policies are suppressing mediums of communication between hosts and guests, reinforcing a dominant discourse around a single interpretation of tourism destination by the tourism industry. Further, it reinforces a discourse based of pre-conceived ideas of tourists from a host perspective.

-These two patterns contribute to the separation of individuals from their context and identity. This, then results in the creation of a favourable environment for violent political groups.

I argue in this Master's thesis that these patterns enable terrorism organisation to build legitimacy around their violent political agendas, and transform the security policies that should stand against them into a tool for recruitment and instability. Such outcomes cannot arise as the consequences on the tourism industry and society as a whole would be dramatic. Economic sustainability is not the only factor endangered by terrorism, the socio-political sustainability of destination are also at risks. As tourism labels itself as a tool for long-term development and sustainability, such issues need to be addressed to provide insights for future policy-making process and ensure a sustainable development of society and destinations.

### **1.3 Outline of the thesis.**

This thesis is structurally divided into three main components: A genealogy of terrorism, data analysis of participant's experiences in tourism contexts and a discussion on the impact of security policies as well as the influence of discourses created by tourism on destinations.

The first chapter of this thesis is dedicated to a genealogy of terrorism. Using the work of Walter Laqueur (1977); Walter Laqueur (2000, 2016) and the Four-wave model (Rapoport, 2001, 2002) the aim of this chapter is to build an understanding around the concept of terrorism in order to give the reader a historical framework for the topic of this thesis.

Chapter two covers the theoretical framework of this thesis. It presents the understanding of the nature of tourism and the interdependence between profane and sacred environments (Smith, 2012) through the analysis of the work of Graburn (Smith, 2012) and Smith (Smith, 2012). Moreover this chapter focuses on the creation of discourse in tourism experiences and the implication of pre-conceived ideas through the study of McKercher (2008) academic work on the creation of stereotypes in tourism contexts.

Finally, this chapter highlights the power relations in touristic destinations and their impact on locals' lives. To reflect on this topic, I analysed Chatelard (2005) article about a case study of Wadi Ramm' in Jordan.

Chapter three relates to the research method used for this thesis. It presents a post-modernist approach and the core concepts used in this project: power and discourses. Those concepts are drawn from the work of Foucault (Chomsky & Foucault, 2011; Michel Foucault, 1971) and Bourdieu (Pierre Bourdieu et al., 1991; Weininger, 2002) a presentation of their work is provided followed by the justification of the methods used in the research that informed this thesis.

Chapter four focused on the presentation and analysis of data collection. In this chapter, each data collection protocol is described and the collected data analysed to legitimise the arguments developed in the discussion chapter.

The final chapter of this thesis is a discussion about the impact of security on society and its influence on discourses associated with the alienation of individuals from their cultural identity. The aim of this discussion is to understand how policies that have been implemented

to secure a destination may result in the opposite outcome by creating a beneficial context for terrorism to legitimise and pursue violent political agendas.

## **2 Terrorism from its roots in the eleventh century to modern networks.**

Terrorism has been active through history, and in order to understand the contemporary occurrences of this phenomenon it is necessary to first have a general perception of its past ideologies, organisations and actions. In this part, a conceptualisation of terrorism is drawn to define the limits of the concepts. Then, the genealogy of terrorism is addressed in parallel of a review on terrorism historical literature. In the last part I will presents the relations between tourism and terrorism on a consumer perspective and differentiate crimes from terrorism. The aim of this chapter is to give the reader a framework in which terrorism can be understood as a long-term phenomenon rather than isolated actions of individuals.

### **2.1 Conceptualisation of terrorism**

The concept of terrorism embeds two aspects that define its methods of action: a theoretical approach represented by the ideology and the tactics of operation which stands for the strategy used to pursue their agenda. Moreover, it is crucial to differentiate the methods and the ideology, as the insurrectional tactics are used regardless the political convictions (William S. Lind, 1989) (Walter Laqueur, 2016). In the following part of this study, the methods of terrorism action are analysed in order to give a general understanding of terrorism as a social phenomenon.

#### **2.1.1 Classic concept of terrorism**

Terrorism, from the early beginnings of its conceptualisation, has been associated with the realm of politics. In this process the connection between social contexts has been developed in order to understand the root causes of a violent reaction intended for pursuing a political agenda.

Terrorism is considered by most individuals as a modern or contemporary concept due to its large mediatisation since the beginning of the twenty first century. However, its emergence has been demonstrated to be taking place in the eleventh century with the cult of the Nazari Ismailis, formerly known as the order of assassins (Daftary, 2007) . The group in question was the first in history to the warfare tactics of suicide missions. In order to create a legitimacy to those actions, the cult nourished the belief that such violent action would ensure its followers the joys of heaven (Neudert Holguin, 2012). This pattern of action is still found in modern terrorism, both in its application and connection to a religious doctrine. The Nazari

Ismailis were also known to use deceptions techniques and disguised in order to achieve their goals (Walter Laqueur, 2000), these choice of tactics are also found in modern and contemporary terrorism. Hence the need for a genealogy of terrorism to understand the construction of the methods and approach modern terrorism is using. However, those are not considered as terrorist retrospectively as many were portrayed as mentally ill or disturbed. Which denies them any political legitimacy or convictions whom can be reasonably understood by others.

The occurrences of violence against structures of power, and its representations are present throughout history regardless the society. Such actions were often the translation of unfulfilled needs or expectations from the population. As power was still attached to a public figure, a visible and familiar individuals (e.g. kings, lords, etc.), it became a motivation for leaders to dissolved power into less recognisable structures (Sheridan, 1977). Still, cases of violent actions against power representation are numerous in history as John or Jane Does decided to rise through violent political action against their leaders. One of the most covered case by historians and commentators is the events regarding Francois Ravailac who stabbed his king, Henri IV while on its way to the Queen's coronation (Walter Laqueur, 2016; Sheridan, 1977). Alternatively, the case of Henri the III killed by Jacques Clement, a religiously motivated individual convinced to be following God's will (Bonnaud, 2012; Sheridan, 1977). These events would be considered, contemporary as terrorist actions, however, at the time the concept of terrorism was not conceived yet and the violent actions against kings was considered as a Regicide.

The concept of terrorism began with the creation of the term terrorist (in French "Terroriste") which first appeared during the French revolution in the context of the regime of terreur (in French "La terreur"). At the time, the term terrorist was representing a supporter of the Jacobins, which are described by commentators and coeval historians: responsible for harshly repressive government actions (McPhee, 2006). It was also defined by the French dictionary in 1796 and then in the supplement du dictionnaire by the Académie Française in 1798 (Jacquemain, 2007). Prior to this definition, it also appeared in 1774 in the Oxford dictionary and in English political literature through the work of Edmund Burke an Irish statesman. Where it was to use for the first time. In Burke's work (Burke, 1800), the term to describe the reign of political terror at the time, his intent was to emphasise the violence of the newly formed government in France (March 1793-July 1794).

Modern terrorism, which is also called systematic terrorism (Korstanje, et al., 2012), appeared in the nineteenth century in Europe and Russia (Clutterbuck, 2004). However, prior groups laid the principle of terrorism and developed its characteristic into a normative pattern. The Carbonari group in Spain and Italy (1800-1831) during the Napoleonic wars are regarded by academic to be one of the first group using terroristic tactics for political purposes, which differentiates them from the Nazari Ismaili (Hyams, 1975; Walter Laqueur, 2000). In Russia (1878-1924), the far-left revolutionaries were present at the beginning of classic<sup>i</sup> terrorism. Those groups have their ideological and methods influences from secret societies in Ireland and Italy who were fighting for their sovereignty, independence (Clutterbuck, 2004)(Laqueur, 1999).

The main characteristic of these early terrorist groups reside in their socio-political context, their actions were encouraged by dramatic social changes that induced the alienation of segments of the population (Richardson, 2013). Such phenomenon leads the involved individuals to a violent action in order to manifest their un-fulfilment to the politic or social majority and therefore, the power structures they represented. The root cause of this alienation was the inability the power structure to ensure the population's needs and expectations (Shughart, 2006). We can observe from this case that terrorism is not only a consequence of the power structure action or inaction (cultural, political, economic, social.) but an answer to a disagreement with the way power is imposed on the subjects (Tololyan, 1987).

In the following part, an analysis of the methods used by terrorism will be made to emphasise the need to understand as an insurrectional strategy rather than an ideology that can be used by any individuals regardless their political conviction (Laqueur, 2016). Regarding the terrorist's ideology as one of the aspects of terrorism itself, it is crucial to differentiate Terrorism (the concept), a method including both a theoretical approach (ideology) to bring its legitimacy and a practical approach (strategy)

### **2.1.2 Modern definition of terrorism**

The term terrorism has become in contemporary days, an umbrella term under which a given commentator, political figure, would share his/her political views on a violent event. Its subjectivity has been reinforced with events related to “freedom fighters”, violent activist, which from one side appears to be a righteous individual acting for the good of society, but from the other is considered as a dangerous threat. Terrorism has since its early beginnings been embedded in politics, hence this subjectivity, a definition needs to be built to minimize this side-effect.

Conceptualizing terrorism and coining a definition has been considered by academics to be a challenge (Weinberg, Pedahzur, & Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004), some of them leaving to the observer the freedom to define what they are witnessing as terrorism if the context is suitable (Laqueur, 1999; Weinberg, 2004). Such approach would let biases and parti-pris overcoming any logical reasoning due to the danger of terrorism and the emotional involvement related to its consequences. The academia has seen, since the events of 9/11, a noticeable increase in the undergoing of such process. The production of knowledge around the concept of terrorism and its understanding in various fields of social sciences has resulted into a general understanding of the phenomenon (Asprem, 2011; Bianchi, 2006; Devezas, 2006; Rapoport, 2002; Richardson & Weinberg, 2004; Thompson, 2006; Tololyan, 1987; Weinberg et al., 2004) and operational patterns to counter its actions (Khiun Then & Loosemore, 2006; Paraskevas & Arendell, 2007; PE Tarlow, 2006).

During this global interest in terrorism, the model of the four waves of terrorism (Rapoport, 2002) was created, drawing a genealogy of terrorism following the Kondratieff waves through history. Such model is crucial to understand the current terroristic practices, as characteristics of each wave can be studied in order to implement suitable counter-terrorism policies. Four years later, Thompson gave a general definition of terrorism: "Terrorism is defined essentially as unconventional violence designed to influence public attitudes about political legitimation and inequalities" (Thompson, 2006).

The definition given by Thompson represents a leap-forward in the understanding of terrorism, however it does not embed all aspect of the phenomenon. More elements are found in the work of Laqueur (Walter Laqueur, 2016) “Terrorism is not an ideology but an insurrectional strategy that can be used by many people of very different political conviction". From both observations made by Thompson and Laqueur, we can understand the nature and



purpose of terrorism, as well as observing the evolution of the meaning behind the term terrorism throughout history far from the early definition given by Edmund Burke (Burke, 1800) and the Académie Française. It is crucial to also introduce the work of Shughart (Shughart, 2006) who offers a brilliant overview of the terrorism definition in his article.

Using the previously cited work on the phenomenon, the definition of terrorism in used in this thesis is as follow:

A value-free warfare strategy to influence political and public opinion through violent action and direct threat to a given area, political system, society, economy and/or social equilibrium seeking legitimacy both in a nostalgic lecture of the past and a struggle against real and/or imaginary evils.

## **2.2 A brief history of terrorism**

### **2.2.1 History of terrorism first to third wave**

Terrorism's past is complex as it has evolved with society and was used by many organisations and individuals for a wide spectrum of political ideology. In order to unwrap its genealogy the Four-wave model (Rapoport, 2002) will be used as a frame to develop each waves in depth.

First, it is crucial to present the early violent political movement that shaped terrorism, the first three waves and the context in which they emerged. Terrorism, as war and warfare, evolved with technological innovation as well as with the society they originated from (Rosen, 1994). As described in the previous part, the definition of terrorism is connected to the definition of warfare in its methods. Moreover, the concepts of Terrorism and Warfare are connected through a binary opposition; the military culture is the reign of order whom contrast with the terrorism where deception and apparent disorganization are at the core of the concept (Gazette, 1989). Terrorism breaks conventions on war, treaty and refuse common usages (Thompson, 2006) such as distinctive uniforms to create its own warfare environment within the society, creating a new kind of warfare, an invisible one far from the classic battlefield but right to our doorstep. The concept of terrorism has to be understood in opposition to the military culture; such approach become relevant in opposition to the concept of global war (Thompson, 2006) which fuelled the way leadership structured their army since the 15th century. In opposition, terrorism does not use technological innovation as the western society does in its war tradition (Keegan, 2011), it rather uses society's flaws of fully activate their resources and

agents in order to coin different strategy and transform the technological advantage into an irrelevant aspect (Weinberg & Davis, 1989; Weinberg et al., 2004; William S. Lind, 1989).

The Rapoport model, coined by David C. Rapoport (Rapoport, 2002), introduce a tool to conceptualize the concept of terrorism throughout history. Terrorism has we seen, can be a difficult phenomenon to grasp because of its evolving nature and the political involvement engaged in its process rendering a non-biased perception impossible (Walter Laqueur, 1977). In order to achieve a genealogy of terrorism free from the pathos Thompson<sup>ii</sup> (Thompson, 2006) used the Kondratieff cycles (Garvy, 1943) to categorize and contextualise various aspects of terrorism groups (ideological characteristics, operational theatre, technical and non-technical innovation, etc.), during the four waves of terrorism. Consequently, building a model close to the one warfare innovation waves (William S. Lind, 1989), and achieving a general overview of the evolution of terrorism and the pattern of expansion since the 20th century.

Anarchists and far-left violent groups led the first wave of terrorism (1870-1920) (Richardson, 2013; Thompson, 2006), whose targets were Elites of European states. Making use of the innovation within the transport and communication industries, they were able to quickly plan and execute attacks throughout Europe (Combs, 2017). The emergence of the first wave of terrorism (Rapoport, 2002) was the result of slow political response and failure in meeting the population needs at the time. Which pushed individuals to their last resort using violence to achieve their political goals (Thompson, 2006). In Russia, the notorious example of Vera Figner and her anti-capitalist group<sup>iii</sup> who carried the assassinations of the General Trepov, Nikolai Mezentsev, and his successor at the head of the political police (Walter Laqueur, 2000). Those attacks were part of a violent social unrest rooted in classes' struggles ideology (Marx, 1867). The Marxist ideology became a vector for terrorism organisations at the time, ultimately leading to a spread of the terrorist strategy and resulting in the assassination of the Tsar Alexander II, by the Narodnaya Volya, in an attempt to change the way, the royalty at the time was treating the common people and ruling (Von Borcke, 1982). Which was an absolute failure since his successor, Alexander III, was far stricter and violent in its ruling (Walter Laqueur, 2000). Another spread of terrorism happened few years later in Russia, led by the Social Revolutionary terrorism (Geifman, 1995), which resulted in 1905 to socio-political concessions in the form of a constitution (Walter Laqueur, 2000).

Terrorism at the time was present all over the world and their methods of action revolved around assassination of prominent political leader. Such actions were related by contemporary

commentators in Europe with the French president Carnot assassination in 1894 (Kraut, 2012; Rapoport, 2002), in Middle East with the Armenian terror attacks against the Turks (Hyland, 1991; Rapoport, 2002), and Asia with two prime ministers were killed at the end of the 19th century (Byas, 2010; Rapoport, 2002). Moreover, it is crucial to emphasise that during this period appeared the first state-sponsored terrorism<sup>iv</sup> group in Macedonia (Walter Laqueur, 2000), but we will have to wait the fourth wave of terrorism in the 1970s for a widespread of this particular pattern of terrorism.

The second wave of terrorism (1920-1960) (Rapoport, 2002) was embedded in the collapse of the colonial empires (Motyl, 2001), a tense political environment. However, the end of colonialism was not the only influence on the second wave of terrorism, World war II participated in the increase in length and violence in the attacks lead by violent political groups at the time (Thompson, 2006). The second wave of terrorism used the innovation of Guerrilla warfare, which was theorised by Mao Tse-Tung (Tse-Tung, 2015), as well as a poor economical context, the great depression, followed by World War II and unstable socio-political environment: the collapse of western colonial empires. The cumuli of these factors helped to create an auspicious context to strike at the core of destabilised European colonial empires and a legitimacy to the actions of terrorism groups through the rejection of colonial empires. Following a left-wing ideology similar to the first wave and the terrorism following World War I, we can observe an ideological shift at the beginning of World War II. The rise of right-wings political movement across the globe enabled the creation of militia, and terrorist group from the ideology in question. Such organisation became known through groups such as the Ustasha in Croatia or the Rumanian Iron Guard (Walter Laqueur, 2000).

