

TERRORISM, HOT SPOTS AND CONFLICT-RELATED ISSUES

**TERRORISM IN A GLOBAL
VILLAGE**

**HOW TERRORISM AFFECTS
OUR DAILY LIVES**

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OUR DAILY LIVES**

MAXIMILIANO E. KORSTANJE
EDITOR



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This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information with regard to the subject matter covered herein. It is sold with the clear understanding that the Publisher is not engaged in rendering legal or any other professional services. If legal or any other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent person should be sought. FROM A DECLARATION OF PARTICIPANTS JOINTLY ADOPTED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AND A COMMITTEE OF PUBLISHERS.

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PREFACE

This book centers not only on the “scourge of terrorism”, a problem which concerns policy-makers, officials and governments worldwide, but dissects the reasons and effects it has on people’s daily lives. Focusing on 9/11 as the founding event, terrorism and the attention given by the media and news containing violence-related content paved the way for the rise of a new stage of capitalism.

Authors invited to this project discuss with accuracy to what extent terrorism is changing day-to-day behaviours, social institutions and democracy. Basically, the rise and expansion of globalization, which crystalized into a more mobile world, alluded to a culture of instantaneity where news on terror produces a double-edge effect. On one hand, terrorist cells are prone to develop crueler and further violent tactics to perpetrate their attacks since the constant media coverage produces a process of desensitization in audiences. On another hand, the “war on terror” is discursively manipulated to impose some restrictive economic policies that would otherwise be neglected. Lastly, not only does terrorism seem to affect the tenets of democracy, but it also accelerates the rise of populist leaders in the decades to come. Since terrorism is subtly changing our lives, this book offers an all-encompassing model to expand the current understanding of students, scholars and policy makers in order to prioritize republicanism over “the concept of security”. In this vein, Latin America has much to say to shed light on how terrorism effaces democracy. In view of the American sentiment of exemplarity adjoined to the commoditization of death in capitalist societies, the discourse of fear may very well lead to pathological reactions that prevent “hospitality”, which was historically the touchstone of the Western world.

Chapter 1 - Following a general introduction on colonialism, this essay reflects on the growth of US imperialism. It notes that colonialist exploitation depends on a pervasive ethnocentrism in which the metropolis is depicted as morally and culturally superior to the colonized. An example of travel writing is used to examine and appreciate this ethnocentric discourse. Precisely because travel literature is not written as a racist or ethnocentric polemic, it is useful in coming to understand the implicit value system and ethos that forms the foundation of colonial ethnocentrism. In the particular example, colonial ethnocentrism is linked to the ideology of American exceptionalism which has deep roots in the American Puritan tradition.

Chapter 2 - For many nations around the globe, tourism represents their heavy industry and this is what makes hotels ideal terrorist targets. Until now all hotels attacked experienced the consequences of conventional terrorism. Given the CBRNE (Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear, and Explosives) potential of the newly emerged Islamic State it is time to consider the probability that an asymmetric terrorist attack might take place in the years to follow or tomorrow. And such an attack might include one or more hotels not only in hot spots but anywhere worldwide. If you still believe that this is a rather futuristic approach it would be wise to consider the fact that after Paris carnage the Western response is expected to be both fierce and coordinated and this retaliation will corner Islamic State both in Syria and Iraq leading to viable possibility of fighting back by releasing CBRN agents against European or international targets. Prevention is better than treatment and it was not raining when Noah made his Arc!

Chapter 3 - This chapter centers on my own experience in Afghanistan which was a project started through March 2016. When the author returned home, he became obsessed with the history of this country. The current situation, from what the author concludes, can be contributed to the Soviet invasion in 1979. Since then, the country has been largely seen as property of other nations, vying for power in Asia. The author still supports the 2001 invasion and much of the mission today, but now the author realizes there wasn't a reconciliation focus for Taliban members—restorative justice. This may have ended the occupation faster and made the citizens more competent to govern themselves. In fact, the author sees the same type of scenario in Iraq and Syria—in America too, for that matter. The land was largely invaded for legitimate purposes by US and allied Forces, and after years of illegitimate fighting, left a vacuum very similar to the territory in the Levant. The point is that without taking direct presence in civil war in Iraq, IS would never exist, a point which very well needs to be discussed.

Chapter 4 - The days of Thana Capitalism ignited after 9/11 gave a new platform where consumers are in quest of others' suffering. We are a death-seeking society and we look for witnessing others' death. While lay people are often bombarded with news reporting murders, or natural disasters, a much deeper narrative of death occupies a protagonist role in mediating between citizens and their institutions. In this review, the authors hold the thesis that disasters do not affect most cultures traumatically, because most cultures have developed agility in the course of dealing with disasters or traumatic events in the past. Also, in their display of evolutionary dynamism, cultures that have such genetic traits crave for occasional recurrences of traumatic events: traits that are not in use may eventually become extinct and it is natural that cultures that hold these valuable traits do not want their extinction.

Chapter 5 - This article centers on a philosophical reflection on the role of risk perception in tourism fields. It seeks an approach to the establishment of a conceptual platform from the reflexives consequences of a critical and reflective thinking, so philosophical tourism research. In this sense, thinking tourism research from philosophy can be risky in implying structural changes which have constrained in many ways the phenomenon of tourism. This work is presented in three segments. A literature review of some authors who have made certain *risky* reflections on critical tourism research. Secondly, this chapter discusses in depth to what extent risk perception, as a conceptual framework, enhances the security of destinations worldwide. As a climax to the bibliographic study and the approaching to the conceptualization, the author proposes a philosophical platform of the tourism research. Finally the research tries to give a new notion about the risk trough the philosophy in tourism studies.

Chapter 6 - Islamic State is an open-ended question for scholars, however it is possible to sketch several aspects of its profile through the lens of the phenomenological reduction. In the following paragraphs I'll briefly explore whether IS could be compared to the more updated version of the evil empire according to a philosophical perspective. What I'm going to argue is that the self-proclaimed state of Da'ish pretends to follow the more proper Islamic faith, on the contrary it has restored hell as a real place on the earth either in a metaphorical (§1.3) and in a supernatural sense (§1.2).

My aim is also to prove that 1) Iblīs – the prince of the devils of the Holy Quran – has taken the place of Allah, 2) the idea of sacred has substituted the one of divine, so that, within Islamic State 3) destruction is the more strategic than construction and 4) death is far more essential than life. According to this set of features, the author intends to prove that IS ought to be recognized

worldwide and especially by the Islamic community, guilty of *shirk*, the main accusation of polytheism moved by the Caliphate to the global world through the doctrine of takfir (§4). The great deception of Islamic State proceeds from a main premise, its being a totalitarian state, an aspect that marks a sharp divide between Da'ish and a wide number of jihadist groups (§1).

The artificial body of this blurring borders' state is inspired by a strict Salafist interpretation of Islam. This is the point of departure of a restored version of political evil where the Caliph is recognized the sole vicar of God in the Universe. On a metaphysical ground this contradictory frame leads IS to consider itself the best of the possible worlds (§2), with a proud attitude to the world of life that surprisingly recalls the story of the fallen angel Iblis. The author argue that the upthrow of reality, which is a consequence of the totalitarian political schema, needs the mystic of martyrdom to survive: death not life has become central in all the activities of Islamic State (§4). My purpose is to prove that IS gives birth, on the political scenario, to a great deception, of which the victim is primarily Islamic faith. It has in fact nothing to do with a state, nor with Islam, nor with God.

It is basically the opposite of them all.

On the ground of contemporary political philosophy, the Caliphate is a powerful case-study because it brings to light a supernatural idea of evil as a component of the state: a possibility firmly denied by Hannah Arendt in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* and *The Life of the Mind* that nevertheless I'll defend in my paper, on the basis of the takfir ideology. For a better understanding of IS, in the last part of the investigation, the author suggest to apply Maria Zambrano's theory of sacred (§3) presented in *The Man and the Divine* that outlines a fruitful key to get inside IS' mystic of evil.

Chapter 7 - This paper suggests that the study of dark tourism or thanatourism tends to reproduce some old conceptual and ideological models of research. This becomes evident when we consider the absence of cyber-epistemologies of dark tourism online and their covert communication with governmobility or governing the social through mobility. Of primary focus is here the management of humans through technologies facilitating the taming of death. The authors' engagement with literatures of thanatology and dark tourism as a type of tourism promoting consumerism highlights that (a) dark tourism has been limited to traditional terrestrial fieldwork of the tourist as a consumer and tourism as a marketing process connected to experiential authenticity, and (b) as a result, researchers fall back to moralized approaches to it as territorially-bound heritage. This conceptual schema connects to the old Western European split between technology and memory. Alternatively,

unconditional support of digital technics tends to glorify labour to merely attack the spirit of postmodern consumerism. The authors note that setting the “gift” of technology and its technicians against the “gift” of dark heritage does not encourage rigorous epistemological analysis of the status and transformations of dark tourism in the cyber space because it does not take on board the historical dimensions of digital governmobilities. Instead of condemning technological means as instrumental and therefore inessential to contemporary social analysis, we have to (a) redefine the digital gift of dark tourism as temporary extension of life and (b) engage with Internet methodologies of digital dark tourism as an emerging theme in tourism analysis.

Chapter 8 - This chapter explores the manipulation of fear during the last bloody dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in Chile. The authors focus on the theory of “derivative fear,” which serves as a disciplinary mechanism for work-force to accept economic policies otherwise would have been rejected. The emotional consensus established after the coup was designed to undermine any resistance as well as producing an counter-politics, which remained up to date. The doctrine of a great terror as it was formulated by Military forces, paved the pathways for the rise and expansion of neoliberalism in Chile and other Latin American nations. Since Latin America has much to say respecting to terrorism, we find the history of Chile is pertinent to shed light on how Western nations are struggling against terrorism today.