The massive violence campaigns that characterise the second wave of terrorism followed after the World War II, in Asia and Middle East were the pro-independence groups were fighting colonial Empires, Great Britain and France being the most targeted due to their history of colonialism (Edwards & society, 1988; Walter Laqueur, 2000; Skoll, 2011; Thompson, 2006). As the mentioned country were destabilized and weaken by almost a decade of war, the use of the guerrilla strategy to exhaust their enemy found a perfect theatre of operation in the independentists terrorism organisations, such as the FLN in Algeria and the Mau-Mau in Kenya (Walter Laqueur, 2000).

Meanwhile assassinations were still practiced during the second waves as leaders, their meaning differed from the first wave of terrorism, pro-colonials power figures were murdered

because of the power structure they represented rather than the policy they were implementing. Political figures such as King Abdullah of Jordan (Walter Laqueur, 2000; Wilson, 1990) were targeted to affect both the country they were operating in, but also the power structure they were part of: the colonialism in order to destabilize it. This second wave lasted until the 1960s were the Marxist revolution gave birth to the third wave of terrorism.

The Third wave of terrorism (1960-1990)(Rapoport, 2002), having Marxism at the core of its ideology (Thompson, 2006), was encourage by the Vietnam war and the achievement of the Viet Cong against the U.S army during the Vietnam war (1955-1975) (Barber, 2003). In the context of the cold war, terrorist organisations used the destabilized international environment and the tension between the two blocs to ease their movements. Proxy wars such as the Chinese Civil war, the internal conflict in Myanmar, etc., were beneficial environment for those groups, offering shelters where the world's most powerful nations like the US and USSR could not get involved directly because of political tension and the threat of mutual destruction. Consequently laying down the foundation for international terrorism networks (Thompson, 2006) that are currently active know. It is during the third wave that kidnapping became a more common method for terrorist groups to fund their operations, in addition to plane high jacking and misappropriation of equipment (Rapoport, 2002; Thompson, 2006). Thus, showing a transition in methods of actions implying a structure within the organisation that was planned beyond specific goals, re-appropriation of equipment and use of external funding from the kidnapping would serve medium to long-term goals as well as immediate actions. It can be argued that such innovation in the structure of terrorism organisation highlight the high potential of these organisations to adapt their operations to the contexts they are operating in. The third wave also marked the internationalisation of the targets, the European continent and its interests were not the single target of terrorism anymore. Societies across the globe witnessed the emergence of new terrorist organisations, especially in developing countries and newly independent countries where the democratic system was failing them (Walter Laqueur, 2016; Thompson, 2006). Thus, leading to repressive regimes and insecurity amongst leaders all over the world. Such pattern making echo to the first wave of terrorism in Europe.

It is crucial to highlight the fact that while terrorism legislations were already in place since 1936 in the United Kingdom (Anglim, 2005), no counter-terrorism actions had been taking place until the incident of the Sabena Flight 571 in 1972 (Klein, 2007)<sup>v</sup>, which is the first successful counter-terrorism action taken by a state to resolve a violent hostage situation.

The primary causes of the rise of violent acts are the poor economic and political framework that terrorist groups use to their advantage in order to gain support of segment of the population in their fight against real or imaginary evils (Devezas, 2006). Moreover, there is a need to emphasize the larger context around terrorist actions. All terrorist groups or violent organisations with political goals are part of a bigger political movement. However, within those political movements, terrorism represent a minority of radicalised, self-appointed vigilantes, encouraged by systemic changes that alienate a segment of the population (Thompson, 2006). Modern societies are in a constant evolution, both regarding a technical and non-technical innovation that can create alienation of a segment of the population. Terrorism uses this perpetual evolution as a fuel to indoctrinate new adepts to its ideology. This pattern used by terrorism implies that as long as society is changing, radical ideologies will sustain their effort to destabilise it in order to achieve their political goals through violence.

## **2.3 Modern terrorism**

### **2.3.1 The fourth wave of terrorism**

#### **2.3.1.1 Genealogy of the fourth wave of terrorism**

The non-technical innovations that the fourth wave of terrorism implemented into their operations significantly contributed to the development of form of terrorism that we are witnessing today. However, in order to analyse the innovations that reshaped the terrorist organisations, it is crucial to study the historical background of the fourth wave of terrorism

Contemporary terrorism, also labelled as the fourth wave of terrorism (Rapoport, 2001) has been a subject of public discussion since the events of 9/11. However, the emergence of the fourth wave terrorism dates back to the 1970s and the events of the Iranian revolution and the Afghan war (Rapoport, 2002; Thompson, 2006).

The fourth wave of terrorism is characterised by non-technical innovations related to its ideology and its network structures. Such innovations were present during the third wave and reinforced themselves to the point that they became a new iteration of terrorism. Leading to the emergence of the fourth wave of terrorism, which is mostly composed of Islamic terrorism. Subsequently demarking itself from previous waves with globalised large-scale operations and a strong media presence. Even if modern terrorism in itself did not innovate technically, it uses new technology to its benefits; such an appropriation is used for tactical purposes, media representation, propaganda, etc. (Farwell, 2014). The emergence of the fourth-wave terrorism organisations traces back to the 1970s, their first operations were carried in the 1980s (Ben-Dor

& Pedahzur, 2003; Rapoport, 2001). However, it is from the 1990s that the Islamic terrorism became the most active kind of terrorism with the rise of Al-Qaeda Central (Ben-Dor & Pedahzur, 2003; Walther & Christopoulos, 2015).

Although the first attacks within the first wave of terrorism were carried in the 1980s (Rapoport, 2001), the Islamic terrorism came into the picture only from the 1990s. Its ideology is based on a fundamental understanding of the Quran. It is crucial to emphasize the multitude of sub-movement within the label “fundamentalist”. The Quran appears to be a common reference between Islamic terrorism organisations, nonetheless the existence of sub-movement within this general label has been observed, inducing the existence of several school of thoughts within the Islamic terrorism ideology (Ben-Dor & Pedahzur, 2003). Before the tragic events of 9/11, Islamic terrorism was not a threat taken seriously by the USA or its allies (Farwell, 2014). Despite the first bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993 (Rapoport, 2001) and other attacks carried out against the USA and its allies (McClintock, 1992), it is only after the 9/11 events that a consequent response has been carried out (Sageman, 2011). The lack of responses following terrorism attacks before 9/11 may have emboldened Al Qaeda central (Sageman, 2011), pushing the organisation to dramatic, large-scale attacks on the American soil.

The 9/11 airplanes attacks triggered the multidimensional conflict between the USA and Al-Qaeda Central, which at the time was led by Osama Bin laden (Farwell, 2014; Rapoport, 2001; Walther & Christopoulos, 2015). Few days later, NATO invoked the Article 5 (NATO, 2001), thus inducing an engagement of all NATO members, as well as Australia, against terrorism (Australia, 2013). An international coalition was formed, and the war on terror was officially declared (Graham, Keenan, & Dowd, 2004). Having carried out the airplane attacks on the World Trade Centre, Al-Qaeda Central did not only revealed itself to the world, but also presented the destructive power of Islamic terrorism. Rapoport (2001) argues that these events represent a desperate attempt of Al-Qaeda central to create legitimacy around their organisation and legitimize their ideology exploiting the anger in Middle East and the Gulf Region against the US. Moreover, the actions of Al-Qaeda brought the threat of Islamic terrorism to such a critical level that Western countries could not ignore it anymore.

The destabilization of the Middle East, which was caused by the declared war on terror as well as other internal wars such as the Afghan Wars and the Second Gulf War, was largely beneficial to the development of terrorism in region. A rapid growth of power vacuum and anger against the US and its allies encouraged Al-Qaeda to pursue its operations and expand its

network. In addition to that, the new terrorist groups such as AQIM, ISIS, Daesh and Al Nusra Front arise. Islamic terrorism has been involved in many political events in the twenty first century, however it is crucial to denote particular milestones in its development such as for instance the creation of the Daesh, which is an acronym for “Dawlat al-Islamiyah f’al-Iraq w Belaad al-Sham” (Kent, 2014), in 2011. This anti-Shiite organisation, which seeks religious and cultural destruction of Shiism, has grown to be the biggest terrorist organisation of the twenty first century. In 2014, after some altercations with Al Nusra Front, Daesh<sup>vi</sup> absorbs the group and creates its Caliphate superposed on regions of Syria and Iraq.

“In June [2014], the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) [Daesh] made a dramatic entrance onto the global stage, aiming to establish its religious authority across the planet under a caliphate led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. In June, the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) made a dramatic entrance onto the global stage, aiming to establish its religious authority across the planet under a caliphate led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.”

(Terrill, 2014)

The very name of The Islamic State that arose in 2014, reflected the ambitions that Daesh had towards The Islamic State governed by Islamic laws (Sharia). Yet in 2016, undergoing massive military defeats, Daesh lost 96% of its previously controlled territories, which resulted in the shift of the organization’s operations from a direct military power to an obscure international network.

Having in mind the historical background of the various terrorist groups within the fourth wave of terrorism, it is crucial to analyse the innovations that they have developed in its development. In the following paragraphs, I will study three major non-technical innovations that the terrorist groups implemented into their operations: (1) the use of social media and communication technologies to spread the ideology worldwide; (2) the network structure of these organisations, balancing hierarchy and heterarchy (Walther & Christopoulos, 2015).

### **2.3.1.2 New means of propaganda**

Another innovation that has been implemented into the operations of terrorist organisations is the use of social media as a tool of communication. This aspect not only significantly differentiated the fourth wave of terrorism from its precedents, but also greatly contributed to the success of the Islamic State. Daesh as well as other violent political groups

are known from using social media as a platform for propaganda, recruitment and even the tactics advantages, which considerably increases their areas of influence.

Al-Shabaab used Twitter during its September 2013 attack on the Westgate Mall in Nairobi to intimidate, mock and brag. Lashkar-e-Taiba made effective use of cyber technologies such as Google Earth and mobile phones to gather intelligence and for command and control during its November 2008 assault on Mumbai

(Farwell, 2014)

Such a technical innovation represents a turning point for counter-terrorism agencies mainly because the Internet communication acts as a double-edge sword. The terrorist organisations are now able to spread their ideology all over the world by using their members, regardless their place in the hierarchy and their involvement in the organization's operations. This, however, has a binary outcome. On the one hand, it amplifies the organisation's ideology and legitimacy, on the other hand, it creates a potential breach for security within the organisation, which could be used to help counter-terrorism agencies to locate and neutralise high profile terrorists. Moreover, using social media as a communication platform, terrorism organisations can monitor the reception and response to their actions, as well as follow up on the spread of their propaganda.

Images of gore, beheadings and executions are intended to intimidate opponents. And yet the group has also released images showing foot soldiers eating Snickers bars and nurturing kittens, a historical reference [...]

(Farwell, 2014)

The variation of images that the terrorist organizations send to the world of social media may be interpreted as their attempt to slightly cure their public image and reputation, which so far, has been based on the cruel and ruthless actions towards the opponents of their ideology.

The implementation of technical to the fourth wave of terrorism demonstrates the capability of these organizations to adapt to new technologies and systems in order to use its flaws. Actively working on the efficiency of their recruitment, maximise the impact of their actions and increase the propagation of their ideology. Such a technical innovation within the fourth wave of terrorism demonstrates the capability of these international networks to adapt to new technologies and systems in order to use its flaws for the profit of the organisation.



### 2.3.1.3 Network Structures

During the previous waves of terrorism, the terrorist organizations were small groups, also called cells, which operated locally or regionally depending of their capacity. Contemporary, terrorism organisations, through a complex network of social relations, are able to operate internationally. This structure profile provides to the organisation's security, high flexibility and resilience against internal and external threats. Studying the case of the terrorism network involved in the Malian Revolution, Walther and Christopoulos (2015) argued:

Results show that the network composed of both Islamists and rebels is more 'cosmopolitan' than 'provincial': its low density, relatively low level of clustering and small-world quotient suggest that it is composed of sub-networks characterized by nodes that are not nearest neighbours but can be reached through relatively few intermediaries. The whole network also appears to be relatively non-hierarchical as shown by a low degree centralization value.

(Walther & Christopoulos, 2015)

These observations demonstrate the ability of terrorist organisations to adapt to their environment and minimise any potential threat to the integrity of their network, and therefore, to their actions. Such an approach renders the counter-actions extremely difficult to carry out and reduces their efficiency, making the fourth wave of terrorism the greatest threat and the biggest challenge for the twenty-first century counter-terrorism organisations.

### 2.3.2 The case of modern far-right terrorism

The fourth wave of terrorism is mainly represented in medias and academic work through the lens of fundamentalist Islamic/ Jihadist terrorism organisations and their religious based ideological war against Western lifestyle and society (Asprey, 2011; Walter Laqueur, 2000, 2016; Rapoport, 2001; Sageman, 2014; Thompson, 2006). However, there is a need to emphasise another rising ideology in contemporary terrorism: Far-Right terrorism.

The most notable case of the Far-right terrorism in Europe is the Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik, who attacked a political meeting on the island of Utøya. It is crucial to lay the elements of his actions in order to understand the pattern behind his actions. Before these tragic events, he developed an radical ideology through the organisation of the Templar Knights and spread it with a manifesto (Asprey, 2011). This ideology built on a war both material and semiotic against the Islamic terrorism founds its legitimacy in an idealisation of

the crusades against Muslims in the middle-ages, mixed with a nostalgia of Old-Scandinavian religion, conservative Christian societies and a racist ideology.

At first glance, this violent political answer against Islamic terrorism (Berntzen & Sandberg, 2014) appears to lay new characteristics for a fifth-wave of terrorism, structuring itself in complete opposition against the fourth-wave of terrorism (Rapoport, 2002). However, when observing the components of Far-right terrorism, they appear to be the same, only in a different setup. First, there is an idealised vision of the past a Rosy-effect combined with a nostalgia regarding a certain ideology (Pantucci, 2011), perception of the world. Second, a violent reaction towards a change in society and context (Pantucci, 2011) that creates a feeling of alienation from the individuals' context and identity. And finally, a clear political agenda based on a destabilisation of the dominant structures of power (Sheridan, 1977).

This example of another kind of contemporary terrorism is important as the mainstream Media and power structures often generalize the image of terrorism to one ideology, focusing only on one aspect of modern terrorism: the Islamic terrorism. The danger beyond the stigmatisation and development of preconceived ideas on terrorism, lies in the lack of acknowledgment of far more diverse ideologies fighting not only each other but society as a whole.

During the chaos produced by the attacks on Utøya, media representations misinformed the public. Confusing Breivik for an Islamic terrorist (Asprem, 2011), such an assumption highlights the lack of information regarding the co-existence of different schools of thought within contemporary terrorism. Therefore, maintaining a shredded image of the reality of terrorism. Terrorism goes beyond race, religion or ideology; it is a method without value that can be used by anyone with any political conviction (Walter Laqueur, 2016). Any individual, John Doe, can potentially become a terrorist through social, economic, political changes (Walter Laqueur, 2000, 2016); the unpredictability of terrorism remains its main threat as it is emphasized in the academic literature when it is referred to as a "low probability, high impact event" (Henderson et al., 2010). Not attracting public attention to terrorism organisations allows them to spread and develop themselves without limits and while leaving the public defenceless, unable to realise the rise of another threat before its dramatic actions. Providing knowledge regarding all aspects of contemporary terrorism is needed to ensure the minimisation of the emergence of new radical ideologies and gives a framework of understanding to individuals to avoid future potential attacks.

## **2.4 Tourism and Terrorism**

In this section I presents academic work related to terrorism and tourism. I aim with this section to highlight the short-term perceived risk associated with terrorism and terrorism in order to further advocate for more research to be publish on the topic. In a second part, the differences between crime and terrorism are drawn. Such an approach provides a framework to understand terrorism as a phenomenon in itself and avoid dismissing it as an aspect of criminal activities.

### **2.4.1 Perception of Tragic events by the consumer**

This section aim at breaking the taboo around the sensitive subject of tragic events within tourism context. Drawing from the work of Larsen, Brun, øgaard, and Selstad (2011), I will highlight the limits of risk perception related to terror attacks by the consumer.

Larsen et al. (2011) demonstrated in their article the impact of the Iraq war and events of terror attacks in Europe on the travel desire of three sample of individuals. In their research they highlighted that the risk judgment was not affected by the tragic events previously quoted. However, the general travel desire was affected. This results in crucial findings for the tourism industry. The overall travel desire was affected by events that were close from the sampled individuals, inducing that proximity increases anxiety related to terror attacks. Moreover, Larsen et al. (2011) emphasised that memories related to terror attacks or war events were subject to the same memory decay process than regular events. Such a finding provides valuable information regarding the media treatments of terror attacks in the medias.

This academic article provides valuable insights demonstrating that terror attacks and security issues have no valid reason to be silenced from public discussion or subject that the tourism industry would try to avoid.