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Chapter 1

**EXPLORING THE ARCHETYPE OF
AMERICANESS AND THE EXCEMPLARY
PRINCIPLE: THE FEAR OF TRAVELING
ABROAD**

Maximiliano Korstanje^{1,*} and Geoffrey Skoll²

¹University of Palermo, Buenos Aires, Argentina

²Department of Criminal Justice
Buffalo State College, Buffalo, NY, US

ABSTRACT

Following a general introduction on colonialism, this essay reflects on the growth of US imperialism. It notes that colonialist exploitation depends on a pervasive ethnocentrism in which the metropolis is depicted as morally and culturally superior to the colonized. An example of travel writing is used to examine and appreciate this ethnocentric discourse. Precisely because travel literature is not written as a racist or ethnocentric polemic, it is useful in coming to understand the implicit value system and ethos that forms the foundation of colonial ethnocentrism. In the particular example, colonial ethnocentrism is linked to the ideology of American exceptionalism which has deep roots in the American Puritan tradition.

* mkorst@palermo.edu.

Keywords: American exceptionalism, colonialism, culture, ethnocentrism, literature, tourism, travel

INTRODUCTION

Colonization in past centuries was supported by an ideology of the colonized Other. Bullets kill people, but words indoctrinate their minds. Edward Said has developed a model for understanding the pervasive nature of European ethnocentrism in novelists such as Joseph Conrad who portrayed the cultural values of the empire (Said 1993). Empires have expanded their influences in the world by imposing an ecumene of exemplarity in which the periphery accepts European superiority. Beyond this center, the interaction between Europeans and non-Europeans engendered what Amy Turner-Bushnell and Green (2002) call a sphere of influence. These borderlands were flexible, and they were continually negotiated. The connection between imperialism and literature has been widely studied in such seminal texts as *The Theory of the Novel* (Lukacs, 1971), *The British Image of India* (Greenberger, 1969), *Imperial Eyes* (Pratt, 2011), and *Culture and Imperialism* (Said 1993).

This essay focuses on the role played by American ethnocentrism in modern travel books such as Charles Robert Temple's *American Abroad* (1961). Temple's story sets forth the perspective of Americans looking outward. Today, it shows the basis for an American outlook on the post-9/11 world which combines American exceptionalism with a pervasive fear. One of the aspects that differentiate American from British ethnocentrism is the sentiment of exceptionalism with respect to Others. In the United States Americanness is lived as a superior allegory to be applied to the world in order to make it a safer and better home for humankind (Wildman, 1996; Fitzgerald, 1986; Coleman 2010; Skoll 2009). Though the lens of this book we understand how the Other is constructed by privileged American citizens in view of their expectations, hopes, and fears.

PRELIMINARY DEBATE

The habits of travelling are common sense to all cultures of the globe. Many theories have been developed thanks to the experiences and stories derived from these practices. In his book on America, François-René de

Chateaubriand (1768-1848) says that there are two types of travellers: those who go by land and those who go by sea. Many discoveries that today shed light on our geographies, derived from travellers' courage to go beyond the boundaries of their respective civilizations (Chateaubriand, 1944). One of the main problems in understanding the potential power of travel writing depends on the attention this genre receives from generation to generation. Travels activate social imaginaries which follow imperial interests, along with landscapes and cultural encounters. Citing Kalervo Oberg, Rachel Irwin (2007) alludes to the encounter among ethnicities as a culture shock, which ranges from a stage of understanding to a profound crisis –honeymoon, crisis, recovery and adjustment. While tourists generally are embedded in a honeymoon phase, the native Other is imagined as a polite and gorgeous friend. Explorers, anthropologists, and aid-workers face another, more disappointing facet. A radical crisis of identity may take some months. When this arrives, the foreigner has serious problems in coping with natives. Depending on how this is resolved, the visitor will return to home or stay. The process of recovery consists in the assimilation of all information, customs, and practices to survive in this new society. After this stage, the adjustment will take place. Depending on how the guests are negotiating with natives, their knowledge has further value for others. Tourists, for example are subject to peripheral and superficial encounters with natives while anthropologists produce another kind of knowledge.

The American economist, Robert L Heilbroner states that imperialism as a project was inextricably intertwined with capitalism. He claims that three key factors were important to consolidate European conquests: the impetus for discovery; second, the decline of religion; and third, the rise of science (Heilbroner, 1995). The importance of being-there for the science, observing the social facts, was encouraged by colonialism. Two main assumptions inspired these new forms of making science. The first was the belief that people lie or simply sometimes do not recognize their drives and behaviour. Researchers are obliged to be there, contrasting the speech with non-verbal practices. The first anthropologists who launched the study of exotic peoples were involuntarily manipulated by governors or officials who read their ethnologies with the aim of more effective control of native peoples (Busby, Korstanje and Mansfield, 2011; Korstanje, 2006; 2012; Pratt, 2011; Teng, 2004; Palmer, 2004; Bandyopadhyay, and Morais, 2005). The production of knowledge, imperialism, and travels became intertwined. Novels, and guidebooks have been historically employed as ideological instruments of

indoctrination whose efficiency rests on what they cover, not what they overtly describe.

Mary L. Pratt (2011) explores the imperialistic discourses to understand how the identities of Others are created. The dominated group interprets its inferiority in favour of dominators. The literature of travels as well as travel itself is of paramount importance to create an archetype of Europeanness. The conflicting encounters flourish in zones of contact where a real process of acculturation surfaces. The ideology of dominators, as Adam in the paradise, marks the Others, while it keeps itself unmarked—that is, the standard by which others are judged.

In Western ethnocentric ideology, cultural values not only were both necessary and beneficial for indigenes. Literature and travel writings Pratt adds, encouraged the imperial values everywhere, paving the way for the advance of an ideological colonization that strengthened the bond between the center and its periphery. Literature offers visualizations and symbolic landscapes where the colonial order is sustained by a moral supremacy of Western culture. The subordinated role of aboriginal life, compared to that of Europe, was one among many other rhetoric devices to create a sentiment of superiority of white writers throughout the colonial world.

Modern tourism scholars have studied the stereotypes of colonialism (Burns, 2004; Mansfield, 2008; Busby, Korstanje and Mansfield, 2011; Caton and Santos, 2008). In one of the books on this theme, *Traversing Paris*, Charlie Mansfield (2008) seeks to re-define travel writing as a genre of literature by means of descriptions of the narratives, projections, expectations, and experiences in travels. This French custom, initiated by the Encyclopédist Denis Diderot (1713-1784), reveals the potentialities of a journey to decode the convergence between the autobiography and social conjuncture. The episteme for travels elevates the agency of travelers who reify the same observed reality. The tension between objectivity and subjectivity certainly opens a complex door in travel writing as a scientific genre. The body of a travel writer is necessarily circumscribed by specific time and place, which blurs the boundaries between the lived time of journey and the text. Concerning the contributions of the reactionary royalist and founder of Romanticism in France, François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), Mansfield indicates that texts work similarly to a souvenir, because like a souvenir they are strongly associated with the identity of tourists. As a souvenir is linked to a wider sentiment of nostalgia, Mansfield leads readers to an under-explored argument: the souvenir works as a mechanism of return transforming the physical distance into emotional proximity. Travel writing

comprises a creative praxis by closing the hermeneutical circle between those events we experience on a daily basis and the individual emotional background, and thereby becomes an episteme in the Foucauldian sense. Mansfield's argument leads to the three elements of discovery travels which are rooted in the modern science: 1) the need to monitor the world to ensure Western control, 2) intellectual appropriation that interprets events to generate knowledge, and 3) support for the capitalist mode of production. All these elements are replicated and renegotiated in the travels.

Laura Rascaroli (2013) has called attention to the tension between pleasure and displeasure in traveling. The latter signals unproductive displacement that destroys the self, and the latter leads the traveler to the materialization of hedonism. The focus of Rascaroli's argument is on how identity is constructed. In the past, France originally drew from southern Mediterranean culture, but today this logic has been upended. This explains the bifurcation of symbolic (soft) and legal (hard) borders. Florian Grandena (2013) argues that striated space (i.e., space with legal borders) is determined by states but nomadic spaces exist as a response to the growth of social frustration, or perhaps ennui. Probably the exemplary nomadic book is Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957). Based on a romantic gaze, a nomad-tourist not only breaks out of the capitalist network but seeks to negotiate his/her identity strolling throughout the nation, something that recalls Walter Benjamin's *flâneur* (Buck-Morss 1986).

In recent years the industrial world seems to be more concerned for the securitization of identity and mobility than by other questions. Maximiliano Korstanje and Daniel Olsen (2011) have examined the genre of horror movies to consider that 9/11 has not only created a serious shock to American culture, but also changed the ways of making terror in cinema. Based on an examination of movies such as *Hills Have Eyes*, *Hostel*, and *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, Korstanje and Olsen argue that American movie culture exhibits a combination of pride and fear. While American tourists are viewed as the epitome of good civilization, their own cultural products are compromised of sadists whose main satisfaction is the torture of innocents. The principle of evil seems to be combined with a lack of hospitality. The world beyond the boundaries of the United States is presented as a dangerous place to visit. This leads to the creation of deep-seated ethnocentrism that audiences cannot see with clarity, but which affects how the Other, non-American is reconstructed. The concept of risk and terrorism as it is being exploited by Hollywood may instill serious problems in the collective psyche of United States.