### **2.4.2 Crime and Terrorism, different phenomenon**

Crime and terrorism are two different issues. Often confused by individuals, these two phenomena differs in nature and operations. In this section, I aim to highlight the differences between terrorism and crime in order to demonstrate the need for different counter-policies.

Crime and terrorism are considered threats against the tourism industry, endangering the economic sustainability and the perceived safety of a destination (Baker, 2014; Ferreira & Harmse, 2000; Pizam, 1982; Ryan, 1993). However, their natures and goals are in opposition. Criminal activities are the consequences of changes in the economy of a destination. In tourism

context, as the industry develops it creates inequalities between hosts and guests, and hosts themselves. Such inequalities give rise to criminal activities that can be separated in two categories:

- Criminal services (Drugs, illegal sex industry, etc.)
- Criminal attacks (Robbery, kidnapping, etc.)

These two kinds of criminal activities require the destination to be functional, as tourists are needed for the criminal activities to be carried on. Subsequently, crimes create a parasitic relationship with the tourism industry, feeding on its actions and actors for economic gains. Such an approach marks a drastic difference with terrorism. Terrorism aims for a downturn in the host economy to implement their political agenda, in order to achieve their goal they use violent political attacks (PE Tarlow, 2006). In the case of criminal activities, the violent and non-violent illegal activities have no political means; they are purely a mean to economic gains for an individual or an organisation (Peter Tarlow, 2005).

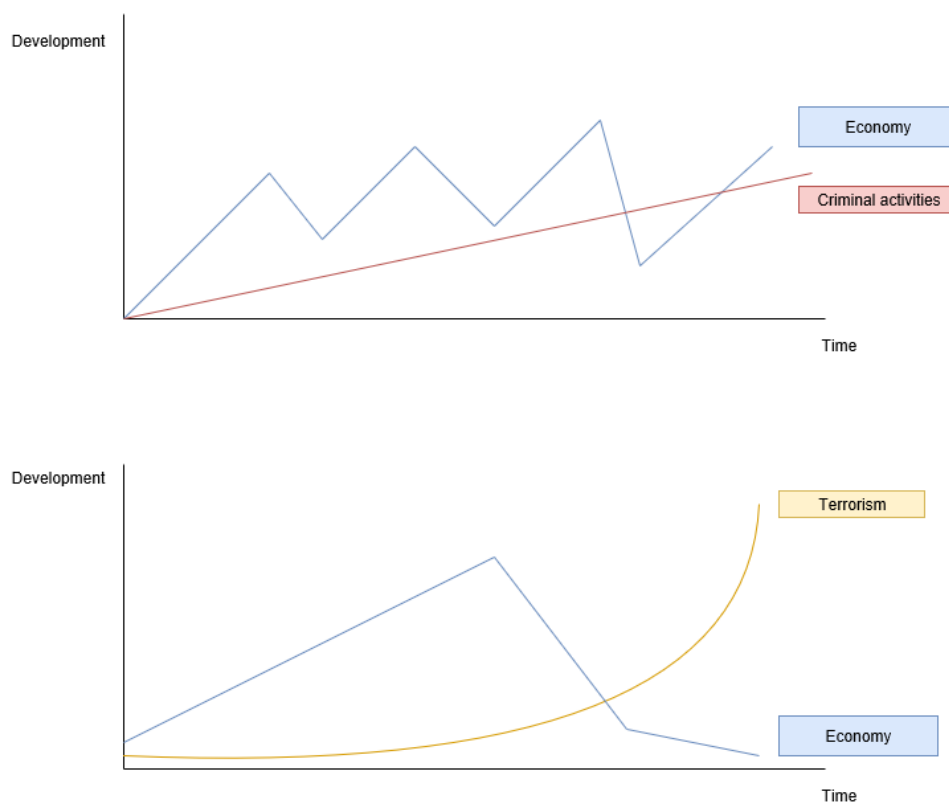


Figure 1 Crime and Terrorism's relationship to the host economy

In this absence of policies aimed at regulating criminal activities and forces enforcing the law, Crime will adapt to its economic and social environment. In times of economic

development, Criminal activities will thrive on the rising inequalities between actors, and in times of economic decline, criminal activities will once again use inequalities as well as scarcity to achieve economic gains.

Crime represents a short-term threat towards tourism which can be resolved through law enforcement and cracking down on corruption, however it is crucial to notice that few tourism destinations have move forward with crime as a mean to develop its industry. Such cases have been studied by academics before in the context of sex tourism (Clift & Carter, 2000; Oppermann, 1999) and drug tourism (Grobe & Lürer, 2011).

Finally, crime and terrorism are different phenomenon however; it is not uncommon to observe relations between them (Peter Tarlow, 2014). Especially in the case of drug trafficking which is for criminal activities a lucrative business and for terrorism a mean to fund its operations.

### **3 Theoretical Framework**

The aim of this chapter is to provide an understanding of the context in which security policies operate. First, drawing on the work of NHH Graburn (1989), the nature of tourism and its characteristics is presented in order to provide a framework for the context in which actors interact with each other. The evolution of such a context and its impacts on the potential exchanges and interactions between hosts and guests is highlighted. In the second section, the creation of discourses around the concept and status of tourists is described (McKercher, 2008). Consideration of the creation of such discourses provides the reader with the necessary knowledge to understand the implications of security policies upon host-guest interactions. I argue these discourses cause a lack of interaction between hosts and guests. Following such an approach, section three of this theory chapter aims to highlight the power relationships between hosts and guests in a destination. By presenting the work of Chatelard (2005) on power relations in Wadi Ramm, this section provides an understanding of power relationships and their impacts on discourse creations. It also demonstrates the influences of unbalanced power relations between hosts and guests. Finally, section four presents actor-network theory, which is used, in connection with a post-structuralist approach to understand the impact of security policies on actors through the study of the contexts surrounding them.

#### **3.1 Producing value exchanges and understanding the nature of tourist/ local interactions**

Nelson Graburn is one of the seminal theorists of tourism studies. His article “Tourism: The sacred journey” (NHH Graburn, 1989) depicts the change of environment that happens when individuals engage in touristic experiences and activities. Throughout his article NHH Graburn (1989) describes the interdependence of the daily environment, which he calls profane, and the touristic environment, which he defines as sacred. This distinction results in a change of behaviour and values by individuals, as well as highlights the connection between both environments and the way they influence each other.

##### **3.1.1 Two Interdependent Spaces**

Foremost, Graburn emphasises the fact that those two environments are inter-connected; they need each other to keep a certain balance in the life of an individual. The alternation of those states provides the individuals with meaningful events (NHH Graburn, 1989). This alternation results in a never-ending quest for more memories, experiences and symbolic markers in an individual’s life, which in turn serve to further fuel the tourism industry.

Graburn's understanding of different spaces an individual travels through during a touristic experience is relevant to this thesis as it underlines the values carried by an individual while visiting a foreign culture and/or society. Such visitation facilitates the process of cultural exchanges through tourism. When an individual exits his or her profane environment, the social norms, described as “proper” by (NHH Graburn, 1989), still greatly influence the individual's behaviour. For instance, going on holiday is considered “proper” if the individual does not exceed the “proper” amount of free time thereby not under estimating the value of work. Those values change from country to country and culture to culture, but they seem to be strongly integrated in Western and modernised societies. What is more, Graburn suggested that individuals when subjected to "proper" values are unable to escape them, and as a consequence, individuals rarely manage to escape their daily environment.

Another important aspect of this approach is the cyclical nature of those changes. At the beginning of his Graburn emphasised the opposition between work and play (NHH Graburn, 1989) and that they cannot be combined for risk of being qualified as not-proper. Then later, he explained that this change of states between profane and sacred environments demonstrates the -linear action of time on- an individual (NHH Graburn, 1989). However, the repetition of those changes of states result in a cycle, which is repeated throughout one's life leading to development of the “[h]uman exploratory behaviour (Berlyne, 1968-52)” (Graburn, 1989-28) which is at the core of what tourism is.

### **3.1.2 Entering the sacred environment**

As a tourist exits their profane environment to enter the sacred environment of touristic experiences (NHH Graburn, 1989), this results in a physical separation from the system/society one is usually living in, thus leading to an apparent abandonment of cultural and social markers. However, the tourist and other agents that are internationally implemented into a foreign destination do not abandon all their cultural and political stances. They become a representation of their profane environment, the environment from which they came from. Through this process of temporarily becoming a tourist, the individual will also temporarily represent their home country, as well as the economic and political system of which he/she is part. Paradoxically, by the action of separating oneself from the profane environment, the tourist becomes in the eyes of locals and other external (from his/her profane environment) agents a representation of his/her profane environment (NHH Graburn, 1989). This representation, acts as a medium for sharing values, culture, and ideology as well as representing a different, sometimes opposed society to the local ones. This phenomenon is not the deed of an individual

or the tourism industry itself, it is an unconscious pattern that results of the growth of tourism at a given destination.

### **3.1.3 Human interaction within tourism**

Through travels, individuals seek to discover, explore, and meet others from different cultures and to engage in experiences, which differ from the daily environment. This urge to see what is beyond our horizons has been pushing generations of explorers, settlers, and nowadays, tourists and travellers to meet, share and experience the world around them. Translating this will of discovery into our modern societies created the industry of tourism. For its own sake the industry focuses its efforts on offering a pleasant experience, a utopian view of travel to promote its activities and to thrive in a competitive economy. Nevertheless, the reality is more complex than that, tourism is based on human interactions, and these can also produce unwanted, unpleasant or even negative outcomes. As described by Smith (2012):

Tourism can be a bridge to an appreciation of cultural relativity and international understanding. However, catering to guests is a very repetitive, monotonous business, and although questions posed by each visitor may be “new” to him, hosts can become bored, as if a cassette has been turned on. If the economic goals of mass tourism are realized and the occasional visitor is replaced by a steady influx, individuals guests’ identities become obscured, and they are labelled as “tourists” who, in turn, may be stereotyped into national character images (Pi-Sunyer, Chapter 9).

The perception of tourists by locals given influences by the circumstances of tourists’ travel, such as massive tourist influxes, rapid growth of a destination, et cetera, as well as the duration of tourists stays which are also decreasing. As a result, human interactions are reduced to a minimum serving only the purpose of the narrative sold to the tourist. Such interactions create and/or increase stereotypes of tourist (Pi-Sunyer, 1989) and render any possibility for the locals to correct their judgment as often being unfeasible.



### **3.2 Connotation of the word "tourist"**

The signification of the word "tourist" often carries a negative connotation. This connotation finds its roots in early waves of tourists, particularly, cultural or ethnic groups of tourists visiting a given destination for the first time (McKercher, 2008). Why are we not inclined to consider ourselves as tourists, and why do the locals often have a negative perception of being a tourist?

Throughout this part of my thesis, I aim to highlight the gap that appears between hosts and guests in the way they perceive each other, which consequently leads to the appearance of stereotypes and misconceptions. The cultural differences between hosts and guests, and often, a lack of communication between them contributed to a vague misunderstanding of each other's cultural backgrounds and the social norms that have shaped them. Therefore, the hosts and their environment were often misjudged by the guests, and the image of the guests themselves has been built on insufficient information about the hosts.

#### **3.2.1 The origins of the stereotypes and their resilient nature**

In his article "The roots of stereotypes about tourists", McKercher (2008) traced back the origins of these stereotypes to the first wave of mass tourism from each tourists' home region (country or cultural area). McKercher (2008) described the first wave of tourists coming from a home region as the first cultural, ethnic or national group of tourists visiting a domestic or foreign destination for the first time. Often coming from a high social background, those tourists considered themselves as the pioneers of a particular kind of tourism. McKercher (2008) used the example of the American tourists of the 1950s and 1960s who were recognizable through their characteristic behaviour, practices, and clothing habits.

The main source of stereotype creations arose from the difference in perception between the tourists themselves and the hosts. Primarily, as McKercher (2008) explained, "the first wave of tourist from a given home region" does not mean that those tourists were the first ones into a given destination. This means that they were the firsts "representatives" of their profane environment. Subsequently a perception gap arises between the tourists, who consider themselves as pioneers in destination encounters. The perception of the locals who may have already experienced touristic activities before, see these new tourists as just another group of customers. Which during the interaction between host and guests will produce misunderstandings from both side regarding body language, social norms and behaviour in

general. The tourists who are not accustomed to their new environment will not realise that their behaviour may be perceived as inappropriate.

Highlighting the ordinariness of travel. The naïve but interested innovator in a home country is thrust into a cultural landscape that defines them as inward-looking laggards<sup>vii</sup>. Cultural isolation, especially when complemented by arrogance, breeds both a false sense of self-importance and reluctance to change, exacerbating the differences. Most tourists learn to travel through their own individual and collective experiences. Pioneering tourists have not yet had that chance to learn, and therefore apply the same social norms they would use at home to the exotic, without appreciating they may be seen as inappropriate elsewhere.

(McKercher, 2008-346)

Adding the aspect of "strangeness" to the experience, McKercher quoted Cohen's (1988) concept of "environment bubble" where the tourist, an outsider, copes with his/her exotic environment by surrounding themselves with a cultural and/or social safety blanket to help him/her, to cope with the cultural and social differences within his, her experience in order to experience novelty.

With those two aspects of the first wave of tourists, it becomes clear that the tourists and locals, using their different perspectives will assess the situation and emit judgments from a biased position. Using their perspectives, tourists, will through understand the host environment based on their profane environment being used as a means of comparison. Thereby, if not supervised within touristic infrastructures, they will exploring the otherness socially and culturally blind. On the hand, the locals, seeing a group of unusual origin will magnify their behaviours and reactions in an attempt to label, and categorize these new customers. Unfortunately, the first wave of tourist into a given destination will not experience all the infrastructure a long-lasting destination would have, such as a medium of communication, local guides, or even previous customer experiences. This serves to reinforce the possibility of mutual understanding.

Individuals make assessments and try to understand others and their environments on a daily basis through social and personality attributions (Ross & Fletcher, 1985). In the case of the first wave of tourist from a given place, attempts to achieve understandings from both the tourists and the local people's perspective occurs without all necessary information to create an

accurate image of the others. Thus, creating the stereotypes, which can be seen long after the given group of tourists, has become a regular tourist group into destinations.

Unfortunately, stereotypes are so ubiquitous that the people are attuned to making gross generalizations about a group, long after the majority of that group ceases to behave in the way that first led to their classification.

(McKercher, 2008-347)

The creation of a long-lasting image of a social, ethnic or cultural group in the destination leads to an active bias from the locals towards the tourists. The following waves of tourists and their behaviour will be analysed and understood by the locals through a narrow lens filtered by, the pre-conceived ideas that the first wave of tourists was created with their behaviour patterns.

### **3.3 Social Roles and Power structures**

The following section focuses on the creations of power structures between hosts and guests and the influences of social roles and pre-conceived ideas on the interactions between actors within a touristic destination. Drawing on the work of Chatelard (2005), I aim to highlight the unbalanced power relations existing between hosts and guests that can be further extrapolated to all actors within a destination (e.g. tourists/tourists; tourists/locals; etc.). Then, by presenting actor network theory based on the work of Latour (2005); Law (2008); Law and Hassard (1999); Munro (2009), I aim to create a framework to further understand these interactions building on both a postmodernist approach and actor network theory.

#### **3.3.1 Geraldine Chatelard's Tourism representation**

Power relations often shape tourism representations, in her article, Chatelard (2005) discussed this aspect of tourism using a case study of Wadi Ramm in Jordan. This case has two very interesting aspects. First, drawing on many points of view, Chatelard the relations between locals and tourists as well as the different factors that shaped the destination and the related perceptions of the place, the locals, as well as the tourist's representation from the locals' point of view. The second interesting aspect is the location of this destination. Jordan is situated in the Middle East, where the fourth wave of terrorism has begun. However, the article proffers that despite the difficult political and social climate, and adding the instability of borders, and neighbouring countries. Wadi Ramm has succeeded in building a stable influx of tourist by working on its own representation to fit more closely the local's culture and history rather than using Western's element such as Lawrence of Arabia to attract the tourist.

The aim of the following paragraphs is to reflect on Chatelard's (2005) work on the destination of Wadi Ramm in order to better understand its tourism representation and how power relations shape exchanges between locals and tourists.