THE SENTIMENT OF EXCEPTIONALISM WITHIN AMERICANESS

Max Weber noted the connection between religion and labor. He acknowledged that certain Protestant and Catholic's cosmologies constructed different models of the world and labor. While Calvinism was based on predestination—that is, a closed future, Catholicism saw salvation as a prerequisite for the present acts. For Calvinistic temperaments, the salvation of individuals was already determined by a book of life in Heaven. Catholicism, in contrast taught that salvation was a consequence of acts on earth (Weber, 1964; 1995; 1958). Weber made a connection between the concepts of religious salvation and the economy. The organization of labor as well as the process of territorialization follows cultural archetypes which put limits on authority and requires the production of a surplus. Calvinism taught that humans were stewards of the earth who were expected to produce more during their lifetimes than they found at birth. The political structure depended on how this surplus was created.

Simon Coleman (2013) argues that American fundamentalist religious culture is linked to a much broader association between the religious and political order. Those orders, religious and political, are charged with reforming the world, and since it is a dangerous place, the sins of the world should be expiated by sacrifice, and renovated by means of grace and fear. Americans and other Anglophones, especially those in Britain and the settler countries, Australia and Canada, have produced a culture of terror. That culture induces a generalized fear among the populations of those countries. With a focus on the United States, the ruling class has constructed a culture of fear that has evolved from the kind of fear associated with the anticommunist hysteria in the years following the Second World War and its predecessor Red scares to its current incarnation of the terrorism obsession (Skoll 2010, Skoll and Korstanje 2013). While recognizing popular participation in constructing this culture of fear, the fact is that elites in the centers of world capitalism have fostered its construction with planning and deliberation. The culture of fear is conducive in keeping class conflict in America and the world under control.

Unlike Spain that relied more on military conquest to colonize the Americas, English colonization was centered on settlements and trade. The English reserved their right for intervening in the autonomy of indigenous peoples, and recognized a degree of indigenous autonomy. The Spanish approach derived from a different economic strategy—that is, Spain's

colonialism was extractive, whereas England's was based on agricultural exploitation. The English control over the indigenous peoples was based on discursive abilities to proclaim the racial superiority of Anglo order over other ethnicities (Guidotti-Hernandez, 2011). As Richard Hofstadter put it, this sentiment of exemplarity was reinforced by the adoption of social Darwinism at the same time that the US was becoming a colonial power in its own right in the late nineteenth century. The survival of the fittest associated with the virtue of race reinforced an America-centrism (Hofstadter 1992).

Hofstadter (1992) said that one of the primary aspects used to rationalize competition among entrepreneurs in US was the adoption of social Darwinism as espoused in works by such social theorists as William Graham Sumner and Herbert Spencer. Social Darwinism, unlike Darwin's own biological theory of natural selection and speciation, postulated two significant axioms which reinforced the sentiment of exceptionalism, which itself came from the Puritan tradition in New England (FitzGerald, 1986). Social Darwinism was based on survival of fittest and social determinism. Hofstadter argues that the legitimacy of law to ensure the equality of all citizens was not sufficient to explain why some actors had success while others fail. As a supra-organism, social structure overrides the interpretation of law. To evolve to a higher stage, society should accept the struggle for survival as the primary cultural value.

In this view, social advance depends on the wealth one generation can pass to the next. Accordingly, "primitive man, who long ago withdrew from the competitive struggle and ceased to accumulate capital goods, must pay with a backward and unenlightened way of life" (Hofstadter, 1992: 58). Therefore, millionaires are not the result of greed, but natural selection. They have been selected by their strength, tested in their success in business and their abilities to adapt to the competitive environment. Those who are not wealthy are simply less fit. A political consequence of this line of thought is that states should not promote charity as a governmental policy; if this happens they run the risks of general social decline. The society should be recycled allowing the big fish to eat the small fish.

At a closer look, Calvinist and other protestant circle emphasized on the hostility of the environment as a proof of faith. The foundation for this amalgam comes from the New England Calvinist ideology, of which Jonathan Edwards 1741 sermon *Sinners in the Hand of an Angry God* is exemplary (Miller 1953: 15-25). There, Edwards, spelled out the Calvinist notion of predestination, which, among other things held that only those that God chose would enter Heaven, and everyone else was doomed to Hell. Those so chosen could be identified by their prosperity. The social Darwinism of the latter

nineteenth century was annealed to the underlying Calvinist doctrine of hard of individual salvation, stewardship, and prosperity as a sign of moral superiority. Exceptionalism was always a condition of how American produces politics. The ideological apparatuses of the United States developed its image as an exemplary center, or city on a hill, as the Puritan settlers saw it. It is this image, rather than the reality of social relations, that leads this country to proclaim itself as unique, an exception, and beyond the restraints (Cheyfitz, 1993; Ignatiev, 1995, 2001; Korstanje, 2013).

Understanding how nativism combines on the one hand an exemplar of liberty and self-determination and on the other, imperial aggression and domination—presents an intellectual challenge. As a literary form, travel writing offers fertile ground to approach an understanding of how ethnocentrism works to maintain these contradictory images. In literature imagined landscapes of travelers are written from the center to impose a specific message over the periphery. In next section, we examine the book entitled *Americans Abroad* by the travel writer Charles Robert Temple. This book represents an effort to advise Americans who travel or work abroad about the dangers of the world. A clear diagnosis of how American imperialism works can be done if you pay attention to this now relatively obscure text.

AMERICANS ABROAD

Charles R. Temple was fluent in six languages. He worked in many countries since he left Yale University in US, some of them with diverse cultures and customs. Concerned on the psychology of tourists, he published in 1961 the book *Americans Abroad* to explain the different and radical shifts suffered by Americans when have to travel or work abroad. This book gives practical suggestions on travel, and by doing so presents a clear picture of American ethnocentrism.

After the Second World War ended in 1945, the United States stood alone among the former belligerents as unscathed in its own territory. The closest the country came to devastation was the attack on Pearl Harbor, in what was then a mere territory, and far from the mainland of the metropole. Not only was its territory intact, it was the center of the world's economy. With the growth of a middle income tier of US society, many Americans started to travel worldwide as tourists, businessmen, diplomats, and so forth. In doing so, these citizens

represent America to the world. In Temple's view, one of the aspects that make Americans exemplary is democracy:

Turning up in every part of the globe, these Americans are our informal representative to the other peoples of the world. What we are and what our democracy means will be judged by their action and reaction long after the formal speeches and actions of politicians have been forgotten. This was not always so, and once John Doe, an American living in a foreign country, might have been looked upon by the people about him as just another foreigner, with little or no reference to his national background (Temple 1961: 8).

For Temple many other Americans, democracy is lived as a positive cultural legacy that the United States can leave to the civilized world. But for that, its travelers should demonstrate a special virtue which only is given to select people. The United States, in Temple's argument, should not be judged by its failure or success in international relations, instead the country should be appraised by its tourists' behavior. This means that American tourists serve as symbolic ambassadors of their country. Temple's book is filled with examples and situations aimed to show the civil virtue of what being a good American means. One of the first obstacles to overcome abroad is the language. Temple acknowledges that some Americans are reluctant to learn languages other than English. He points out that fluency in another language allows the learning of other customs, and opens the horizon to new opportunities for business. For Temple, the American Way is bound up with the role played by money. The degree of materiality, as Weber put it, depends on the need to demonstrate to be part of the select. Temple is concerned for those compatriots who have not devoted time to have experiences with the Other. The quest for novelty seems is linked to overcoming the prejudices of home. In this vein, Temple writes

there are certain fundamental experiences which have to be met by everyone who leaves his own country to live elsewhere. Going abroad means giving up home in spiritual as well as physical sense; it means acquiring a new kind of education; it means adopting new attitudes and points of view about foreigners and their ways; it means assessing one's own values in light of other's people's value and standards (Temple, 1961: 15).

All this advice were given to those Americans who opted to live in other countries for a prolonged stay out of their home. Temple has somewhat

different advice for tourists. Typically, moved by curiosity, tourists are fascinated by experiences abroad. They need to see how life is lived in foreign countries. Poor countries, many of them with markedly undemocratic cultures, have developed systems where the majority is excluded from political life. This results in serious asymmetries that lead people to poverty. Being poor is an effect of rejecting democratic politics. Therefore, according to Temple, Americans should feel proud of their economic supremacy. If the civilized citizens reserve their right to travel long distances as a sign of wealth, it is no less true is that this act has a serious risk. In this vein, Temple writes,

slumming is neither possible nor intelligent. As Americans, living in a technically advanced, affluent society, we tend to downgrade those peoples of the world who have not participated in the industrial revolution and whose economies are inadequate to their population's needs (Temple, 1961: 21).

This happens because the United States has vast lands and a rich economy that flourished with an internal, domestic industry that provided a continuous chain of production and consumption, a huge internal market for what was produced in America. The sense of Americanness is exhibited by Temple as an archetype of science, hard work, and recreation; always contrasting the difference between the White Anglo model and aboriginals in other countries. Of course, Temple ignores or tries to ignore the many aboriginal reservoirs that continue to coexist with his model White Anglo American citizen. He ignores the urban ghettos, depressed and marginalized small towns and stretches of rural poverty. Secondly, the book assumes that the United States is the most democratic country on the planet. Temple does not ask if the United States is democratic, but instead asks why it is the most democratic country in the world. In the chapter entitled, "Special Luggage Labeled American," Temple recognizes that democracy is not a perfect system of government, and notes that foreigners may say that judges can be bribed or the activities of some minorities are restricted, but he replies that in the United States

most judges can't be bribed, few men sell their votes; the majority of Americans reject attempts to limit minority rights; and while a poor man may rarely lunch with a rich one, both can do pretty much what they like otherwise (Temple, 1961: 30).

What this excerpt does not take into consideration is hundreds of years of ethnic discrimination, the repression of the black population and the ghettoization of most cities as well as internal riots between blacks and whites. It is not the goal of this paper to judge if America is good or bad, but only to focus on the cultural elements that form Americanness as an archetype of identity. Today, few citizens in the United States have read Temple's book, but even so its value is that it reflects the imaginary of how America sees itself and the others. For that reason, it is like an artifact that reveals in microcosm the American ethos and its connection to feelings about strangers.

When traveling as tourists for recreational purposes, Temple adds, Americans should understand that the visited lands are not populated entirely by barbarians (Temple, 1961: 115). To know more about exotic countries, they have to read magazines or other publications to learn the experience of other travelers, and to become aware of which place is safer or dangerous as well as the things they can and cannot do. Traveling can be conceptualized as an art, where the subject develops new abilities to deal with transportation, new customs, hostile migration officials, and other problems. Readers should follow Temple's steps to achieve a successful adaptation in other cultures.

On the surface, the primary concern of this book is the implicit view that the world seems to be a hostile place. Thus, knowledge and know how facilitate the symbolic resources to mitigate the lapses of anxieties such as the validation of passport at migration office. Guide books are of paramount importance so as to be familiar with the visited destinations. A coherent interpretation of the tourist originating country should be kept in mind at time of purchasing the ticket. Temple gives the example of a friend who traveled to Beirut buying his ticket in Israel and was rejected upon arrival as he was accused of being Zionist spy.

Temple's use of such terms as "entirely barbarian" appears ethnocentric because it assumes the foreigners live in uncivilized cultures. Also, his perspective is from the nation of travelers like Israel, the United States or Britain as the point of sale of the ticket can and should determine how dangerous the final destination may be (Temple, 1961: 155-156). If Americans go to a destination whose government has a relationship with the United States, the possibility of some kind of adverse treatment might occur to a traveler. This opens the question of the relationship between safety and security. Being American abroad means privilege because Americans carry with them a symbolic reminder of US supremacy over the world. Today, in largely US led global war on terror, it also raises the specter of terrorist attacks arising from resentment on the part of dominated people. These two elements,

American privilege and Americans as terrorist targets, are present in the Anglo-American archetype promoted by tourism related industries.

Temple's book contains many examples of people who have traveled to Europe, Latin America, and Asia. Being American means superiority over other ethnicities due high income relative to people in other countries. Of course, this is far less true today than in 1961 when Temple wrote the book. Also, Temple assumes that because Americans are educated in a civilized culture where the respect for the Other symbolizes the tenets of democracy, it means that Americans are willing to learn about other cultures. However, this way of constructing the Other leads to a bipolar logic where the 'we' is superior to the 'they.' To be part of an elite, selected for salvation, brings serious problems for American tourists as symbolic representatives of the United States. Of course, American tourists are not responsible for the policies followed by US, except when they are so designated such as officials in the US State Department. Nevertheless the Anglo-American ethnocentric discourse upends the connection of cause and consequences, conferring the burden on tourists. This can be seen in current guide books which present the Middle East as a dangerous destination for Americans. Tourists become involuntarily ambassadors of their own state. It is important not to lose sight that this ethnocentric discourse was not created by 9/11, it was present long before this event, but to some extent 9/11 closed the hermeneutic circle between a frightened American citizen and the way to construct Otherness. At the time of 9/11, US President George W. Bush encouraged Americans to confine their travels to the domestic US and at the same time he militarized US borders and restricted migrants as undesired guests.

To understand this pervasive logic, one must understand two relevant aspects of ethnocentrism. On one hand it promotes the exemplary nature of one group or ethnicity over the rest. The limits of uniqueness determine an exclusionary circle of belonging, which is symbolically justified by certain fabricated virtues. Valorizing American tourists is a subtle way of accepting the hegemony of the United States and its democracy in the world. However, in the dialectic of ethnocentrism, being part of the elite has its costs. Whenever Americans cross the borders of their country, many risks are posed in their trips, from a terrorist attack to a crime, destinations are classified according to the importance of Americanness and their safety.

Moreover ethnocentric discourse neglects the importance of the Other except through the lens of one's own culture. It poses Americans as the most desirable of tourists. It reminiscent of horror movies like *Hostel I* and *II* where American tourists were captured and tortured by a criminal network operating

in Eastern Europe. Millionaires paid huge fees to torture a tourist. Hostel's dialogues not only portrays the world as hostile, but also convinces the audience that victims' value depended on their nationality. Mass entertainment such as horror movies often depicts Eastern Europe or rural zones as hostile and dangerous destinations for civilized tourists. The same sentiment of exceptionalism that leads Americans to be proud of their civilization instills terror when they have to leave home.

CONCLUSION

Literature has often served as an ideological mechanism of power for the center to exert hegemony over periphery. Substantial studies have shed their light on this slippery matter. However, the problem of imperialism seems not to be limited to literature alone. Other texts such as guidebooks or travel writing, construct a biased landscape of the world. This is the case in the example use in this essay, Temple's *Americans Abroad*. Though lacking in overtly discriminatory or racial considerations, Temple does his text covers what in our consideration is one of the tenets of Anglo-American ethnocentrism, the sentiment of exception. Temple diagnosis is that the world is stereotyped as a dichotomy between dangerous and safe. It appeals to America as the cradle of democracy, civilization, and legal order. In view of this, Americans never should lose sight that they are ambassadors of their superior culture. Even if the enemies of democracy want to attack Americans wherever they are, this should not stop Americans from showing that they are inhabitants of a city on a hill.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Maximiliano Korstanje

Associate Professor Department of Economics, University of Palermo Argentina. Editor in Chief of the Int. Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism and Int. Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism. With more than 600 published papers worldwide, he is associated to International Society for Philosopher, Sheffield UK and Tourism Crisis Management Institute, University of Florida US. He has been nominated to five honorary doctorates because of the contribution to tourism and terrorism and earned two international awards as "outstanding reviewer" for International Journal of Disaster Resilience in the Built Environment. University of Salford, UK and Journal of Place Management and Development. Institute of Place, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK.

Geoffrey Skoll

Associate professor emeritus in the Criminal Justice Department, Buffalo State College, Buffalo, New York. Previously at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Work on fear and terrorism includes the monograph *Social Theory of Fear* (Palgrave Macmillan 2010). New monograph titled *Dialectics in Social Thought: The Present Crisis* published June 2014 by Palgrave. He is currently working on a book length study of the conjuncture of a fear culture and globalization.

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Chapter 2

ASYMMETRICAL HOTEL THREATS

Ioannis Galatas¹ and Peter Tarlow²

¹CBRNe Research Associate, Center for Security Studies (KEMEA),
Athens, Greece

²Founder and President of Tourism and More Inc. (T&M), Houston, TX,
US

ABSTRACT

For many nations around the globe, tourism represents their heavy industry and this is what makes hotels ideal terrorist targets. Until now all hotels attacked experienced the consequences of conventional terrorism. Given the CBRNE (Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear, and Explosives) potential of the newly emerged Islamic State it is time to consider the probability that an asymmetric terrorist attack might take place in the years to follow or tomorrow. And such an attack might include one or more hotels not only in hot spots but anywhere worldwide. If you still believe that this is a rather futuristic approach it would be wise to consider the fact that after Paris carnage the Western response is expected to be both fierce and coordinated and this retaliation will corner Islamic State both in Syria and Iraq leading to viable possibility of fighting back by releasing CBRN agents against European or international targets. Prevention is better than treatment and it was not raining when Noah made his Arc!

* ptarlow@tourismandmore.com.

Keywords: terrorism, tourism, hotels, CBRNE, WMD, preparedness, asymmetric threats

On June 26, 2015, one terrorist disguised as a vacationer attacked the Mediterranean beachfront resort Marhaba Hotel in Sousse, Tunisia killing at least 38 people— most of them British tourists — before he was shot to death by the security forces [1]. Roaming from the beach to the pool to the reception area of the hotel, the assailant methodically targeted guests with a Kalashnikov rifle he had hidden in a beach umbrella, including terrified hotel workers. At least 20 people were wounded in the attack, including six British tourists and five Tunisians. Hours after the assault, many of the vacationers in Sousse, traumatized and tearful, were packing to leave. Islamic State took responsibility for the massacre.

The Tunisia incident is not the first, and surely will not be the last, attack against hotels and national/international guests. Although in this case the terrorist used conventional means (AK-47) the impact of the incident was big enough to label it as an asymmetric attack. Asymmetric threats, techniques, or attacks in layman's terms are defined as a version of "not fighting fair." They include the use of surprise in all its operational and strategic dimensions and the use of weapons in ways unplanned even by a major military powers. "Not fighting fair" also includes the prospect of "an opponent designing a strategy that fundamentally alters the terrain on which a conflict is fought" [2]. In the same line US RAND Corporation defines asymmetric threats as those that "attack vulnerabilities not appreciated by the target or that capitalize on the target's limited preparation against the threat" [3].

INTRODUCTION

Acronym	Meaning
WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction
CBRNE	Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear, and Explosives
CWA	Chemical Warfare Agents (CWAs)
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
VBIED	Vehicle-Borne Improvised Explosive Device (car bomb)
RDD	Radiological Dispersal Device
RED	Radiological Emitting Device
TIC	Toxic Industrial Chemical

Apart from conventional terrorism, a particularly fearsome class of asymmetric strategies involves weapons of mass destruction (WMD/CBRNE). These weapons can hurt military forces and civilians in great numbers and are a significant element of adversaries' threats [4].