Wadi Ramm encompasses all the aspects of a sensitive destination, and is subject to many factors that are outside the control of the tourism industry, political and economic instability, a difficult medium of communication between the tourist and locals as well as a culture embedded in Westerner's stereotypes. However, it is important to highlight that even if there are power relations between tourists and locals that are not balanced due to the economic and social differences, the locals are not objects subject to the Westerner's deeds. Chatelard emphasised this point Using Bowman's approach:

I follow Bowman, who warns that "By presenting the 'host' as a victim to whom the 'guest' does things, one perpetuates the modernist assumption that non-westerner people are objects upon which westerner projects are inscribed (Bowman 1996-63)

(Chatelard, 2005-3)

A destination, a place, a culture, is not an object for a tourist, nor is it subjugated to the will of external agencies. In order to better understand what is happening between tourists and locals, the approach needs to be wider in its perceptions of individuals and relations. A destination acts as a network of agents communicating and exchanging with each other and also with external agents related by social or economic relations. The latter point will be developed in the last part of this theory chapter when the Actor Network Theory is discussed. Avoiding the assumption that non-Westerner individuals, agencies, and destinations are objects is important so as not to perpetuate stereotypes about Third World's and Developing Worlds' societies. Moreover, through this process, there is the acknowledgment of development beyond post-colonial narratives wherein all agents of the industry are considered external to stereotyped perceptions.

Extrapolating from the Wadi Ramm case study, for the most part it appears that power relations within a destination resolve around the economic status of the different agents. Tourism brings a great economic stimulus to previously undeveloped or under-developed areas creating jobs, boosting the local economy and counter-acting depopulation once economic goals are reached. This translates into the reality with a steady influx of tourists to a destination (Chatelard, 2005-22-24). However, with this new kind of economy, a power relation shapes

itself through the dependency of the locals on an external source of revenues. This sensible relation towards external agents, which aims to sustain the destination, forces the locals to adapt their lifestyle, culture, land and history to tourists' expectations and needs. However, the locals are not the ones shaping the imaginary of their land, culture, and history. This is the role of mediums between the locals and tourists such as tour operator, tourism board and other media, which can potentially influence the tourists in their travelling choices. Thus, resulting in the locals creating a representation of themselves and the culture in which they are embedded. This is very well shown in Chatelard (2005) article when she emphasised the fact that developing signs of the Bedouin's society are rarely part of the media shown to tourists. The former prefer to stay in a more traditional narrative of the locals than fitting more the narrative they are the locals selling (Chatelard, 2005-8). Moreover, through the representations made to the tourists by locals, once such expectations are established the local need to maintain a certain appearance to avoid dissatisfaction which would lead to a decline in tourist's numbers' (Chatelard, 2005-2). This phenomenon is not meant to create such a dependency. The main goal is economic gain for all sides, and the existence of such representations does not erase other previous perceptions and/or representations of a culture. It creates layers of representations that can be used by different tourism or cultural projects, creating a network of coexisting interpretations of a destination. Then, to further develop the destination, tourism agents use those different representations. Local's entrepreneurs start their own tourism activities in order to get their share of this economic stimulus, and subsequently share their own representations of their culture. As Chatelard (2005-12) emphasised:

It can be argued that the rationale behind this staging of the mock Bedouin is not necessarily to deceive visitors. Rather, the purpose is to create the Oriental atmosphere tourists have been made to desire, have paid for, expect and enjoy

This dynamic creates a power relationship between the different external (tourists) and internal (locals) agents, which revolve around the commodification of a culture, place, and history. Following this phenomenon, the perception of the foreigner changes, and is recreated as a tourist, an external agent, who will be accepted in the destination in a different way (Chatelard, 2005-8). Not all locals approve of the commodification of their culture, place, and history. This can generate resentment towards tourists. Resentment refers to the definition made by Nietzsche "[a] psychological state resulting from suppressed feelings of envy and hatred which cannot be satisfied." To emphasise the lack of opportunity for locals to express their

frustration to tourists is exacerbated due to difficulties or limited possibilities to directly interact with the tourists themselves. As Chatelard argued, following Bowman and Cohen's ideas:

They themselves depend on other levels of mediation: in Jordan, most tour leaders speak English, not Arabic, and heavily depend on their local, Jordanian licensed guides to act as middlemen (there are very few women in the profession) in a series of circumstances where the vernacular language or cultural codes are needed. Most of the time, it is through that multi-level mediation that tourists enter in contact with other brokers such as bus drivers, hotel and restaurant staff, vendors in souvenir shops, etc.

(Chatelard, 2005-3)

The tourists and locals only interact through layers of middlemen due to the difference in culture and languages. Often, they will only communicate with a small part of the local's population, which is the one devoted to the tourism industry through their careers or personal interests. Thereby, reinforcing the representation of the destinations sold by external agents, and at the same time engendering the potential further frustration of the locals towards the representation itself, and to the tourism industry perpetuating it. In Chatelard's (2005-6) article, it was mentioned that locals use humour to counter this phenomenon. However, elsewhere in other destinations, that the locals reactions can be more vivid, sometimes violent towards what locals perceive as misrepresentation, or even disrespect.

### **3.3.2 Actor Network Theory**

In this Master's thesis project, my aim was to understand the influence and impact of security policies on host societies. However, the intents behind those policies as well as any political motives were purposely discarded. Such an approach was particularly germane for the intents of my study of the phenomenon of terrorism in touristic contexts. Why, because the motives, or intents, were not the focus. The effects of security policies on individuals and hosts societies were the patterns I aimed to highlight. Following such a thought process, in this section, I draw on Actor-Network theory, especially, the works of Latour (1999, 2005, 2012), Law (2004, 2008); Law and Hassard (1999) in order to demonstrate the relevancy of such an approach to the topic of security and terrorism.

### 3.3.2.1 Conceptualising agencies

Differing from the general convention of western philosophy, the understanding of agencies within actor-network theory goes beyond only humans being able to be qualified as such. Placing intentions and motivations as a requirement for an entity to be an agency, western philosophy has historically rejected any non-human being labelled as such (Munro, 2009). Actor-network theory, however, rejects intentions and motives as a requirement for agencies, and therefore any phenomenon (Munro, 2009). Instead actor-network theory focuses on the effects of associations (Michel Callon & Blackwell, 2007) and the ‘agencement’ of context; intentions and motivations are often irrelevant due to the layering of actors involved in decision-making processes. As technology has progressed and become a crucial part of individuals’ daily lives, non-human actors are yielding power that can be considered agency-like through their operations. Systems surrounding individuals are not only self-constructed but also feed on the actions of individuals with no apparent intentions or motivations (Munro, 2009). They are for the purpose they have been created, and act accordingly to preserve their existence, often in a way that obstructs any other possibility of actions from the individuals embedded in them (Latour, 2012; Munro, 2009).

This understanding of agencies opens a new perspective on the studies of power structures, and systems surrounding individuals in societies (Law, 2008). In the context of tourism, understanding non-human actors as agencies allows researchers to widen the scope of research in their studies to highlight the effects of policies, and the already-in-place systems in society connected to tourism. In addition, it enables the pursuit of case studies that are not focused on individuals, but rather on the contexts that surrounds them (Law, 2004).

In the scope of this thesis, acknowledging the agency-like power of non-human actors helps to better understand the influence and effects of security policies on a host society. Discarding intentions and motivations in order to focus on causality between a policy and its subjects provides a medium through which terrorism could be better understood in terms of causes and effects rather than intentions and motivations as the pattern of actions. The roots of causes have become as important as the outcomes in our modern society (Munro, 2009). Analysing terrorism through its root causes in order to understand its action would provide valuable insights to stakeholders and local governments for tailoring their policies and tourism implementation towards host societies rather than adapting host societies towards tourism.

### **3.3.2.2 Translation of actions**

The notion of translating an action is to shape its operation according to the needs of the actors and the context. Drawing on a summary by Munro (2009) of Latour's presentation of a hotelkeeper (Latour, 1987), an action can be shaped to serve a particular purpose or applies power on actors. Such adaptation, or translation, can be implemented by transforming the nature of the action in itself, the nature of the objects involved in the actions or the discourses surrounding the action itself. This understanding of an action incorporates the context, leading to the lack of analyses of a given action as a stand-alone object, but as part of a network of actors. From there, translating the action requires trial and error to understand its impact on an actor's behaviours and responses to better tailor the process and achieve a certain goal. In the context of tourism, such an approach has been used to understand individuals' behaviour patterns regarding authentication (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Wang, 1999), tourism gaze (McCannell, 1976; Plattner & Bruner, 1984), identity (Wang, 1999) and narrative constructions (Bruner & Bruner, 2005). From these studies, a general understanding of tourism and its inner-mechanism has been revealed. However, such studies have not been applied in the realm of security in a tourism context. Instead the emphasis has been on the profit of actions associated with immediate security. Consequently, security policies are being implemented regardless of their context or the actors subjugated to them.



## 4 Methods

### 4.1 The approach

The tourism industry, an international social force that promotes freedom of movement for individuals, merchandises as well as economic development following the liberalist ideology of Western countries. Since the beginning of its exponential growth in the 1960s, tourism has proven to be a positive social force for the world. However, such a wide spread industry appears to have built a monolithic discourse around its activity. This discourse, closely related to the West, has acted as a censorship tool towards the creation of knowledge, which may question the reality of the social and economic development related to the tourism industry.

When I first started to work on the project of a Master's thesis, security was the focus, more specifically the phenomenon of terrorism. While searching for a research question, and narrowing down my subject, I faced two issues. First, individuals, and companies are aware of the phenomenon and its impact, but few choose to publicly discuss it, or even to venture an opinion around it. Meaning that word, terrorism, itself would stifle any discussion about it as it was impossible to conceive holding a different opinion or asking questions as the subject was deemed "sensitive", "dangerous", "too political" or even "taboo"<sup>viii</sup>. Second, while researching the topic and educating myself through academic and media publications, I felt a pressure on myself, a pressure to think every one of my words carefully, often censoring myself in order to fit the discourse around both tourism and terrorism. That is when the focus of my research shifted from trying to understand the potential connection between the global industry that is tourism and the global threat that is terrorism; to aiming for an understanding of the perception of the terrorism phenomenon by the tourists and locals involved in the tourism industry.

Throughout this thesis, my primary hypothesis is that the current security policies implemented within the tourism context are participating in the creation of more inequalities and reducing the mediums of communications between hosts and guests. The cumuli of factors are facilitating in the creation of alienation that potentially will benefit the phenomenon of terrorism and social unrest. A secondary hypothesis revolve around the concept of power relations. Based on my data collection and literature research, I aim to show that the power existing between host and guest is actually limited, as the power existing in the relation between agencies and social forces are drastically more influential on the tourism industry and the societies sustained by tourism.

From those two hypotheses, the thesis is built around the perception of security by both locals and tourists (hosts and guests) and the existing power relations between actors involved in tourism. The goal of such an approach is to use qualitative and quantitative data collection to create a medium that allows me to understand the relations between actors and environment in the context of tourism. Exploring these concepts, I studied the work of post-structuralist Michel Foucault, specifically his work on power (Chomsky & Foucault, 2011; Sheridan, 1977) and his approach to the concept of discourse (Michel Foucault, 1970; Michel Foucault, 1971; Michel Foucault, 1978).

The choice of such an approach, post-structuralism (and therefore, postmodernism) found its relevancy due to the focus on power relations (Chomsky & Foucault, 2011; Weininger, 2002), meaning creation (Jameson, 1991) and languages (Pierre Bourdieu et al., 1991). The tourism industry is a pluri-cultural industry present all over the world. Each destination is creating a discourse around their culture, heritage, or assets, in order to promote themselves to the world. However, those discourses representing the destination have to embed themselves into a wider, more general, discourse representing the tourism industry as a whole. Hence, the existence of such a pattern, and its dominant position, raise questions regarding the potential existence of co-existing discourses that the tourism industry has silenced. Studying the dominant discourses of tourism leads to a better understanding of the consequences of tourism at a given destination, or in a society and found relevancy outside academia by potentially highlighting aspects around policy making, sustainable development and the acceptance of tourism.

The choice of post-modernism imposed itself on the subject. Studying a phenomenon such as terrorism induces a multitude of confronting points of view and perspectives. Adding the polarisation of such a topic, I needed to use methods that would allow me to understand the context of such opinions rather than the opinions themselves. Following the approach of Foucault (Michel Foucault, 1978; Sheridan, 1977), I started this project by building a genealogy of terrorism across history in order to highlight the common characteristics in their operations. Then, building on this genealogy, I applied a certain distance between the subject and myself in order to reduce personal biases and also, the biases of the participants in the interviews.

Due to the nature of tourism being constituted of many destinations, cultures, and individuals, it is virtually impossible to agree to a grand narrative around the subject of terrorism and tourism. This thesis does not aim to offer such a narrative. The aim is to describe

a phenomenon through a differing lens than positivism and achieving a descriptive study of the consequences of security policies in tourism industry.

However, throughout my data collection however, I needed to use individuals' perceptions. This goes against the methods of post-modernism. I made this choice aware of the fact that post-modernism does not focus on the individuals, as is the case in this thesis. However, in order to understand the context and environment of the actors, I needed an entry point. The participants in my data collection found their relevancy as they were not perceived as the focus of the data collection, in that case the participant is perceived as an actor within a network, his/her perceptions are a medium to understand the underlying pattern existing in his/her environment. Through the individuals, I aimed to study the context rather than the actors.

## 4.2 The discourse

Foucault's interest in discourse comes from the prohibitions around it, as well as the power relations generated by the act of speech (Michel Foucault, 1971). Discourse is a colloquial word with a wide meaning, but according to Foucault's interpretation by Weedon (Weedon, 1987), the concept of discourse represents:

“Ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the nature and body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subject they seek to govern.” (1987, p.108)

Discourse in the way Foucault's describes it not only becomes a social act of producing and sharing knowledge, but also a political tool. The latter is used as a tool for power on both an individual and agency level. This definition puts discourses at the core of just not academic, political or social actions, but embeds it into our nature as social beings.

Using this approach within the tourism field of studies and in particular in regard to the scope of this thesis is not only relevant, or efficient, but it allows a perception if tourism not only as an economic phenomenon but also as a political and social action, part of a greater system namely the liberal system. In the theory chapter, this approach has already been explored by other academics and was elaborated there (Bianchi, 2006; Chatelard, 2005).

During his inaugural lecture at the College de France, Foucault (Michel Foucault, 1971)<sup>ix</sup> emphasised the fact that not only our modern society prohibits us from speaking freely, but also that discourses which do not fit the common given narrative or that may endanger the relations of power are dismissed, ignored and may also be condemned. To illustrate this point, Foucault uses the example of madness.

It is curious to note that for centuries, in Europe, the words of a madman [sic] were either totally ignored or else were taken as words of truth. [...] It was through his [sic] words that one recognised the madness of a madman [sic]; but they were certainly the medium within which this division became active; they were neither heard nor remembered. No doctor before the end of the 18th century had ever thought of listening to the content of his [sic] words; and yet it was these which signalled the difference between reason and madness.

(Foucault, 1971-9)

Following the example of madness described by Foucault, it appears that the discourse around a particular topic not only shapes the perception of a phenomenon but also the way society deals with it. The treatment of madness, and other social phenomenon has evolve with society. In this case, with the development of medical sciences, the treatment of madness became a medical issue. In the context of tourism, and security, the treatment of tourism became a field of study since the second half of the twentieth century, using science to understand the behaviour patterns (e.g. Rituals, environment, consuming patterns, etc.). In regards to security, the discourse around the safety of individual has followed advancement in political science.

The discourse around a particular subject and its development is akin to a relation of power, in constant shift, struggling to maintain its dominant position as well as adapting itself to social changes. Therefore, a discourse has an unstable nature, and like a power relation, can be influence through time. The way we perceive madness in the twentieth century is very different from the eighteenth century. This is the consequences of changes in our society and the influence of sciences both natural and social.

### 4.3 The fourth principle of exteriority

The fourth principle of exteriority, developed by Michel Foucault (1971) can be applied to tourism in order to highlight the existence of numerous perspectives, hence discourses, within tourism studies and the tourism industry. Yet those discourses have been silenced for the profit of a global tourism narrative promoting the industry and its economic growth, creating a dominant discourse, which excluded divergent opinions. As can be observed in our contemporary society is self-portrayed as the social-economic peaceful force that brings destinations into the globalized, liberal world. Tourism builds itself on many values, such as cultural exchange, pluri-cultural interactions and nostalgia. However, those values often are misrepresented, manipulated in order to fit the dominant perception of the tourism industry, and hence its discourse.

Following Foucault's approach of discourse, and in particular the fourth principle of exteriority, exposes the fact that there is more to be discussed than the image projected by the industry itself.

The fourth principle, which of exteriority, holds that we are not to burrow to the hidden core of the discourse, to the heart of the thought or meaning manifested in it. Instead, taking the discourse itself, its appearance and its regularity, then we should look for its external conditions of existence, for that which gives rise to the chance series of these events and fixes its limits.