All WMDs do not cause "destruction" – in fact only nuclear weapons can account for this level of destruction and as of the writing of this article these types of weaponry are state owned and secured. On the other hand, CBRNEs are expected to cause massive "disruption" in the socio-economic web of a nation under attack. Within the CBRNE context it is "C" and "R" with or without explosives that are expected to disrupt communities and test effectiveness of responses. Under the "C" category we place both chemical warfare agents (CWAs) and toxic industrial chemicals (TICs) while under the "R" category there is the possibility of a radiological dispersal or emitting device (RDDRED). Although TICs result following an industrial accident, some of them can be used per se as weapons (e.g., chlorine truck bombs). Until now the only recorded urban CWA attack is that conducted by the Aum Shinkyo cult against Tokyo subway where sarin gas was released (1995) [5-7]. To the present no RDD (dirty bomb) have been actively detonated despite the fact that certain incidents in Chechnya, Russia indicate that this potential is real (e.g., incident at Izmailovsky Park, Moscow [IED with cesium source] or in a railway leading to capital Grozny [mine connected with cesium source]) [8, 9].

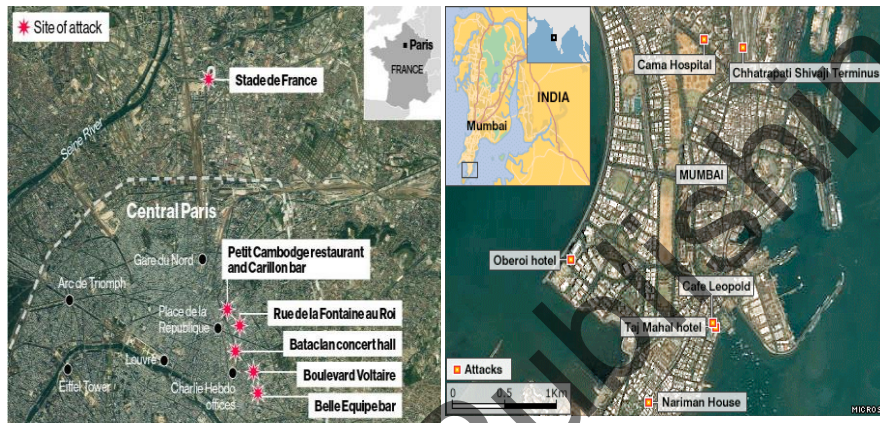
The "B" component is certainly equally important whether it is a bioterrorism attack with weaponized biological agents or a pandemic or wide outbreak [10-13] (e.g., 2009 flu pandemic; Ebola/MERS outbreaks) but it is a "gradually" developing emergency compared with the acute effects of a CRE attack. Apart from this "operational" difference "B" causes similar disruption like the rest of the CBRNE agents.

Based on the above we might argue that CBRNE threats represent an "exotic" threat that does not justify special preparedness and countermeasures. This assumption is in line with the global attitude that "it will not happen to us" and that "no human will use such means against other human beings" – a logic based on both the World War I and II chemical warfare along with the Iran-Iraq war (1980s – Halabja massacre [14, 15]) and the most recent incidents of chemical weapons usage during the ongoing Syrian civil war (2012-2016) [16, 17].

This paper focuses on the two major aspects of asymmetric threats: terrorism and CBRNE threats that might directly or indirectly affect the tourism industry and in particular the hotel industry.

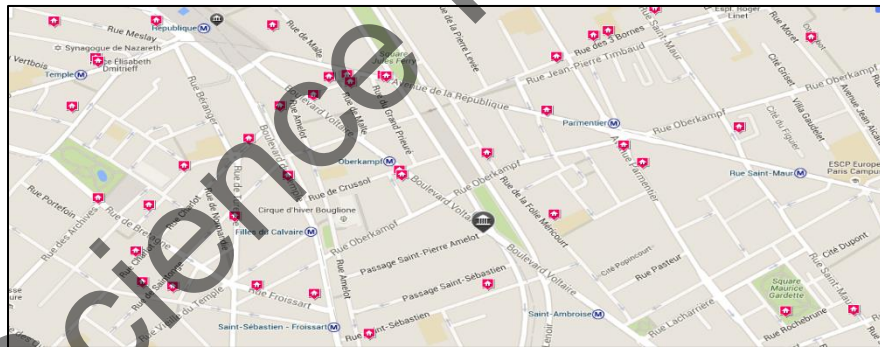
TOURISM CONTRIBUTION TO GLOBAL ECONOMY

In 2014, the travel and tourism industry generated US\$7.6 trillion (10% of global GDP) and 277 million jobs (1 in 11 jobs) for the global economy [18, 19].



2015 Paris multiple terrorist attacks

2008 Mumbai multiple terrorist attacks



Hotels in close proximity to Bataclan Theater, Paris.

Global economic statistics highlight one of the reasons why the tourism industry is attractive for terrorism attacks. The November 13, 2015 multiple terrorist attacks in Paris, France is (or might be) an interesting case report to study the effects of terrorism on tourism. It is also of interest to note that despite the fact that it was a “copy and paste” modus operandi of the 2008 Mumbai multiple terrorist attacks, no luxury hotels were included on their list

of targets. Will French tourism industry be negatively affected, to what degree, and for how long? [20] Same applies for the most recent (January 12, 2016) terrorist attack in Istanbul, Turkey (at the most touristic historic Sultanahmet Square) and its effects on Turkish economy [21].

HOTELS AS LANDMARKS

Hotels can be (historic) landmarks themselves (e.g., Hotel Del Coronado, Coronado, California) or can be located in close proximity to landmarks (e.g., Hôtel du Louvre, Paris, France) [22]. International hotels have guests from all over the world and are also the choice of foreign diplomats, national delegations, sports teams, celebrities etc. An attack against such a hotel will automatically have direct impact on travelers' countries of origin (e.g., Taj Mahal Palace and Tower, Mumbai, India – 2008) [23].

HOTELS AND TERRORISM

From the perspective of a terrorist organization, tourism may be used to incite political, socioeconomic, cultural or religious resentment as well as being used as a cost effective instrument to deliver a broader message of ideological or political opposition to the established society or to a government [24].

In that respect, Wahab (1996) [25] and Tarlow (2005) [26] agree that tourism is targeted by terrorists because it is seen as outsiders representing a mode of neo-colonialism or a threat to their social norms, traditions and religious convictions.

Second, hotels are symbolic targets of the Western affluence and influence that attract precisely the kind of people terrorists seek to eliminate – foreign diplomats, businesspeople, tourists, and local elites. Luxury hotels and restaurants, night clubs, shopping malls, and public transportation systems, are “soft targets” presenting few obstacles to determined terrorists since they are open to the public with multiple points of ingress and egress that at times have a constant flow of traffic, including hotel guests and visitors, staff, merchants, and delivery people [27]. It is easy to do pre-attack reconnaissance in these locations since they provide floor plans, photos, and panoramic video clips in their websites on the Internet [28].

Third, terrorists have discovered that a successful attack on a 5-star property can yield rewards equivalent to an attack on an embassy [29] or major government building such as was seen in Oklahoma City in 1995. Such an attack can cause scores of casualties, widespread panic, and extensive media attention – all of which are a boon to the terrorist group’s recruitment and cause both great harm to a country’s collective psyche and economic disruption.

A fourth reason for the upsurge in hotel attacks relates to the changing organizational composition of the terrorist groups themselves [27]. Following the US-led coalition intervention in Afghanistan after 9/11, al Qaeda evolved from a highly centralized organization to a much flatter entity (e.g., LeT in Pakistan, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia, Abu Sayyaf Group in the Philippines). These affiliated groups typically lack the resources and training to mount a successful attack on a Western embassy or airline, and so have turned their attention to easier targets – hotels. This change is also evident with Islamic State’s modus operandi that is gradually changing from localized operations in Syria and Iraq to “lone wolves” or cells internationally operating or inspired [30].

Between the years 2001 and 2005 the preferred mode of attack was car bombs driven by a suicide bomber [31] (e.g., 2002 bombings of the Sheraton and Marriott hotels’ in Karachi [2002 or the Hilton Hotel and Casino in Taba, Egypt [2004]).

After 2005 hotels began to harden their perimeter defenses with check points manned by armed guards, blast walls, barricades, hydraulic barriers, etc. As a result terrorists have sought out new and innovative modes of attack (e.g., 2008 Mumbai attacks; 2009 twin suicide attacks on the JW Marriott and Ritz Carlton in Jakarta, carried out by a pair of JI operatives, one of which had checked into the former property as a guest days prior to the attack). Rapid change of modus operandi is a key characteristic of all terrorist groups while state/national responses do not equally adapt to new demands.

Should hotels far away from the front lines of the War on Terror – i.e., in Seattle or Stockholm – require the same heightened level of security as those in Kabul or Karachi? In 2009 Brian Jenkins stated that: “fewer than 500 hotel guests worldwide have been killed by terrorists over the past 40 years, out of a total global hotel guest population at any time of nearly 10 million.” [32] Despite a series of terrorist incidents, since 9/11, terrorists have killed about the same number of people in the United States as those who have drowned in bathtubs [3].

Although Jenkins is highly respected as terrorism expert and statistics support his statement, his conclusions greatly support the “it will not happen to us” mindset. A general rule of tourism based on the *Thomas theorem* is that perceptions may not be true but their consequences are always true [34]. Statistics might greatly bias planning unless they are examined separately as “worst case” scenarios requiring specific responses. Although this is pure logic, anthropocentric planning is what is missing in most planners and their plans – especially those related to CBRNE threats.

In tourism, the direct cost of counter-terrorism measures can be high. There are also a number of indirect costs ranging from cancellations during building modification to loss of revenues due to some sort of misperception. The cost of security equipment is not, however, the most important barrier preventing security upgrade. A common denominator is also the lack of planning and then adherence to security planning, and the mistaken belief that security hurts the hotel’s bottom line. There is also the problem of over or too much familiarity. For example, after one or two days in a given hotel, security people tend not to properly check people “they are familiar with”. This state of becoming lax due to assumed familiarity then becomes a major mistake since it is exactly what terrorists will take advantage of during the reconnaissance and assault phases of preparation.

The human factor is the most important element in hotel security and should be addressed and incorporated as widely as possible. Without it no technological plan is effective and applicable.

The following case reveals that technology and realistic planning are not always the perfect solution to ward off a terrorist attack. In September 2008 the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad (“the world’s most protected hotel”) with formidable antiterrorism systems in place (60 security officers on duty; four bomb sniffing dogs; 62 security cameras monitored by three security officers; under-vehicle cameras; walk-through metal detectors to screen everyone entering the building; entrance gate with Delta Barrier (drop-down and hydraulic barrier) – manned by shotgun-armed security officers; hotel was 132 feet from the vehicle inspection point) experienced a suicide truck bombing. Notwithstanding these measures, 56 people died and 270 were injured. The blast from the powerful 1,320 pound bomb ripped a 25 foot deep by 60 foot wide crater in front of the hotel, destroyed most of the upper floor rooms of the property, and ignited a blaze that burned for two days. Had the bomber achieved his goal of ramming the explosives-laden truck into the hotel lobby, the casualty count may have topped one thousand [36]. This incident partially answer the question posed since the first step in meeting the evolving terrorist

threat, is acknowledging that even the most robust countermeasures may not defeat an attack.

Beyond costs, some executives worry that the presence of visible security measures may undermine the welcoming ambiance that luxury hotels work hard to cultivate and drive away guests [35]. In this new world of terrorism, is the desire to maintain this level of “ambiance” a luxury of the past? Most probably international guests will now favor a promotion stating: “*5 star hospitality; 5 star security*”.

It is no secret that hospitality industry executives, like those in other sectors, have traditionally viewed security investments as a cost that does not add to the bottom line. Nonetheless, there appears to be growing recognition amongst hospitality executives that securing hotels against terrorism can also bring financial benefits. Surveys indicate that guests rank security at the top of their list of priorities when choosing destinations, and are willing to pay a premium for it! [35]

Few hotels currently call attention to the security features of their hotels let alone market them; this may change in the future – especially if attacks continue to increase in scope and intensity. According to Meyers “people visiting (high risk) environments aren’t looking for the softest beds now, or the best meeting space; they’re looking for the best security. If you invest in security, you’ll get the customers” [35].

HOTELS’ ARCHITECTURAL TRENDS

One of the biggest challenges hotel operators face in shielding their guests from possible terrorist attacks is that many existing properties were built with aesthetics, convenience, and cost uppermost in mind – not safety from suicide bombers and urban guerrillas. As such they often have built-in features that make them vulnerable to Mumbai-style assaults including long hallways, spiral staircases, and towering atriums. They may also be situated close to busy streets, giving terrorists easy access, or within close proximity to embassies or government buildings, leaving them vulnerable to collateral damage from attacks directed elsewhere.

With many hotels allocating more of their budgets for technology, it is important to gauge interest from travelers before determining which types of technology to implement [37]. In that respect, should they allocate money for modern technologies or for modern security shielding? And if they cannot have both, what is the best mixture to provide both security and economic

viability? Modern technology comes together with cyber threats of various levels and magnitude that might lead to serious security threats (i.e., if combined with conventional or asymmetric threats). It is a hard choice but logic dictates that less fancy technology and a bit more down to earth security will keep the hotel in one piece in the long run.

HOTELS' VULNERABILITIES

Since terrorists may seek employment at hotels as a cover for conducting surveillance, it is important to conduct rigorous background checks of job candidates to weed out those with criminal records and questionable past associations, although, it is often impossible to determine whether a candidate covertly subscribes to a violent political ideology. In fact terrorist attacks in early 2016 have shown that even close friends and neighbors may not know when a person has chosen to be part of a radical ideology. Background checks may work for certain crimes (e.g., pedophiles, sexual assaults) but not for terrorism since in the majority of cases, those arrested did not have a criminal record. Many were not even known to security agencies for radicalization tendency. A single investigation is not a panacea. As such, hotel security professionals should periodically check all employees using different approaches of gathering intelligence information [38, 39].

Guests are welcomed but at the same time they might be the core of the problem (e.g., terrorists presented as guests at Oberoi Hotel, Mumbai, India). It is very important to keep guests under control and follow certain covert intelligence techniques that will provide valuable information.

Hotels' support services represent another security issue since they have almost daily access to certain parts of the hotel that are usually lacking security presence. Support personnel should also undergo background checks either from their companies or the hotel itself (or both). Familiarity of support personnel with people working in the hotel might lead to disclosure of inside information that might be helpful to those planning an attack. The best methodology to deal with this issue is via proper education and periodic checks on who is entering your premises.

HOTELS' SECURITY

Hotels' security has two components: indoors and outdoors. The latter is more important since if terrorists penetrate the perimeter then few things can be done whether it is a VBIED or an armed group attack. Outdoors security also has two components: human security and technological security. If there is no appropriate hard perimeter fence and a main gate equipped with all the technological goods, then entrance points are greatly multiplied and intrusion becomes easy. Special attention should be given to hotels and resorts built directly along the seashore. It should be noted that intrusion by sea is less difficult especially at night – not to mention that modern weaponry can be operated from a small speed boat (e.g., RPGs). Sci-fi scenario? Good! Include it in your planning process.

A physical security plan should include enough open space with high visibility between the perimeter and the main building [40]. This concept is applicable to resorts; but it is not always possible for urban hotels. In the urban setting security specialists must think of ways to increase the hotel's "buffering" distance. If this is not possible, defensive measures that will delay intrusion once gunmen are inside the hotel (i.e., electronic doors leading to stairs and elevators) should be considered.

Special attention should be given to external air-conditioning units and emergency power generators. Usually they are not caged (especially smaller units) or in many instances the doors are unlocked. These structures are usually located in the backside of the hotel or in some other out of sight place. Often these units lack sufficient coverage from existing surveillance equipment. On January 16, 2004, about 300 patrons were evacuated from a hotel in Melbourne, Australia, after a noxious substance, possibly mace or pepper spray, was put in the heating, ventilating, and air-conditioning system. Only a few of the hotel patrons required hospital treatment [41]. What would have occurred if it had been a chemical warfare agent instead of pepper spray?

Hotels need to focus attention on measures that discourage such attacks in the first place, and involve "target hardening" as well. One of the best and inexpensive ways to harden a target, is to limit public disclosure of nonessential information [28].

Dispatching both plainclothes security officers and uniformed "greeters" to lobby areas to discreetly look for individuals casing buildings or taking suspicious photographs of entrances or security cameras is another measure. This "human fence" is of outmost importance and with certain training might

be extremely valuable in countering the reconnaissance phase always employed by terrorists.

This solution is applicable to all major targets but only very few enforce it pre-emptively. For example, the RPG attack against US Embassy in Athens, Greece could have been prevented if such a human fence had been in place as the attack was performed from a road opposite the highly guarded Embassy. On the other hand, The Mall of America (in Bloomington, MN – visited by 40 million people annually; spans 4.2 mil square feet) has already been using the above-mentioned procedure (behavior profiling executed by human screeners) under the consultation of Israeli experts implementing Ben Gurion International Airport's procedures [42].

Training employees to develop a heightened sense of awareness of the types of circumstances that could represent a threat to hotel guests and property – and immediately report them to security personnel – is another counter-terrorism imperative. One such security awareness campaign is the “*See Something? Say Something!*” posters [43] that are hung in non-public areas of hotels or the “*Back of the House*” poster [44] that encourages food service and maintenance crews to be watchful for individuals photographing the property's service entrances, as well as for tampered locks and unattended packages. “*Guest Room and Guest Floor*” poster instructs housekeeping staff to report the presence of weapons, hotel diagrams, and other suspicious items found in guest rooms [35]. Marriott Hotels use the Marriott's Threat Warning System that categorizes each facility to one of three threat conditions: “blue”, “yellow”, or “red” - these procedures are ensured by twice-yearly unscheduled visits from third party auditors and general managers found to be in non-compliance are subject to harsh disciplinary action [35].

Perhaps the most important step in countering the terrorist threat, involves forging closer ties with stakeholders in both government and private sector [45]. General Managers should provide authorities (local police; first responders) with detailed photos and floor plans along with contact information for key executives (names; mobiles; emails; Skype etc.). Familiarization drills will seal this collaboration, create relationships between the responders and identify each other's strengths and weaknesses. It is essential that hotels conduct these types of exercises regularly.

Some private security consultants advise their clients traveling to the Middle East and Southeast Asia to avoid Western five-star brands in favor of smaller, locally owned properties [46]. Stratfor think-tank, advised travelers to “*avoid large chain hotels dominated by Western clientele*”; instead it suggests smaller less conspicuous boutique hotels [47]. This notion that Western brands

should be avoided is not universally-endorsed. Bruce McIndoe, President of Annapolis, Maryland-based iJET Intelligent Systems, emphasizes that: “Overall, it’s best to stay in four or five star hotels, which cater to VIPs that demand higher security precautions” [46].