(Michel Foucault, 1971)

This principle allows navigation along the edge of the dominant discourse of tourism in order to shed light on one of those silenced topics, namely security. Security in itself represents the visible part of the iceberg, as since the early 2000's security has become a crucial part of tourism activities in many regions of the world (Bianchi, 2006; Elias, 2009; Johnston, 2004; Mark Bevir, 2013). Often it has been discussed, debated and analysed, but never put into questions regarding its necessity or efficiency. The collateral effects of new security policies and the causes of such a shift concerning the approach to dealing with potential threats remain muted.

Consequently, silencing a crucial topic such as terrorism render impossible for the tourism industry and society as a whole to counteract on the most powerful tool terrorism is using: fear. It is through fear of real or imaginary evil and an ideological fight against the

western societies (William S. Lind, 1989) fuelled by alienation and fear that terrorism succeeded in becoming a violent political phenomenon actively operating its political agenda for more than a hundred years.

#### **4.4 Power**

Michel Foucault's entire work revolve around the concept of power and the social phenomena he studied are example of power mechanism in our modern society, although using his genealogic approach he also studied the same social phenomena within the past. Addressing Foucault's understanding of power (Sheridan, 1977), it is important to highlight the fact that Foucault always refused the appellation of "historic" approach (Michel Foucault, 1970, 1978) regarding his work on discourse, the emphasis on power created through knowledge and its censoring, limiting power created a discourse of which Foucault himself chose not to be part of. History implies a discourse, a particular view and interpretation of the past thus creating limitation for his work. By using the "genealogic" approach (Foucault, 1970, 1978), Foucault shows a stark will to separate himself from this power mechanism and allows himself to go beyond the realm of history. By doing so, Foucault crosses fields between political science, history, social commentary and social science to offer a singular interpretation of past and present mechanisms of power within societies.

Power and its usages have been widely written about by many authors throughout history, for example, Machiavelli (1940), and Chomsky (2002, 2007); Chomsky and Foucault (2011), and Pierre Bourdieu (1990); Pierre Bourdieu (2011); Pierre Bourdieu et al. (1991), to name a few. However, Foucault's understanding of power differs from more normative approaches. There is no explicit definition of what is considered power by Foucault in his work, nonetheless, he gives us core characteristics in order to study, understand and explain power. In order to portray power context is the key. As Foucault explains, power only exist within a relationship and is expressed through actions. This making power a social force, a non-human actor which influences other humans and/or non-human actors. As later explained by John Law (2008), power as viewed by Foucault answers a semiotic rationality as it is embedded into a network (society) and influences (humans and non-humans) actors within that network.

#### **4.5 A post-modernist perception**

The postmodernist school of thought focuses on changes in power structures, and their outcomes on society. Therefore, the individual only comes second to those previously quoted concepts. “Statements are seen as an expression of culturally standardized discourse that are associated with particular social settings. The spokesperson only comes second into the picture” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2018)

The individual is not the subject of a post-modernist study, but the medium through which the researcher can understand a phenomenon such as power. Alvesson & Sköldbberg highlight the fact that the individual through a statement produce a more data than the statement itself. It reflects the influences of social forces and practices on him/her and allows the researcher to better understand the network in which the individual is embedded. This setting places the source of the statement in the background and demonstrates the importance of context. As humans, we are social beings, connected to other individuals and agency in our societies; these are the focus for academics like Foucault. The network (of relations) in which we are embedded must be studied in order to have another perception of societies and their inner mechanisms.

The continuity of this thought process by the post-modernist school of thought can be seen in the work of Latour (1999, 2005), Law (2004, 2008); Law and Hassard (1999), and Michel Callon (1998); Michel Callon (2009) with Actor Network theory. Where Foucault left his study and understanding of power relations, ANT academics aim to work on an agencement (Munro, 2009) of power combinations as well as bring temporality into the flow of power (Munro, 2009)

Finally, I would like to mention another school of thought which Foucault, Bourdieu and Levi Strauss were part of: Post-Structuralism. Post-structuralism breaks from structuralism in its understanding of the relationships itself. It claims that there is no stability within the relationships; these can shift over the course of time, or the environment, context, etc. (Tredinnick, 2007). From a tourism studies perspective, this element is crucial as it relates to the nature of the tourism industry, a constant cycle of change. Interacting actors, environments and contexts are changing over time, the tourism industry since the 1960s has been undergoing drastic, evolution; not only in its economic and political role but also in the way it is being consumed. Therefore, viewing the relations between actors as unstable allows tourism researcher to understand changes within the relations between actors, and thereby gain a better understanding of the inner mechanism throughout a wide range of different situations.

## 5 Data collection presentation and analysis

In this chapter, I will reflect on the research design, strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and present the three data collection protocols I designed for this thesis. Those protocols were first, my quantitative questionnaire (Appendix A), then my first qualitative interview guide (Appendix B) and finally my second qualitative interview guide (Appendix C).

Each protocol will be discussed using a two-part structure. The first part one revolves around the description of the data collection tool, its design, its intentions and goals as well as an assessment of its strengths and weaknesses. In the second part, an analysis of the outcomes of the protocol will be made, as well as the data collected. The analysis in this part will be built on the data collected and using the participants' reflections of previous experiences to enable understanding of the underlying patterns in their environment. In the following chapter, such arguments will be discussed with regards to a post-structuralist approach where the individual (the actor) will be discarded for the profit of the context (the network) (Law & Hassard, 1999). Such methods enable understanding of the consequences of security and inequalities of treatments for the tourism industry and the host society.

### 5.1 Quantitative questionnaire

Implementation: September 2017

Sampling Choice: Random

Number of fully completed surveys: 72

#### 5.1.1 Description

This data collection protocol (Appendix A) was made in the early stages of my work on terrorism, before finding my final research question. As it was my first attempt to collect data for an academic project, I chose to focus on an environment I knew well: the air transportation industry. The goal was clear, collect information on the safety perceptions and consumption behaviour of travellers using airports as a transit zone between a profane and sacred environment (NHH Graburn, 1989).



The aim was to focus on the perceptions of individuals within a given, semi-standardised, environment: an airport. All airports are different in their conception; however, they share a common transit system for travellers to reach a plane in an efficient way while allowing scrutiny during security checks.

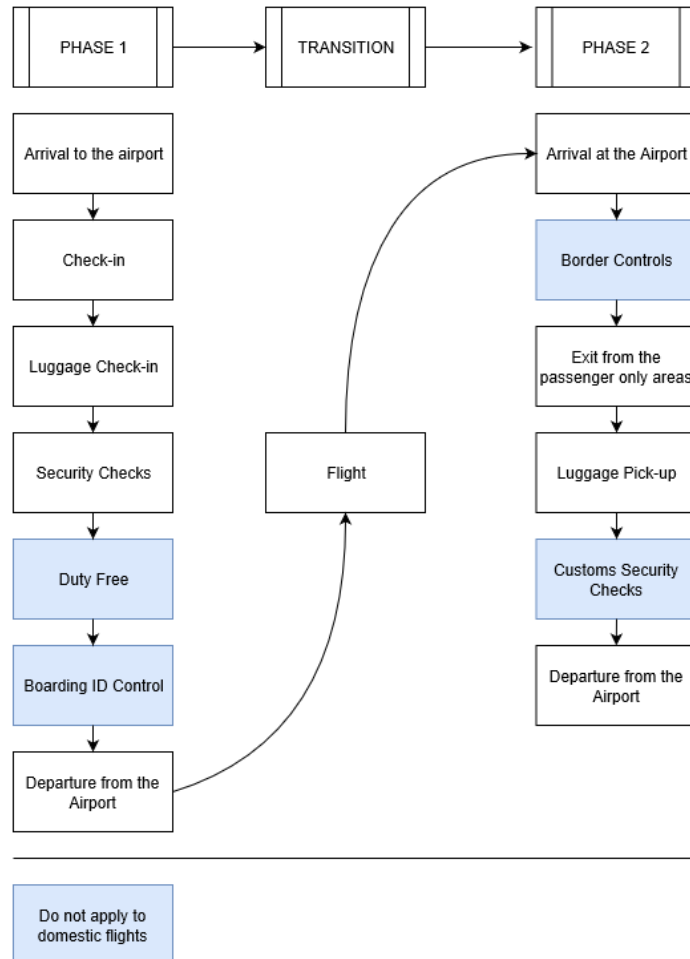


Figure 2 Standard passenger transit through airports

At the airport transit is divided into two phases (See figure 1), which were not distinguished in the questionnaire. Throughout these two phases, the travellers pass through various checkpoints in order to access the plane (Phase 1) and exit the airport (Phase 2). This is the standardised part of the airport. The non-standardised part of the airport includes for example, the architecture, layout of the various checkpoints, connection to and from the airport, etc.

While collecting data regarding the air transportation industry, I noticed the heavy use of a customer survey regarding the airport’s services. Therefore, I decided to use it as a base for my questionnaire. There were two main reasons design choice:

- Convenience/Attractiveness;
- Randomness/Anonymity.

Such customer survey on perceptions regarding services, environment and other factors relating to a company's activity are well known by the travellers. It is not uncommon for individuals to receive emails from companies asking them to fill out a quick survey regarding past experiences with their services. This allows an easy sharing of the information and also builds a relative trust/trustee relationship with the participants.

Moreover, in order to reach for a wide variety of participants as well as to maximise the number of responses, I designed my questionnaire in a similar manner to marketing-oriented surveys from services industry. These can be filled out in less than 15minutes, and require minimum efforts from the participants in terms of time, and commitment. Furthermore, the use of a medium, such as internet, enabled my research costs to be minimum.

While I was creating this processing tool, I noticed the use of an open-ended question at the end of surveys developed by services companies. Such an open opportunity for the participant creates a space to express developed thoughts regarding the subject of the survey that may have built up during the filling in of responses process.

When talking about the subject of "terrorism" and "security", which are polarising and deeply politicised, I thought that an open-ended question under the cover of anonymity would bring valuable information that may not have been shared during an open discussion, an interview, or during social activities. By doing so, my aim was to release the participant from a potential social pressure to adapt his/hers discourse to the rest of the group. Which, in the case of such a subject is valuable.

### **5.1.2 Conclusion and data analysis**

- Realisation of my biases around the subject of the air transportation industry;
- A need for a different understanding of security for my thesis work;
- A wider context for the research;
- The data collection tool was marketing oriented, which had a negative impact on the data collected.

First, while reading through the results of the questionnaire, I became aware of my biases around the subject of airports. My relatives work in the air transportation industry, the subject

of security is a topic often debated, and followed. As proposed by Chenail (2011) the biases of researchers affect the development of data collection tools:

The degree of affinity researchers have with the population under study including researchers being a member of the group themselves can introduce a question of bias in the study (Mehra, 2002). Given this affinity these “insider” investigators may limit their curiosities so they only discover what they think they don’t know, rather than opening up their inquiries to encompass also what they don’t know they don’t know.

(Chenail, 2011-257)

The questions in my surveys were built around my knowledge of the airport’s security protocols and their implications within the air transport industry. However, for the participants who may not be familiar with the topic, such questions appeared to be too difficult to answer. From feedback, I understood that some participants did not know what to answer to questions 7, 11, and 15 as they did not “pay attention to those aspects” (Qualitative data collection round one, 2018) during their previous experiences as travellers. Moreover, through these questions I was seeking confirmation of patterns that I knew existed, searching for what I knew and having a too narrow focus on the subject denied me valuable insights that could have been brought by participants in more general or open questions.

Second, the way in which I was trying to understand security at the time was through the perceptions of individuals regarding security policies. By doing so, a question was being ignored. Thus, changing my focus, I shifted my thesis work towards a larger question that demanded to be answered before diving into the practicality of security policies. The topic of these questions were: through what process did the tourism industry become in need of security, and why? In developing such a question, there was a need not only to make a case study about that particular aspect of travel, but recognize a securitarian shift within the industry. There was also a need to analyse tourism in a broader context, as a phenomenon in itself. Furthermore, I needed to understand security in a less practical way. Moving away from the consequences of terrorism, I wanted to focus on the causes of such phenomenon and understand the effect of the tourism industry on the locals in order to expose the consequences of a securitarian approach to tourism. Consequently, by doing so I aimed to highlight the relation of power at play between

tourism and local societies meanwhile underlining the genealogy of underlying processes that lead us to the securitarian approach as we know it today.

Finally, the design itself, inspired by marketing-oriented surveys, delivered data that were too general to be applied to the research. However, it helped me redirecting the subject and highlighted the thinking processes and perceptions of participants regarding security perceptions. As expected, the open-ended question at the end brought valuable information on the way individuals reflect on their stay at airport, and also their doubts regarding the efficiency of security measures. Such doubt or scepticism towards security measures in airports has been observed by other academics (Johnston, 2004; Szyliowicz, 2004) and confirmed by officials from the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) (Lerner, 2015).

## **5.2 Round one of qualitative interviews**

Implementation: March and April 2018

Sampling choice: Selective, homogenous

Number of interviews: 5

### **5.2.1 Description**

In my first round of qualitative interviews (See Appendix B), my goal was to use retellings of personal experiences associated with using the air transportation industry for tourists' leisure travels in order to understand the inner mechanism of security policies. In addition, I wanted to observe participants' experiences regarding customers' movements in restricted areas. I intended to highlight rituals in those policies in order to better understand the mechanism of power and its direct influence on travel behaviour. By doing so, I aimed to coin an approach towards security based not only on the interests of society as a whole but also tailored to the individual. Through the case study of such explicit power relations within the tourism industry, I wanted to estimate possible improvements that would be suitable to already existing policies in airports or other transit areas in tourism context. As explained in the discussion preceding the interviews: "I believe that a human centred policy would have beneficial consequences for the industry itself as well as for travellers' experiences".

Yet, I have to admit that I learned about the messy practice of research methods (Law, 2004) through the performance of a research design that reflected my own ambitions and cultural perspective, and, Today, I would ask very different questions. The focus was not on the individuals being interviewed, but on the social environment surrounding them, and the

influence it had on their perception of security, and their “inner” representation or understanding of it.

The interview itself was based on an apparent syllogism aimed to help the interviewee reflect around general questions about his/her previous experience, followed by precise questions around his/hers perception of security (Loader, 1999). The goals of the syllogism was:

- Build a trust relationship with the interviewee to avoid missing valuable insight due to a fear of judgement or a social pressure to conform to a certain understanding regarding security (Loader, 1999);
- Slow diving into the topic of terrorism and security by opening the interview with more general questions regarding previous experiences in transit areas (the focus here was the airport). And ending the interview with a part dedicated to the subject of security: Part 3 the interviewee (See appendix B).

The syllogism does not exist *per se* within the interview. However, from the questions asked, the interviewee was able to use deductive reasoning (Arthur, 1994; Johnson-Laird, 2006) and to reflect on his/her personal experiences in order to create a proposition. This proposition would answer questions in the second part of the interview. Giving the interviewee a wider understanding of his/her environment and previous interactions with security policies to create a conclusion that would inform the answers to the final part of the interview regarding terrorism. The deductive reasoning pattern ensured that the data collected were tested against the hypothesis:

“Introducing formal deductive procedures into qualitative research can represent an important step towards assuring conviction in qualitative research findings. “  
(Hyde, 2000)

During the interview, I, as the interviewer, was able to confirm the structure of my reasoning through the data collected by introducing a deductive reasoning against my hypothesis. While at the same time, the interviewee was able to create his/her own deductive reasoning through the questions asked and thereby challenged the logic behind the interview guide in the case of potential gaps of understandings or faulty logic in arguments.

The method of sampling for this first interview round was a homogenous sample. The criterion to choose participants was those who had an extended tourism experience as a customer. Out of the twelve volunteers, I selected five on them. This narrowing down had a purpose to ease the organisation regarding the interviews themselves. In order to narrow down the sample, I made a numbered list of the participants and then proceeded to use a random number generator to select the remaining five. Following Guba's four criteria for trustworthiness (Shenton, 2004) the randomisation of the sample provided credibility to the data collection design

The expectations for this qualitative data collection tool were to use the third part of the interviews to highlight the influences of the environment on security. This would lead to understanding the consequences of explicit power mechanisms on the individuals' perception and understanding of security as well as its necessity.

From this point onward, having identified the influences of security policies; I aimed to address the influence of discourses on the individual. To be more precise, the symbolic power asserted through discourse (Michel Foucault, 1971). Using Bourdieu's understanding of symbolic power (Pierre Bourdieu et al., 1991), I wanted to highlight the effects of this phenomenon on the travellers, in doing so I wanted to highlight the subjugation of travellers towards a mechanism they neither cannot control nor understands. Bourdieu, as well as Weininger (2002) understanding of symbolic power focuses on the power of agencies of categorisation and control of individuals (Pierre Bourdieu, 1990).

Well beyond the elementary codification that discourse brings about, social institutions may possess the power to instate and regulate class- or fraction-constitutive boundaries characterized by a high degree of solidity and permanence, and may do so in independence from the classificatory schemes of the actors who are subject to categorization by them.

(Weininger, 2002)

Focusing on the acceptance of security policies and the self-censorship of individual regarding emitting a judgment of efficiency or necessity towards those policies, I attempt to comprehend the mechanism of power that rendered those policies in the first place. Thus, leading to an expression of symbolic power not only in the context of airports, but to extrapolate to different situations where similar policies are in place.

### 5.2.2 Conclusion and data analysis

- Lack of understanding regarding terrorism. Often the participant assimilated terrorism to crime;
- General scepticism regarding the efficiency of security measures in the context of airports;
- Self-impediment when thinking of security policy;
- Contradictory understanding between the perceptions of the interviewee and their understanding of terrorism.

Terrorism is neither fully understood by those facing its consequences during their daily lives and travel experiences, nor the intents behind security policies built to counter it. During the interviews, participants described terrorism as a parasitic relationship towards society, and the tourism industry. While this kind of relationship can be seen in criminality in societies, terrorism follows a completely different pattern.

Security policies had a specific signification for all the participants in this qualitative data collection round. Described as a spectacle, a show, a placebo to feel safe, it appears that the efficiency of such policies is highly doubted by consumers. However, their implementation is fully accepted. Scepticism towards those policies was expressed but the participants did not question the existence of such policies, as there was no other possible option according to them.

This particular point intrigued me; it appears that the securitarian policies and agencies were acting as an overcompensating system that absorbs any criticism. From my understanding of the participants' statements, security policies remain in place surrounded by a disbelief from the individuals subjected to them.

“The story of terrorism is written by the state and it is therefore highly instructive [...] compared with terrorism everything else must be acceptable, or in any case more rational and democratic”

(Debord, 1998)

An apparent blackboxing (Latour, 1999) regarding security with tourism, and society, hinders people's ability to comprehend the consequences of such policies on their daily lives, but also on foreign societies such as destinations in the case of tourism. Moreover, it does not allow individuals to question their operation, and inner mechanisms. This creates a

contradictory approach towards security between the acceptance of the policy itself and the consequences, outcomes produced. Added to this, as pointed out during one of the interviews, the sensitivity of the subject and the national security increases the difficulty to gain knowledge and understanding about such policies, and the phenomenon of terrorism.

### **5.3 Round two of qualitative interviews**

Implementation: July and August 2018

Sampling choice: Selective, Homogenous

Number of interviews: 4

#### **5.3.1 Description**

The second round of Qualitative interviews (See appendix C) was the last data collection tool I used for my thesis. With this interview guide I aimed to build on the two previous data collections methods (See appendix A & B) as follows:

- Creating an interview guide, which could be used to understand the creation of discourses between hosts and guests as well as agencies regarding security;
- Confirming previous findings concerning the influence of safety on individuals within tourism;
- Re-working the context of the thesis by focusing on the tourism industry as a whole.

The main added feature to this second interview guide was the dynamic between part one and two. The first part of the interview focused on the perception and relations of the interviewee in the role of a tourist. From there, they were invited to reflect on previous experiences. The focus was drawn towards self-understanding by asking questions around the status of being a tourist, and regarding the intents behind their relations to others (especially locals). In the second part, the interviewees were asked to reflect on their daily environment, and interactions with tourists as a host.

The goals of this data collection tool were (1) to widen understanding around host/guest power dynamics, (2) highlight the instability of the power relations, and (3) comprehend the influence of the cyclical nature of tourism on power dynamics within host/guest and individual/agency relations.



The third part of this qualitative interview guide shifted the focus towards safety. This allowed me to focus on the interviewee's perceptions as a medium to analyse security discourse and the impact of terrorism on both the profane and sacred environment. In this part, I aimed to collect data on two particular points:

- The evolution of security within a tourism context.
- The creation of discourse around terrorism and the pattern in which individuals interact and perceive others.

Regarding the evolution of security, after reading extensively on the subject and having pinpointed key moments in the process<sup>x</sup>, the focus was to see if individuals noticed or experienced a change in their travel behaviour. Also, I wanted to understand, which of the elements were participating in this evolution from a touristic point of view.

Finally, in order to highlight the creation of discourse regarding terrorism, I focused on the reactions towards mediatisation of such events, and political unrest in touristic destinations. Using these questions, I aimed to understand the mechanisms at the source of the understanding of terrorism by travellers. In the last questions of the interview guide, I narrowed down the focus towards specific statements used by political figures and medias to correlate the findings of the quantitative data collection (Appendix A) regarding the acceptance and acknowledgement of security policies.

In order to select participants, I used two criteria:

- Extensive travel experience as a consumer/ tourist.
- Living in a touristic destination.

The first criterion was the most significant. Learning from the previous qualitative data collection, I used the work of Plattner and Bruner (1984) and Wang (1999) on the construction of the self and narrative development. By choosing a participant with an extensive travel experience, it would bring possibly more valuable insights spread over a longer time period. Also having had time to reflect on his/her experience, the participant would have been able to create a narrative of his/her tourism journey.

As the individual itself was not the focus for this interview, I needed participants with several encounters of others in the context of power relations and interactions with the sacred

environment (NHH Graburn, 1989) and security policies throughout their evolution in the twenty-first century. Having experiences in different contexts and at different points in time could allow the drawing of assumptions on the evolutions of power relations within tourism, as well as observations regarding security practices and its evolution.

The second criteria found its relevancy in the fact that individuals living abroad were separated from their original environment. From this perspective, individuals living abroad had to re-learn about their new environment and society, and adapt to it. This induces an observative pattern with critical or even sceptical points of view (Kim, 2001). The goal behind this criterion was to avoid missing basic assumptions by individuals regarding their daily environments and to possibly gain more insight from the perspective of a host. Moreover, being an outsider at first, those individuals would be more inclined to be subjected to power dynamics in their daily lives. Following my thought process, this effect on their daily lives would transform their perceptions of local societies during their travels not only abroad, but also within the country in which they reside. Thus, shifting the status of the individual from a John/Jane Doe to a more observatory medium to understand power dynamics as a host and as a tourist in order to highlight through their experience the inner mechanism of power relations.

### **5.3.2 Conclusion and data analysis**

- The power dynamics between hosts and guests are unstable as the status of host and guest is subjected to change through time;
- Tourists are seen by locals as a social group obtruding in their daily environment, or accessing their culture/ heritage;
- Culture/Heritage is seen as entertainment by tourists;
- Explicit security policies create a feeling of unsafety, a threat for both tourists and hosts.
- Avoidance of media coverage regarding terror attacks.

The outcome of this second data collection tool was rich in valuable information. First, regarding Part one of the interview guide (Appendix C), which focused on the status of tourists and interactions with locals, the hypotheses were confirmed about the connotation of the word tourist. Participants explained their avoidance with being associated with tourists for two reasons:

- Safety: Participants stated they preferred to travel alone or in small groups in order to “not stand out”, to fade into their sacred environment, in contrast to the large tourist

groups, which are easily identifiable. The intent behind this behaviour was to avoid potential negative interactions with locals, who may be prone to reject tourists into their daily environment. Moreover, the avoidance of large groups, crowds and potential targeted areas by crime and terrorism was mentioned by participants as a reason to avoid being labelled a tourist or to use touristic zones in a destination (e.g. popular touristic attraction, markets, etc.).

- Communication with the locals: By avoiding being perceived as a tourist and choosing not to use a normative tourist experience (e.g. organized tour, etc.), the participants were able to create their own medium of communication/interaction with the locals, regardless of culture and language barriers. Through this approach of travel, more meaningful experiences were created. Moreover, the participants perceived a different power relation towards locals, by “diving into a destination as a traveller, not a tourist, I can relate more to people living there [...] and bond with them.” Resulting, in a more balanced power relationship by escaping the inherent structure of the tourism industry and directly interacting with locals.

The power dynamics between hosts and guests, and even guests and guests, are in constant evolution. According to participants there is an unspoken hierarchy between tourists themselves, and tourists and locals. Amongst tourists, the main factor for the creation of such a hierarchy seems to be the nationality and pre-conceived ideas related to their culture, as well as social and economic status. The individual is not relevant within this hierarchy. He/she is a representation of his/her daily environment, and culture (the discourses around it.). Between hosts and guests, the hierarchy is more complex. The same patterns appear as individuals use pre-conceived ideas about the country of origin to build this social hierarchy, but interactions also play a role. As tourism is a service industry, the interactions between hosts and guests plays a great role in the perception of others. Depending of the pattern of behaviour between hosts and guests, the hierarchy will be reinforced or diminished. (For example, a “good” host/guest relation can diminish a previously perceived dividing hierarchy)

It is crucial to emphasise that this unbalanced power relation, and the perception of it through the untold social hierarchy is not only acknowledge by the participants but deemed as part of the experience. A feeling of entitlement or superiority towards locals is often sought by tourists to contrast with their interaction in the daily environment, and is also increased by the tourism environment itself. By being invited to the core of a culture, heritage, or society, the

participants perceived themselves as “privileged individuals”, separating themselves from the locals.

In the second part of the interview, when asked about the tourism experience as a host, the interactions with tourists were described in a drastically different way. The same individuals who were experienced tourists, would have a critical perception of tourists when being a host.

To start with, tourists as perceived by the participants in their daily environment, are designated as “disturbing”, “annoying” groups of individuals visiting the area for a short period of time. This negative perception of tourist goes as far as dehumanising the individual behind the status of tourist by seeing them as mere noise in the background of the area’s point of interest. This understanding of tourists by participants is striking considering the fact that they have experienced being a tourist and visiting touristic destinations. It also shows the drastic difference of perception from the point of view of the tourist and the local towards each other. The participants admitted avoiding interactions with tourists and even cultural sites in their daily environment because of their “overwhelming presence” or their previous experiences with tourists. During this part of the interviews, the distinction between tourists was made through their nationality. The shorter the experience in international tourism for a given nationality group, the more negative the perception was. This could be explained by two factors:

- The lack of experience abroad by tourists resulted in them being unable to follow social norms of behaviour at a destination;
- There is an evolution of criteria when perceiving tourists. As a destination grows and the tourist influx increases, fewer margins are left for different behaviour patterns by the tourist. The local, having extended experience with tourists expect a certain pattern of behaviour when tourists visit their daily environment.

When the impact of tourism was discussed during the interviews, its influence on the economy, infrastructures, transportations and anti-crime policies were acknowledged as a positive outcome. However, its impact on the locals, the participants, and their relations to the destination, the area in which they were living, was seen as negative. This negative impact was manifested by a rejection of the tourism industry in their daily environment: "I will not live in another touristic city", and a feeling of alienation from culture and the city itself was explained: "I do not go to museums anymore because of tourists, they are everywhere". As stated by the participants, they "obstruct the natural flow of the place [...] so you cannot enjoy it." However,

when asked if the participants perceived a difference between themselves as tourists and the actual tourists visiting their daily environment, they admitted "I would behave the same way". Thus, the presence of tourists and their associated behaviours within tourism contexts was considered as a negative impact by the participants. On the other hand, intents of the tourists are understood because of the previous travel experiences of the participants.

Finally, the commoditisation of space, culture and heritage by the tourism industry was perceived by the participants as "not respectful understanding" of the past. Therein lies a contradiction, the existence of two narratives based on nostalgia, one from the host's point of view and the other from the tourist's point of view. Resulting in a confrontation in the use of the space, and culture itself. By introducing tourism, and opening the local heritage and culture, the destination has adjusted its consumption towards a new group of individuals. "The cultural events and places adapted itself to the tourist" which is for the participants both a positive and negative outcome. Even if the benefits of such an approach (e.g. more accessibility, more events, etc.) have been acknowledged, a negative outcome was underlined by all participants in the interviews. They felt they had the "lost a connection", a feeling of ownership over their daily environment and history. It was as their social status and identity were endangered and the space could not be shared.

Because of the more organic design of the interview guide. Part three of the interview guide allowed a more natural discussion, bringing the participants into a less formal environment which resulted in more developed answers.

According to participants, the feeling of unsafety is emerged from a lack of information. Through various discussed contexts, I was able to highlight the main triggering elements:

- Lack of knowledge about social norms and culture. The fact that the participants did not know how to behave, or follow the locals' social norms created a feeling of threat from their own patterns of behaviour;
- Lack of information about the environment, and lack of communication. Host/Guest interactions, especially at the beginning of a touristic experience were important for participants in order to create a safe space with a medium between them and the new environment. This allowed them to have a better experience, and dive into the others' culture and environment more easily;

- Explicit security protocols (e.g. Border controls.), created anxiety and fear in the participants' past experiences. However, participants emphasised the positive evolution in these kind of practices.

"Before you were treated more as somebody who for some reasons was trying to cross the border, well now you are [...] either a tourist or a traveller [...] who has [the] right to cross the border whenever he/[she] wants for whatever reason."

As the tourism industry grew, and borders became accustomed to the flow of tourists, an evolution was described by participants in the way they interact, even if the security process did not change. Such evolution was studied by Foucault in regard to punishment (Sheridan, 1977). Over time, punishment has slowly moved from public spaces, the forefront of public consciousness, to hidden places, specifically prisons. Thus, becoming a silent phenomenon and thereby obtruding public perception limiting its understanding as it becomes harder to know where the decision-making lies. In the context of tourism and security, the process is similar. When travelling, it has become unusual, even suspect to come across power representations of borders, such as customs agents, and in the case of the European Union a physical border. To security, the borders, are still active, but their operations are not at the forefront of the public consciousness anymore. The privatisation of security protocols, and transportation has created a medium between the national "power" represented by border control, and the tourists.

When talking about the mediatisation of terrorism, the general opinion was a negative perception of "over-coverage" of the topic in media. Going to the extent that participants admitted avoiding "mainstream medias" to "not live in a constant fear [...], paranoia". Another opinion that was discussed during an informal discussion following the interview caught my attention. A participant stated not following the media related to terrorism, political unrests and environmental catastrophes to avoid feeling neutral when facing an increasing amount of such tragic events. The "perpetual coverage" of these instances created disillusionment in the participants, rendering the tragedies as a part of the daily environment, a routine. This was in contrast to other participant's points of view, which stated a "lack of objectivity", the transformation of these tragic events into spectacles and the playing on individuals' pathos to push "political agendas and consumption". From those statements, an apparent scepticism towards medias and political figures can be perceived when the topics of security and threats come into play. This corroborated the findings from the previous data collections.

- Lastly, the participants acknowledged the distance factor: "The further it happens, the least you hear from it", including a hierarchisation of tragedy and a selection in information spread to the public.

Regarding explicit questions about tourism and terrorism, it appears that there is an important impact on the daily environment and on the particular in the experiences in transportations and transit zones (e.g. train stations, airports, etc.). Moreover, a general awareness about the participants' environment, both at home and during their leisure travels, as grown since terrorism has become widely visible. This impacted on the consuming behaviour of the participants. As stated during interviews, the participants would rather avoid countries with "cultures too different" and "destinations too crowded". In addition to being in a constant state of "alertness", this impacted on interactions with locals, and individuals from differing cultures, acting as a vector for the creation of wider gaps of understanding between individuals and separating even more locals and tourists.

To end this explanation of the second round of qualitative interviews, I would like to add that through the participants' statements about the tourism industry, as it is often depicted by the World Economic Forum (Blanke & Chiesa, 2013), the multitude of connections of the tourism industry with other international and domestic industries, as well as various national and international governments agencies was highlighted. This adds another layer of complexity to understanding the causes and consequences of phenomenon related to security, as well as the implementation of new policies.

## 6 Discussion

In this chapter, I will continue developing arguments that I started building in the previous chapter. However, following the approach of Foucault and other post-structuralists, I will discard individuality for the profit of the contexts. Consequently, I aim to transform the data collected (participant's personal experiences) into a medium to understand the underlying pattern of governing structure and their impact on the tourism industry and host societies. I do this in order to highlight their influence on phenomena, such as terrorism and social unrest.

### 6.1 Discourses

The tourism industry promotes itself as a tool for economic and social development. The industry claims to participate in supporting a destination's stability. However, in many destinations governing relations between individuals (Hourigan, 2011) in tourism have shown a different reality. Even if this claim has never been academically proven, the discourse around tourism has embedded this statement in its grand narrative to promote the freedom of travel. In this section, I will focus on the context created by the tourism industry and the security policies surrounding it to highlight the disparities between the discourses and the practicality of tourism.

Mass tourism was born in the remnant structures of post-colonialism and thrived on the power vacuum left by the colonial empires in their now independent colonies (add source). Describing itself as a means to achieve economic and social development, and hence a complete independence from the west; its operations and the patterns through which it was implemented, describe another reality. While tourism has shown great positive outcomes in many aspects of destination development (Archer, Cooper, & Ruhanen, 2005), it has also reinforced an economic and ideological dependence towards the west. By allowing and developing tourism, various destinations have embraced the free market and its ideology: liberalism. At the core of their priorities, those destinations set the freedom of movement of individuals and goods in order to promote economic growth, regardless often of the social and environmental consequences of such rapid development (Curi, Knijnik, & Mascarenhas, 2011).