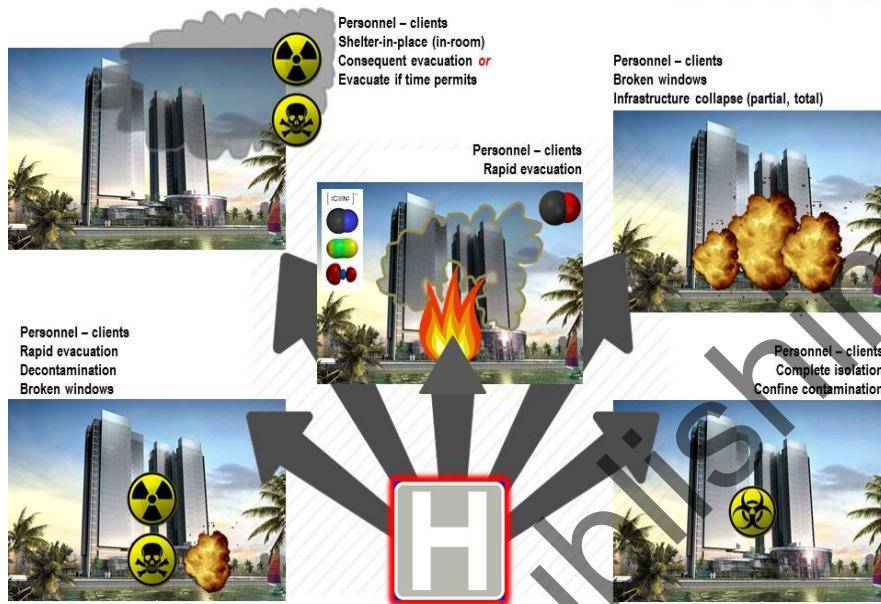
Half of 134 international business travel managers polled by the Association of Corporate Travel Executives (ACTE) said that, depending on the region they would be “reevaluating” hotel programs “with greater emphasis on guest security in the immediate future.” Another 29% said they would reevaluate regardless of region while 22% said they would not reconsider. Some travel managers seem to be cracking down on the hotels within their programs that do not have such security standards. Of those surveyed by ACTE, 14% said they would curtail travel to hotels that do not meet security requirements and 12% said they are already doing this, although 62% said it was “too soon to tell” and 11% said their companies would not avoid hotels that “cannot or will not meet” requirements [48].

Business travel managers inquire terrorism-related issues before recommending specific properties, such as: whether blueprints have been provided to security officials; whether secondary communication systems exist for guests trapped inside rooms in the event of an attack; whether hotel staff have been trained in evacuation techniques; and what surveillance systems are in place to assist authorities in the event of an incident [46].

CBRNE THREATS IN HOTEL ENVIRONMENT

Like explosive threats, CBRNe threats (table below) may be delivered externally or internally.

Chemical (C)	Biological (B)	Radiological (R)	Nuclear (N)	Explosives (E)
Nerve agents Pulmonary agents Hemotoxic agents Vesicants Riot control agents Toxic Industrial Chemicals (TICs)	Pathogens: Category A Category B Category C Toxins	Radiological dispersing devices (RDDs) Radiological emitting devices (REDs)	Nuclear weapons Improvised nuclear devices (INDs)	Improvised explosive devices (IEDs)



CBRNE SCENARIOS AFFECTING HOTELS

There are three potential methods of attacks in terms of CBRE: (1) A large external release originating some distance away from the building (includes delivery by aircraft); (2) A small localized external release at an air intake or other opening in the exterior envelope of the building; and (3) A small internal release in a publicly accessible area, a major egress route, or other vulnerable area (e.g., elevator lobby, mail room, delivery, receiving and shipping, etc.). There may not be an official or obvious warning prior to a CBRE event. Effects of CBRE release are directed against infrastructure, personnel and guests. Certain scenarios in which a hotel might be involved are presented below.

(1) Chemical Scenario

Let us assume that: an industrial accident happens in proximity to a big hotel. The contaminated plume, accelerated by wind, heads towards the hotel. There is no time to evacuate the hotel. What can be done? The only solution

would be to shelter-in-place and then to evacuate as soon as the plume overruns the hotel. Such a shelter in place is extremely difficult to execute unless there is a plan and certain inexpensive means of sealing doors and windows of designated areas big enough to host large numbers of guests.

Specialists have not come to a specific conclusion regarding the question of sheltering locations (top floors vs. ground level). Part of this debate derives from the type of substance against which people should be protected from. Chemical warfare agents, such as nerve agents and certain industrial gasses (i.e., chlorine; phosgene; ammonia), are heavier than air. This means that the cloud moves very close to ground (occupying low-lying areas such as basements) making the selection of top floors a better choice. Apart from the means for sealing doors and windows, switching off central heating/cooling system is equally important. The questions that security specialists need to ask are: “Does our hotel have these materials readily available today?” Can this problem happen to our hotel?

Two examples answer the second question: On October 16, 2012 an emergency alert was issued in the north German town of Bad Fallingb., after a chemical leak at Kraft food factory. Employees accidentally poured acid into a tank containing sodium hydroxide solution, causing a chemical reaction that created nitrous gases that are considered dangerous if they come into contact with the human body. More than 1,400 people had to be evacuated from the area [49]. On February 12, 2015 residents of five towns in Catalonia, Spain, were warned to stay indoors after a chemical explosion at a warehouse in Igualada town spread a massive orange toxic cloud. The blast occurred when products being delivered mixed, exploded and set a truck on fire. The chemicals were nitric acid and ferric chloride (exposure to nitric acid vapor can cause problems if it is inhaled, swallowed or comes into contact with the eyes or skin; higher doses can cause severe burns while prolonged exposure can eventually lead to lung damage) [50].

CWAs are not expected to be individually used against hotels. They are saved for targets with higher population density (i.e., subway systems or mega sports’ events). If they are used, then the combination of evacuation and decontamination is a one-way approach. But it might take some time until state’s first responders arrive at the incident’s site.

This is when hotel emergency plan should initiate improvised decontamination stations (i.e., by activation of indoors fire sprinkler system or create “water curtains” by using fire hoses at ground level [exits] in combination with clothing removal) and gather guests in pre-defined assembly areas until the first crews arrive. This is a very complex scenario requiring

careful planning that takes into consideration apart from the decontamination process, certain cultural peculiarities and expected language barriers.

In the security/defense market that are many additional solutions (i.e., Expandable Cabinet Shelter® that when closed looks just like a cupboard and can be expanded within 8 seconds or Noah's Ark® Bubble that provides in addition to radioactive fallout, protection against all current known chemical, biological and toxic substances and is intended for use in buildings/flats which do not have specifically protected areas or shelters) that hotels might consider as well.

(2) Radiological Scenario

In the hypothetical case of a dirty bomb being detonated in the center of a major city, the question is: What can be done? This is an even more complex scenario mainly because a part the radio-contaminated plume generated after the explosion, both structures and people will face pressure and fallout detonation effects as well. Explosion effects' might not be as devastating as that of a nuclear weapon but it will cause physical effects (burns of various degrees depending on distance; vomiting, bleeding etc.) and extreme panic and fear. Of critical importance is the distance of the hotel from the incident site that defines the decision to evacuate or not. If the latter is not possible, then sheltering in place (rooms; collectively) is the only alternative until the cloud goes over the hotel with special emphasis on respiratory protection (improvised means such a wet towel covering the face or more effective means such as escape hoods).

(3) Bombing/Arson Scenario

A conventional bombing can happen both indoors and outdoors (i.e., VBIED) and is expected to be accompanied by a secondary fire (arson can also be a standalone malicious act) and a second delayed explosion (aiming first responders). Two parameters are important in such a scenario: (1) broken glasses; and (2) carbon monoxide.

Modern hotels have extensive glass surfaces (functional and decorative). Flying glass shards may cause more than 90% of injuries following an explosion. There are solutions for securing glass surfaces that might be proven valuable in a bombing incident (e.g., blast curtain systems or bomb blast

mitigation films). Special blast films provide protection for people and property in the event of a bomb blast or chemical explosion; minimize the risk of personal injury from broken glass; ensure rapid recovery of business; and can be combined with edge retention systems for increased protection.

Carbon monoxide (CO - a colorless, odorless, tasteless, poisonous gas produced by incomplete burning of carbon-based fuels, including gas, oil, wood and coal) shares some common clinical signs and symptoms with blood agent (chemical asphyxiate) cyanide (CN). Escape hoods cover exposure to CWAs and smoke and provide an escape time of approximately 30 minutes [51]. Another product is the “evacuation cape” that is flame and chemicals’ resistant weighting [52].

Antidotes for CWAs? Many people argue that it would be too much to maintain a small stockpile of antidotes against nerve agents (preferably auto-injectable – i.e., DuoDote™) and cyanide (i.e., CyanoKit™) at hotel’s premises. On the other hand, 5-, 6- or 7-star hotels may desire to stockpile them as an added “luxury” for their VIP’s suites that often host royalties, presidencies or high level foreign delegations.

(4) Bioterrorism Scenario

Let us suppose that an international guest in a major hotel is seeking medical assistant because he or she is not feeling well. The physician who visits the patient in his room reports that there are blood vomits all over the room and the patient is in very serious condition. This scenario might look simplistic but in reality it is a highly complicated, and a complex analysis must be made from the moment the hypothetical guest has left his home to his present location. One can imagine all the people with whom the imaginary guest has come into contact: taxis, busses, airports, shops, WCs, airport personnel, co-travelers during the flight to the destination, hotel personnel, international guests, restaurants, bars, launches – just to name a few, along with the effort to identify the specific patient via international cooperation. There are protocols to be followed, and the unknown factor: is the physician able to diagnose the patient correctly? When it comes to the effects of CBRN agents on the human body, existing medical knowledge provided by accredited universities is not enough to alert an average hotel physician. In that respect, along with training of hotel’s staff it would be wise to include related training for external medical back up. This additional training might contain the problem and help minimize the effects of an infectious disease within hotel’s

premises. The hotel industry can also apply pressure to government authorities to include “CBRNE Medicine” into the curricula of universities medical and nursing schools. It is wise to invest in future front-line health professionals knowing that this investment may someday be not only save lives but also a hotel’s reputation.