#### 6.1.1 Tourism, practice or discourse?

Before moving on to discussing the impact of tourism discourses and security policies, there is a need to contextualize the issue. As explained in the theory chapter, in the work of semiotic researcher NHH Graburn (1989), the tourism industry is described as cyclic in nature. This characteristic of tourism has great influence on meaning creation within destinations (the discourses), furthermore, it also affects the power dynamics between hosts and guests.



Each destination has a cycle of life and each destination has a seasonality to it, which can be reduced to waves of tourists from different cultural or national groups. When the first national group of tourists visit a destination, they create a specific discourse around their behaviour pattern, cultural specificity and consuming behaviour through their interactions with locals and other tourists from different origins. This discourse does not represent the group of tourists visiting the destination, but their entire national or cultural group, implementing a new set of power relations. Throughout the succeeding waves, other actors interacting with each other, thus leads to the creation of “clichés” and a fixed representation of the national or cultural group from a local point of view, which serves to reinforce this discourse. At the same time, their hosts perceive the tourists as a social group, their individuality does not exist, and the group is perceived as a whole. During the first waves of tourists in a destination, they will create from their behaviours, interactions, interests and movements, a certain pattern that will be embraced by the local industry in order to adapt their destination and offer the best experience to future tourists. This phenomenon apparently simple hides an underlying pattern. By adapting their destination to tourists, the locals will also adapt their culture, heritage, lifestyle, and their very own identity to benefit their businesses. In the absence of planning and careful implementation of the tourism industry, this phenomenon leads to an uncontrolled and single narrative representing the entire destination. From there a dominant discourse will emerge through which the tourists will perceive the destination as well as all external actors. Tourism stakeholders, take advantage of this dominant discourse in order to promote and develop their destination, which represents only a segment of the population. This results in the silencing of all other interpretations, and discourses, around daily constitutions of new institutions.

With the repetition of touristic experiences, that is, the cyclical nature of tourism, the discourse will be reinforced through the outcomes of interactions between hosts and guests. This increases the dominant discourse related to the narrative of the destination at the expense of other potential co-existing narratives. Moreover, this reinforces pre-conceived ideas related to the tourists themselves and the tourism industry, which will in time follow the same pattern of repetition.

### 6.1.2 The power of discourse

The existence of such discourse in itself is not the focus. It is the status of tourism, both as an industry and as an international marketing tool for a destination that creates a reductionist interpretation of the destination. Tourism creates a single interpretation of a destination and shares it to the world in a marketing effort to promote the destination regardless of the acceptance of such a narrative by the locals. Why, because the economic development is the priority.

By silencing discourses about the culture, heritage, and/or lifestyle of the locals in order to promote tourism in a destination through a single narrative, there is a risk of alienating the actors from its identity. In developed destinations, tourists are directed by businesses and local government towards points of interests in order to fit the narrative that has been sold to them and fulfil their expectations as consumers. However, this given narrative only represents a portion of the destination and local's identity. As the identity is reduced to a single narrative, it is often situated in the past to play on the nostalgia of the consumer and build a legitimisation of the narrative (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). From this process, two patterns appear. First, the local's identity is reduced to one narrative, or even silenced if it does not fit the image the destination wants to promote to the market. Alienating an individual from his/her identity has dramatic consequences for the acceptance of the tourism industry by an individual. From the perspective of an individual, the tourism industry does not bring a value, but rather has taken away from him/her the very values that defined him/her. At best, the industry has commoditised it; at worst, it has simply silenced it. Separating an individual from the context in which he/she operates only amplify the potentiality of rejection of the tourism industry. It also will create an advantageous context for terrorism, since a target has been designated, reusing the language of those groups: an "evil" to fight against and free once again the individual. In turn, this can play on the nostalgia of the individual towards a romanticised a time before the appearance of the tourism industry, or any similar phenomenon that creates social changes in a given society.

Based on my data collection and adding to the pattern of alienation it appears that adapting the narrative around the consumer rather than locals creates a separation of those two social groups. Locals will avoid touristic places because of overcrowding, a narrow interpretation and a commoditisation of their culture. This separation by itself creates another medium through which the local can feel separated, alienated, from his/her culture and identity. In the most extreme cases, the separation will act as a reinforcing agent for the alienation,

amplifying the feeling of alienation and potential recruitment grounds for violent political groups such as terrorist organisations.

Understanding tourism as a participating in the construction of the social context rather than an industry allows researchers and stakeholders to wider the scope of their understanding of tourism in local society. As Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) emphasised, the implementation of tourism is in need of being redefined:

“While tourism possesses the attributes of an “industry”, it is much greater than this and it is a particularly important social force. [...] If tourism continue to wreak the environmental and social damages that attend its marketisation processes and it fails to deliver on its promises to fulfil the universal right to travel and tourism espoused in its lofty pronouncements, then the opposition that Reid envisions is highly likely to eventuate.”

(Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, p.1206.)

Beyond the realm of economic gains and development, a narrow thinking related to the implementation and sustainability of the tourism industry endangers acceptance of the tourism industry. As tourism participates in the construction of the host society, it influences the destination as a whole. Hence, in the long-term aspects such as social and political security associated with fair development of destinations need to be considered because touristic development can change the perceptions individuals hold regarding tourism.

### **6.1.3 The discourse of nostalgia**

It can be argued that tourism is based on the feeling of nostalgia. However, in reliving the past with its own interpretation, the present is discarded (Nelson Graburn, 1995). Culture or heritage are cast in the past while being experienced in the present, regardless of changes on use, and interpretations by the locals. This nostalgia is the same as the one used by terrorism to legitimate their violent actions. A narrow perception of a past often perceived as “better” than the present to which an individual aspires to return.

Despite the loss of 96% of controlled territory, the quasi completed military defeat of ISIS, the most notorious and currently active terrorism organisation (Abdelillah, 2018; Abdoulein, et al., 2018) has demonstrated that the pattern of terrorism operations has adapted itself to a new status of the now stateless organisation. Deprived of most of their facilities that

allowed the organisation to previously recruit, train and operate through a relatively centralised process, ISIS and other terrorism organisations are now outsourcing their operators. Using the flaws of the system they are fighting, liberalism, they use isolated members of society, in other words alienated individuals, and turn them against their own society to achieve the continuation of their violent political agenda. Such characteristic of current terrorism strategic pattern can give birth to another wave of terrorism. Following the Rapoport model (Rapoport, 2002) and the Kondratieff long-term cycle (Norkus), we are now in the winter phase of the fifth long term cycle (Devezas, 2006; Nefiodow, 2016; Norkus). Innovation related to policy making to solve current world's issues are needed. As (Nefiodow, 2016) emphasised:

“The escalation of the world’s problems demands a global regulatory policy that is not just geared towards energy, climate, finances, environment, and trade, but that also considers the specific human behavior, the psychological, mental and social aspects. Why? Because most of the problems in the world have a psychosocial source. The psychosocially sick person is the biggest risk facing humanity. It is the psychologically, mentally and socially disturbed or sick people, who plan and execute wars and aggression, invent and implement misanthropic ideologies such as racism, colonialism, National Socialism or communism. All forms of social injustice, violence, crime and terrorism come from psychosocially disturbed or ill people as well as all troubles and stresses in human relationships and the most dangerous threats to the environment and the climate.”

Nefiodow (2016) argued not only for considering the individual in policy making, but also tailoring the policies in order to minimize factors such as alienation and psychosocial risks to reduce threats. This infers that security related to terrorism and other radicalism needs to widen the scope of its actions by bringing into focus the influence of society on the individual rather than narrowing the understanding of a threat to the individual or group itself. In the context of tourism, such issues were discussed in regard to post-colonialism issues. Currently the same debates can be developed around the consequences of tourism for a destination within regard to the threats of terrorism. This is because the consequence of the phenomena are critical for the sustainability of the industry, and the destination both on economic and socio-political aspects.

Nostalgia acts as a medium for the tourism industry to create legitimacy and authentication (Cohen & Cohen, 2012) but it also can be used to destabilise or ruin a

destination's social economic and political context. Hence the need for the tourism industry to address such issue and adapt the policy making processes as well as the daily operations of destinations in order to minimise such risks.

## 6.2 Security policies

### 6.2.1 The scope of "security"

Throughout the last 30 years security and safety have become mainstream topics of public discussion, academia and private interests such as industries. However, the spectrum of its agenda has been the subject of scepticism.

"In the contemporary situations there are multiple reasons to argue for a certain discontent with the "traditional progressive" or "established radical" ways of dealing with the concept and agenda of security. The traditional progressive approach is: 1) to accept two basic premises of the established discourse, first that security is a reality prior to language, is out there (irrespective of whether the conception is "objective" or "subjective," is measured in terms of threat or fear), and second the more security, the better; and 2) to argue why security should encompass more than is currently the case, including not only "xx" but also "yy," where the latter is environment, welfare, immigration and refugees, etc. With this approach, one accepts the core meaning of "security" as uncontested, pushing instead in the direction of securitizing still larger areas of social life."

(Wæver, 1993)

In the context of tourism, the industry has seen the rise of explicit security measures such as the TSA protocols at the airports, or to strengthen security protocols around resorts, hotels and other crucial infrastructures of tourism. Regardless their efficiency, those security measures are designed to prevent any physical damage to the individuals and infrastructures related to tourism. Nevertheless, by doing so, they generate an unstable context in tourism, which adds to the unequal treatment of individuals related to their importance to the industry itself. For the tourism industry, guests, are the sacred actors that need to be fulfilled, amazed and preserved from the harsh reality of a destination based on a pre-constructed narrative that was sold to them. On the other hand, in order to embed the narrative in long-term development plans, locals are seen as a labour force that enables the narrative to exist in an environment that was once set and has remained the same. The very nature of such a pattern is problematic. Beyond their duty

of protection, the security measures are also participating in sustaining an environment in which the host is perceived as the central aspect of the experience. The destination has to adapt to the tourist, not the other way around.

As emphasized by Wæver (1993), current security policies are not encompassing the full scale of threats. They are only dealing with the immediate physical threats that could potentially hurt the monetary interest of a segment of stakeholders. Thereby the policies aim at fixing the symptoms of the issues rather than the issues themselves. There is a need for security to embed in its understanding of threat the long-term consequences of its own actions and the potential long-term development of the tourism industry, along with the consequences of such actions at a given destination. Having a proactive approach of security by including what I call social and political security is necessary to achieve long-term sustainability in any given destination.

### **6.2.2 A proactive approach to security**

Current security policies are designed to prevent any physical damage to both individuals, and infrastructures. Nevertheless, beyond this primary duty, they also participate in maintaining a certain status-quo in the context in which they are implemented. In the tourism industry, security has also been a concern as it is a requirement for the industry. Protecting the tourist is a basic need for the industry to thrive or even exist. However, the recent rise of security measures in tourism contexts has parallel consequences for the security of tourists. Reinforced security measures have constrained businesses and public stakeholder to prescribed areas of a destination in order to ensure maximum safety. This first point aids the disappearance of a communication medium between hosts and guests. Now, the tourists are interacting only with individuals involved in the tourism industry. The individuals follow a normative pattern through the destination and are allowed to see only what they have been told to see. Such patterns of organisation have been reinforced by the fact that travels are becoming shorter in length; individuals are travelling more, but staying in a given destination for less time.

Reducing interactions with locals, which are already difficult due to language and cultural barriers between hosts and guests, disenable actors from having the opportunity to engage in a non-staged cultural exchange. Therefore the only way for them to understand each other is their personal observations.

By separating tourists and locals, the security measures are reinforcing discourses regarding the destination from a tourist point of view, and discourses regarding the tourists from

a local point of view. As seen in the theory chapter, and in the empirical data, the status of tourism has a negative connotation to it, without any medium of communication with tourists, locals are left with their preconceived ideas of what a tourist is, and the negativity related to it will render any negative outcomes drastically more important.

### **6.2.3 Reinforcement of unequal power relations through the current security policies**

The implementation of tourism activities in a given destination also creates observable power relations between hosts and guests that are reinforced by security measures. Individuals visiting a given destination will be surrounded by an impression of superiority given their economic and/or social status. But they will at the same time become a representation of their society. By being a tourist, your individuality is rendered irrelevant, you are representing more than who you are, you are representing your entire daily environment and by being so, you are your daily environment as viewed through the eyes of locals. Tourists, as actors in a network, are spreading ideology, culture, and behaviour considered proper to the sacred environment they are visiting. These values shared with locals will not represent the individual behind the status of the tourist but the society from which he/she is coming. Without a mean for interaction outside normative touristic experiences, it is very hard for the locals to comprehend this new culture, or behaviours that are potentially not associated as proper in their culture. This is increasing the potential for negative perceptions of external actors, societies and the tourism industry itself.

In fact, the issue is not that many cultures have differing judgments on what is considered proper or not (NHH Graburn, 1989). The issue resides in the ramification of such events. As the tourism industry represents a certain political ideology related to liberalism (Bianchi, 2006), its consumers are also part of this representation. By targeting tourism infrastructures, and tourists, terrorism organisation intentions are to create a destabilisation and collapse of the current paradigm in which the socio-economic context is thriving in order to implement their own political agenda. The tourists are the physical target, but the ideological target is the system they represent. Bianchi (2006) explored this idea by stating that being a tourist is a political action in the sense that tourism encompasses all values shared by the liberal system. Moreover, tourism has created symbols and rituals anchoring such ideology into the material world, for example a passport.

“It soon becomes apparent that the freedom of mobility and right to travel are shaped by specific discourses and facilitated by structures of power which ascribe different values to distinct categories of mobility (tourist, refugee, migrant, etc).”

(Bianchi 2006, p.67)

The representation of structures of power by the tourism industry’s operation and its consumers is the ideological target of terrorism. Targeting the individual tourists is a means to attract attention, emotion and fear. This is a crucial difference between terrorism and crime as the individual is seen as part of a network that can be influenced through violent political actions and not as a stand-alone actor. Setting aside the connection to liberalism, the tourist is a representation of his/her daily environment, regardless of the ideology of such an environment. The tourist becomes a target for violent political action aimed at a rejection of a narrative, ideology or economic system, which goes beyond the realm of politics. Individuals travelling, that is tourists are a physical representation of a system, which for the locals is the only explicit power representation of such system. As Foucault (Sheridan, 1977) described in his book ‘Discipline and Punish’, the holders of power have become more and more difficult to identify. This results from the movement of explicit power protocols from the public place to head-less corporations and organisation. In parallel to this, as a social force (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006), the tourism industry is a non-human actor directly influencing society through the actions of the individuals constituting it. However, a separation between human actors (individuals) and non-human actors (agencies) is manifesting itself. Hosts and guests are in a direct relationship with each other creating a balance of power in constant struggle, but executive power does not exist within this relationship. It now exists within the relation between agencies struggling for power and their respective discourses. Previously, during the rise of Capitalism in the USA, such a pattern has been observed by Steinbeck (1939) describes it in his book ‘The Grapes of Wrath’:

“Some of the owner men were kind because they hated what they had to do, and some of them were angry because they hated to be cruel, and some of them were cold because they had long ago found that one could not be an owner unless one were cold. In addition, all of them were caught in something larger than themselves. Some of them hated the mathematics that drove them, some were afraid, and some worshiped the mathematics because it provided a refuge from thought and from feeling. If a bank or a finance company owned the land, the owner man said, The Bank—or the Company— needs—wants—insists—must have—as though the Bank



or the Company were a monster, with thought and feeling, which had ensnared them. These last would take no responsibility for the banks or the companies because they were men and slaves, while the banks were machines and masters all at the same time. Some of the owner men were a little proud to be slaves to such cold and powerful masters.”

Steinbeck (1939, p.21)

Steinbeck fictional text demonstrate the pattern in which power exists and is performed in relationships between two actors. Stating that tourists and locals are the ones encountering power relation would be an understatement. The power relations exist beyond individuals. They occur between non-human actors that is actor with power like agencies struggling for power and development. In the context of tourism, the tourism industry as a whole is pushing forwards its agenda for development in destinations. Thereby defacing the society and its culture, heritage and identity. Rather than creating a confrontation, the tourism industry acts as an overcompensating system, similar to liberalism, embedding other systems, discourses, etc. within its own in order to convert it into a commoditised product ready to benefit its development.

The involvement of these, which can be considered as the infrastructure of non-human actors in the tourism industry management, and their struggle for power translates into practice as a constant push for development from the tourism industry and the promotion of a capitalistic/ liberal agenda to legitimate their action. This results in the responsibility for the well-being of the destination being in the hands of local policy-makers and stakeholders in order to regulate this phenomenon.

#### **6.2.4 The power resides in relation between non-human actors**

Hosts, guests, and others are material representations of the struggle for power that happens beyond their control or even awareness. However, the consequences of such struggles are affecting individuals first. This struggle between the discourses and power relations in a destination where the narratives of tourism (or the local government) are challenged is beyond the reach of individuals. Tourists, locals, have little to no influence on such agencies and their agendas. But they are the first to undergo any consequences of their actions. This can be seen in the context of security and in many other aspects of society contemporarily challenged by co-existing discourses such as environmental issues.

An unequal development of the tourism industry in comparison to the destination as a whole creates unbalanced power relations between the locals, the hosts and the tourism stakeholders. Such a case can be seen in Rio de Janeiro during the preparation for the 2006 Olympics Game. In order to prepare the infrastructure necessary to welcome a tremendous number of visitors on time, the local government displaced, hid, and covered its social issues rather than trying to fix them. Highway sound walls were built to hide the poor neighbourhoods on the way to and from international airports (Curi et al., 2011; McRoskey, 2010). Communities next to the Olympics Games infrastructures have been relocated to create a new narrative of the place, to rewrite the reality of the city and thus, to offer a spectacle of development to the visitors. These kinds of policies may appear to be disconnected to security, but it is at the root of social and political issues, that will in the long-term produce extraordinary negative outcome for both the society in itself, and for the tourism industry. More security, apparent stability and equality of treatment of individuals are not answers to the security threats the world is facing in the twenty first century.

By enlarging the scope of security, by acknowledging the inequality in our society and implementing policies for fairer development at a destination, the tourism industry will achieve long-term security rather than settling for the fixing of immediate issue that result directly from the policies themselves. Current security policies are serving a purpose; they are necessary for the operation of the tourism industry and maintaining the law and order in society. But they need more fields of application, beyond the realm of physical security to actively participate in a securitisation of a destination, and society. Addressing development, preservation and social issues in terms of security allow policy makers to add a tool to work on regarding the stability of their populace and to promote development beyond mere economic gains

Within the tourism industry, the consumption behaviour of tourists is evolving towards shorter, less interactive travels. This is resulting in fewer interactions between hosts and guests, as well as less time for the tourists to understand the new context in which they are operating as a tourist. NHH Graburn (1989) referred to this the sacred environment. Added to this are the security policies that often tend to regroup tourists in given areas and restrain possible interactions outside a normative experience. The mutual understanding between hosts and guests is reduced to a bare minimum. Through this process, the only discourse that can be shared between hosts and guests is the one associated with the destination created by the tourism industry. Subsequently, having no time or opportunity to relate to the reality of the destination, the tourists may not understand their environment, resulting in potential negative interactions

with locals that are involved in the daily operations of the tourism industry or not. At the same time, locals see the rise of a monolithic discourse, which often reduces an entire destination to very few interpretations of their culture, heritage and society, thereby governing the way they live, and relate to their environment.

From the hosts' perspective, the creation of such a pattern, is problematic. By reducing the narrative of their past and present, the hosts potentially can be alienated from their own identity resulting in potential violent political reactions and a complete rejection of the system that alienated hosts the first place: the tourism industry, and what it labels itself as: an ambassador for development, of a liberal economy.

From an economic perspective, the monolithic discourse regarding a destination disenables the co-existence of other discourses representing a destination and its various identities. Setting in stone the identity of a population, its culture, and heritage does not allow for long-term development, but creates an economic dependence towards the West. As a consequence, any potential emergent cultural movement is blocked and silence for the profit of ONE narrative. This will result in the impossibility of a destination being able to renew itself. It will be forever dependent on a narrative to which locals do not relate or refuse to relate because of the consequences of tourism on their identity.

## 7 Conclusion

In this thesis I have addressed the consequences of security policies in the tourism contexts. By highlighting the current state of security policies for the tourism stakeholders, I have widened the scope of research to generate crucial understandings of security and their applications in future policies. As society and threats change, the security paradigm needs to be re-thought in order to adapt to new operation of tourism and new patterns of action by violent political groups. By including social and political sustainability into the security paradigm, tourism stakeholders and local government will open new spaces in which they can manoeuvre to ensure long-term security in destinations. Such an approach does not only apply to destinations in unstable contexts such as the Middle East and South America, but all over the globe as terroristic threats become more globalised during the fourth wave of terrorism and the collapse of the ISIS Caliphate, which rendered its actions more unpredictable due to the use of isolated actors.

This thesis also has relevancy to academic work as it offers insights in to policy-making regarding the implementation and acceptance of tourism in future destinations. As tourism expands and new destination constantly emerge, co-implementing security policies with tourism developments can minimize potential negative outcomes related to the separation of hosts and guests. Accordingly, the latter contributes to the generation of discourses based on stereotypes. Moreover, in order to limit potential rejection of the tourism industry in emerging destinations, the thesis highlights the factors that lead to the separation of locals from their cultural identity.

Through a study of the influence of structure on individuals, this thesis highlighted power relations existing between hosts and guests. It also emphasised the shift of power from individuals to the structure themselves since the policies shaped the interactions between individuals. Moreover, the influences of discourses on interactions between individuals and their contexts demonstrated the existence of a dominant discourse within tourism activities. Such a dominant discourse results in a single narrative. Which also dominates cultural interpretations of a destination. This in turn influences the pattern through which the locals relate to their context and identity.

Tourists are a material representations of the system of which they are part. They are the embodiment of several discourses. The first being their cultural and national group. It is through this first discourse that locals perceive tourists and engage in the creation of stereotypes. Such

meaning creation discards the individuality of the tourist in their behaviour to the benefit of the national or cultural group. The second discourse is related to the structure of tourism itself. As the industry places its consumer at the core of its activity and ideology (of service), the tourist comes to represent the structures through which tourism operates. This pattern places the tourist in a sensitive position as they are the individuals interacting with the local population and context. Any negative outcome related to the tourism industry or the home contexts of tourists will be associated with the tourists themselves. This second discourse attached to the status of tourists also participates in a reinforced rejection of the individuality of the tourist.

Such a pattern of representation transforms the status of the tourist into a material target for political actions aimed at the tourism industry. Moreover, in the case of terrorism, it incentivises the potential target of tourists as tourism infrastructures offers a material aspect. This is due to the large number of individuals, well-known point of interests, along with international individuals, which potentially would ensure larger mediatisation of any attack. Additionally, an ideological aspect comes into play as the action not only targets individuals but also the symbolic markers they represent. This pattern of actions has already been experienced in the events of 9/11 where the dominant position of the United States of America was attacked through a symbol of power, the twin towers. Thus, sending a message of insecurity to the world and demonstrating the destructive power of terrorism, which contributed to the violent agenda of Al Qaeda.

The creation of a single narrative in a tourism destination added to an adaptation of the space for tourists contributes to a material and semiotic separation of individuals in the local population from their context and cultural identity. This process of alienation produces negative perceptions of the tourism industry, which may even overshadow the positive impact produced by tourism in destinations. Current security policies increase this pattern by reinforcing the normative context in which hosts and guests interact. Moreover, it also participates in suppressing mediums of communications outside such normative contexts to provide short-term safety for the guests, often disregarding such an approach towards the local population.

The discourse around nostalgia is an effective tool to develop a narrative in tourism and bring legitimacy to the industry. However, its implementation requires careful planning with regards to the long-term implications as violent political groups, such as terrorism, are using this same tool to legitimate their violent actions.

Understanding tourism as being more than an industry driven by economic incentives is required, it also needs to be understood as a social actor that influences society through social, political and economic actions. Such an understanding would enable stakeholders and local government to tailor their policies regarding security. Such a process would adapt to the needs of the destination and the context in which the industry will develop itself. Adding a wider scope of understanding and application of security provides the necessary paradigm to create a favourable context not only for the industry, but for the host society as a whole. Since such a paradigm is predicated on long-term goals, it has the potential to contribute to a reduction in violent threats, political unrests and potential rejection of the tourism operations.

Further research is needed on the topic of security and terrorism in touristic contexts. This thesis applied a theoretical framework to the issue of security's impact on destinations. Therefore, developing cases studies in destinations with various levels of development and contexts would bring practical insights towards the implementations of new security policies. In the twenty-first century, terrorism remains a substantial threat for tourism, and societies, research in the recovery process of a destination after a terrorism event is germane. The nature of this research would highlight elements needed to provide a resurgence of the tourism industry in unstable or targeted areas in order to participate in the development of destinations. Such research would also help to restructure already targeted areas currently in the process or rebuilding an image of a "safe destination". In this regards, research on the threat represented by isolated individuals will provide a framework of understanding of the development pattern of such phenomenon. This research is extremely relevant since the collapse of the ISIS Caliphate and its will to encourage alienated individuals around the world to continue their violent agenda.

Moreover, research on interactions between hosts and guests outside a normative tourism context surrounded by the discourses created by the tourism industry and the security policies would highlight elements required to improve mediums of communication, as well as understanding, between hosts and guests. This would result in the creation of adapted normative tourism contexts that reflect to the locals' perceptions of tourism and the destination itself.

<sup>i</sup> I chose to use the term classic to differentiate contemporary and past terrorism as used by Victoroff et al. 2009

<sup>ii</sup> The Objectivity of the approach can still be argued since Thompson uses an economic paradigm historically in opposition with terrorism to build his history of terrorism.

<sup>iii</sup> Narodnaya Volya translates to the People's Will (Von Borcke, 1982)

<sup>iv</sup> Primoratz (Primoratz, 2004) made an article elaborating on the nature of state-sponsored terrorism.

<sup>v</sup> Operation thunderbolt is also often quoted as the first counter-terrorist action however, it happened in 1976, four years after the Sabena 571 flight incident.

<sup>vi</sup> The name of the organisation changed multiple times (USA TODAY article)

<sup>vii</sup> Laggards: category of consumer who are the last group to adopt or try new products. Often, relying on a friend or acquaintance for information sources and are also considered to be reluctant to change. (Goldenberg, J., & Oreg, S., 2007)

<sup>viii</sup> Source: Personal discussions with individuals and companies during the last semester of 2017.

<sup>ix</sup> The text used for this thesis is not the original text, but a translation in English from Rupert Swyer of the inaugural lecture at the college de France by Michel Foucault titled «L'ordre du discours»

<sup>x</sup> Bossong (2012); (Council, 2018)

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## Appendix A: Quantitative Survey, Survey Guide

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# Traveller's perception of safety and security at the airport.

Enclosed with this questionnaire you received a consent form to participate in this research. It is mandatory for you to read and sign this consent form before starting this questionnaire.

If you have any questions about your rights as an interviewee, about the research itself, or anything else related to the research and collected data, please contact the interviewer Mr SCHNEIDER Thomas.

Contact

Consent form:

**\*Required**

I have read the consent form and agreed with the terms. \*

I have signed the consent form and agreed to participate in this research.

# Traveller's perception of safety and security at the airport.

\*Required

## How do you travel?

In this first section, The questions will aim to understand your vision of the air transport industry.

What is your age? \*

- less than 25
- 25-35
- 35-45
- 45-55
- 55-65
- more than 65

Which country do you come from? \*

Your answer

---

Do you perceive the air transportation as a safe mean to travel?

\*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not safe at all.

Very safe.

Is the issue of safety more important for you when travelling with friends or family? \*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not important at all.           Very important.

Did you travel before 9/11? \*

- Yes
- No

If yes to the previous question, do you perceive your safety differently since 9/11?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not important at all.           Very important.



# Traveller's perception of safety and security at the airport.

\*Required

## Choice of airport

In this section, the question will be about your behaviour when planning or booking your leisure travels.

Is the choice of the airport relevant when planning leisure travels? \*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not important at all.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very important.

What are the criteria to choose the airport? \*

- The closest from my residence.
- Easiest transportation.
- Advertisement, promotional campaign.
- The safest.
- The cheapest.
- I do not choose the airport, Only the airline.

# Traveller's perception of safety and security at the airport.

\*Required

## The security at the airport

This last section aims to understand your perception of the security at the airport and what are the strengths and weaknesses of the security policies in making you feeling safe.

Is it important for you to feel safe and protect at the airport? \*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not important at all.           Very important.

Which aspect(s) of security help you to feel safe at the airport? \*

- Presence of police, military, or other security personnel.
- Security controls (TSA, Customs, etc.).
- There is a lot of travellers in the airport.
- Visual and audio announcements related to security.
- Media outlet or reviews about the airport.
- Presence of premium airlines.
- The spatial arrangement of the airport, a clear access and organization of space at the airport.

How the security policies (controls, restrictions,etc.) influence your experience of leisure travels? \*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very negative.           Very positive.

Do you perceive the security protocol mandatory to board the plane as efficient? \*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not effective at all.           Very effective.

Which areas of the airport need to be improved in order to make you feel more secure? \*

	Yes	No
More security staff.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
More controls.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Advertisement of the security policies and how it does protect you.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
More communication from the airport's officials toward the travellers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A different approach to security.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A better maintain airport, refurbishment. A more modern design.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A better customer service.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Reflecting on your own experience, is there any aspect you would like to express yourself on related to your safety at the airport? Is there anything that increased or decreased your feeling of safety at the airport?

Your answer

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## Appendix B: Qualitative Interview Round One, Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE			
<b>Part 1</b>	<b>BRIEFING</b>	<b>NOTES</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>
	Thank him/her for participating in this project.		
	Introducing myself.		
	Defining the situation for the interviewee.		
	Asking for a verbal consent to record (audio) the interview.		
	Short description of the interview and the goals.		
	Asking if the interviewee has any questions before starting the interview.		
<b>Transition</b>			
<b>Part 2</b>	<b>Interviewer's questions</b>	<b>NOTES</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>
	Can you present yourself? (Age, country of origin, how often do you travel for leisure)		What kind of traveller is the interviewee?
	Do you travel more often alone or with family and/or friends?		
	Are you aware of your rights as a traveller?		
<b>Transition</b>			
	What is your opinion on the air transportation industry, customer service wise, and security wise?		How the customer perceives its environment when travelling with the air transport industry?
	What do you expect from the airport security wise?		
	Can you tell me about your perception of the controls at the airport? Do they appear to be respectful and/or customer friendly?		
	How do you perceived the efficiency of the security policies at the airport in securing travellers and infrastructure?		
	Can you explain me how you assess your own safety at the airport? Which are the		

elements that make you feel safe, and which are the ones decreasing this feeling?	
Can you describe me which are the elements that hinders your feeling of safety at the airport? (Not only element in the airport, extern elements too.)	
What is your perception of terrorism and how is it affecting your travel experience?	
<b>Transition</b>	
How could the security protocol be more customer oriented?	What are the needs and expectations from security policies from a customer's point of view?
What would make you feel more secure at the airport?	
According to your view of the world, how do you see the future of the air transport industry security and which path do you think will be chosen be government and tourism official?	
Regarding your experience, which aspects are important and need to be improved? What are the perceived weaknesses of the current policies?	
<b>Transition</b>	
Can you tell me about your experiences during the security protocol at the airport?	How the customer experience the airport and its security policies?
Can you explain me how do you perceive the security staff behaviour towards the customer and how it does impact your experience?	
Is your overall experience (the entire leisure travel) impacted by the security concerns and/or policies?	
Could you describe me your average experience through security protocol at the airport? And the way it	

impact the planning of your leisure travels?

Part 3	Interviewer's questions	NOTES	Research Questions
	<b>Transition</b>		
	Did you travel before September 11th, 2001?		Did the recent increase of terrorism affected the customer's behaviour and experience regarding the air transportation industry?
If answered yes	Since this event happened, did your way of travelling got impacted?		
If answered yes	In which way did the perception of safety changed at the airport after 9/11?		
If answered yes	What is your opinion of those new security policies? Do you think is it needed?		
If answered yes	What are your thoughts on those new policies, are they solving your concerns about your safety?		
If answered yes	With the rise of security at the airport, do you as an individual feel that your rights and freedoms are respected?		
if answered no	Do you perceive the air transport industry to be changed by 9/11?		
if answered no	Is terrorism a concern during your travel or generating distress when at the airport?		
if answered no	What are your thoughts on those new policies, are they solving your concerns about your safety?		
if answered no	With the rise of security at the airport, do you as an individual feel that your rights and freedoms are respected?		
	Do you think that another major terrorism event is possible with the current security policies?		

In which way the tourism industry could decrease concerns about terrorism and act of violence against individuals at the airport?

# Appendix C: Qualitative Interviews Round Two, Interview Guide

## Interview guide

Institutt for reiseliv og nordlige studier

SCHNEIDER Thomas

Master's thesis in Tourism Studies November 2018