Food Chain Bio-Terrorism

In 1984, The United States experienced the Rajneeshee bioterror attack characterized by the food poisoning of 751 individuals in The Dalles, Oregon, US, through the deliberate contamination of salad bars at ten local restaurants with salmonella causing the hospitalization of 45 people in an effort to incapacitate the voting population of the city so that their own candidates would win. The incident was the first and single largest bioterrorist attack in United States history and one of two confirmed terrorist uses of biological weapons to harm humans since 1945 [53].

Many luxury hotels have award-winning restaurants. Culinary excellence will not prevent them from becoming means of massive food poisoning (the other face of food bioterrorism). In March 2013 the globally-renowned two-Michelin star Danish restaurant Noma in Copenhagen was involved in such an incident that led 67 out of 78 guests into hospital [54]. The norovirus infection identified is primarily transmitted through poor hygiene, infected staff or food contaminated by fecal matter.

Cruisers’ Poisoning

Luxury cruisers (“floating hotels”) have also experienced occasional-scale food poisonings. In 2015, Royal Caribbean International’s “Legend of the Seas” reported that 114 passengers (6.53% of the 1,763 onboard) and two crewmembers reported suffering from vomiting and diarrhea during the March 30-April 14 voyage, according to the Vessel Sanitation Program (VSP) operated by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). The cause of the outbreak was listed as unknown, although the symptoms were indicative of norovirus. During the same period, Celebrity Cruises’ “Celebrity Infinity” returned to port on April 13 after 106 passengers (5% of the 2,117 onboard) and six crew members reported gastrointestinal symptoms [55]. In January 2014, a 10-day Royal Caribbean cruise ship (“Explorer of the Seas”) returned two days early after an outbreak of gastrointestinal illness. According to the CDC, 577 of the 3,050 passengers and 49 of 1,165 crew members reported being ill – again symptoms were consistent with norovirus infection [56].

Water Contamination

Apart from food, contamination of water supplies may be subject to contamination. However a successful attack with aerosolized toxins or biological agents is unlikely due to water dilution in a reservoir or lake. The results would be nontoxic exposure as water treatment (chlorination, filtration) methods are effective against viruses, bacteria and most of protozoa. But there is a risk when contamination is directed against near end-user such as a hotel. Some bio-threat agents survive chlorination (i.e., anthrax spores are stable in water for two years and spores are chlorine resistant [57]; ricin toxin is resistant to chlorination at 10ppm [58]).

HOTEL CBRNE DESIGN VS. HOTEL HARDENING

Two questions need to be addressed: (1) Does the cost justifies the investment? (2) Who is going to do the hardening? Luxury hotels are “mega” hotels able to host hundreds or even thousands of guests. These hotels are huge investments and owners hope to offset the cost by attracting high profile guests. Such a hotel might face tremendous losses if involved in an asymmetric terrorist attack (chemical/radiological). Hardening is more expensive than designing a CBRN proof infrastructure not to mention functionality and effectiveness.

IS THE CBRNE THREAT REAL? [59]

From the day it emerged the Islamic State has shown no moral constraints regarding human life. So far its members have used chlorine gas in Iraq roadside bombs; they have seized a chemical weapons’ depot near Bagdad and nearly 40Kg of uranium compounds that were kept at Mosul University. There is a growing belief worldwide that the Islamic State militant group is making and using crude chemical weapons (mustard) in Iraq and Syria. Additional information warns that universities in ISIS-controlled territory are giving terrorism lectures to British jihadists, who may return to UK soil to carry out their attacks. Trainee terrorists are attending organic chemistry and toxicology seminars in Mosul University in northern Iraq, which was closed in 2014 after the region was taken over by ISIS but re-opened soon after with new buildings and jihadi-approved courses. The return of Western jihadists to their home

countries makes the threat real and the possibility of the CBRNe threat becoming a reality ever more likely.

CONCLUSION AND PROPOSALS

In the past, hotels and other soft targets have tended to adopt a “bunker mentality” when faced with a rising terrorist threat. While protecting the perimeter continues to be a key imperative, the latest round of suicide and guerrilla-style attacks throughout the Middle East, Asia and Africa suggest that it is no longer sufficient, as resourceful terrorists will often find ways to penetrate even the most robust defenses. Luxury hotels – particularly if located in high threat locations – need to adopt a new mindset.

Many experts believe that international hotels need to begin operating on the principle that terrorist attacks against their facilities are “inevitable” and take action to build resiliency. This involves embedding security into everything from architectural designs to hiring practices, while developing intelligent systems to thwart hostile surveillance, and crafting more effective emergency response plans that involve close government/private sector collaboration.

Adopting such an approach, will be neither easy nor cheap and is likely to be resisted by general managers who believe that luxury properties should focus exclusively on maximizing guest comfort and convenience and pursuing profits.

Nevertheless, unless there is a “paradigm shift” in the way hotels around the world conceive of and manage this new and rapidly evolving threat, the lives of their guests and employees, their reputations, and indeed their long-term economic viability will be at risk.

The multiple recent terrorist attacks in diverse places such as London, England; Istanbul, Turkey; San Bernardino, California; Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt, and Tel Aviv, Israel along with the major tourism threats in places such as Ankara, Brussels, Munich and New York, ought to be a warning to the tourism industry that it is entering into a new and dangerous age.

Based on the above facts, there are certain things that tourism professionals can do to be prepared:

- Tourism professionals need to obtain their news from various sources;
- Establish a tourism-terrorism task force in place;

- Create new ways for people to provide insights and information without appearing to be bigoted;
- Invest in law enforcement and private security professionals;
- Do not create a false sense of security;
- Get over denial, acts of terrorism can happen in any community;
- Send representatives to tourism security conferences – knowledge and updating is power!
- Bring hotel industry, civil engineers, architects and CBRNe experts together in order to find best solutions for future asymmetric-proof hotels;
- Remember that the best crisis management is good risk management!

Finally, consider the unthinkable and prepare for the worst case scenario: direct/indirect involvement of your hotel in a chemical or radiological terrorist attack. Global intelligence repeatedly warned (especially after November 13, 2015 attacks in Paris), that the Islamic State have chemical and radiological terrorism capabilities. Are we prepared to deal with the consequences affecting staffs, guests and the future in the tourism industry?

A FINAL WORD

On January 15, 2016, al Qaeda jihadists murdered 28 people (from 18 different countries) and injured at least 56 after attacking the Cappuccino restaurant and the luxury Splendid Hotel (a popular meeting place for Western diplomats) in Burkina Faso's capital, Ouagadougou, West Africa. Security forces stormed the hotel, freed 176 hostages and killed three of the gunmen. Local al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) branch Al-Mourabitoun have claimed responsibility for the attack. Fourth terrorist was killed at the nearby Yibi Hotel [60].

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Brigadier General (ret'd) Ioannis Galatas, MD, MA, MC (Army), is a retired military physician with 35 years of military industry experience (Army Medical Corps). He is specialized in Allergy and Clinical Immunology (Board certified) and for more than two decades he served as Head of the Department of Allergy and Clinical Immunology at Army General Hospital of Athens, Greece. Since 2001 he has been involved in CBRNE operations as planner and instructor trained (including live agent training) in a number of countries abroad. His main passion focus on “Hospitals’ CBRN Defense and Preparedness in Megapolis Environment”, “CBRNE Design/Hardening of Critical Infrastructure” [airports, shopping malls, hotels, etc.] and “CBRN

Forensics and Management of Contaminated Corps”. During the 2004 Athens’ Olympic Games, he served as Commandant of the Olympic Hospital CBRN Response Unit – the only hospital-based specialized unit (70 people) deployed for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. He holds a MSc. degree (with merits) on “International Terrorism, Organized Crime and Global Security” from Coventry University, UK (2010) and he is a PhD candidate (Athens Medical School/Dept. of Forensics and Toxicology). His last appointment (as of August 2010), was as Head of the Department of Asymmetric Threats at the Intelligence Analysis Branch, Joint Military Intelligence Service of the Hellenic National Defense General Staff in Athens. After retirement he conducted CBRNE classes for Abu Dhabi Police Authority and continues to participate as invited speaker in many CBRNE/security conferences, congresses and workshops around the globe. Currently he is the Editor-in-Chief of the monthly on-line “CBRNE Terrorism Newsletter” (www.cbrne-terrorism-newsletter.com) initiated in November 2005 and delivered freely to CBRNE-CT First Responders of more than 80 countries worldwide. He is also a CBRNE Research Associate at “Center for Security Studies” (KEMEA), Athens, Greece (under the Ministry of Public Order and Civil Protection) and a Research Associate at “National Nuclear Research Center Democritus”. As of January 2015, he is member of the Didactical Board of University of Rome “Tor Vergata” delivering classes at “International CBRNe Masters” programs (Levels 1 and 2).

Dr. Peter E. Tarlow, PhD, is a world-renowned speaker and expert specializing in the impact of crime and terrorism on the tourism industry, event and tourism risk management, and economic development.

Tarlow earned his Ph.D. in sociology from Texas A&M University. He also holds degrees in history, in Spanish and Hebrew literatures, and in psychotherapy. In 1996, Tarlow became Hoover Dam’s consultant for tourism development and security. In 2000, due to interagency cooperation on the part of the Bureau of Reclamation, Tarlow helped to prepare security and FBI agents for the Salt Lake City 2002 Winter Olympic Games. He also lectured for the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games. Tarlow is currently working with police departments of the state of Rio de Janeiro for the 2014 World Cup Games and 2016 Olympic Games. In 2013 Tarlow was named the Special Envoy for the Chancellor of the Texas A&M University System. At almost the same time the US State Department asked him to lecture around the world on issues of tourism security and safety. In 2013, Tarlow began working with the Dominican Republic’s national tourism police (CESTUR). Since 1992, Tarlow

has been the chief organizer of multiple tourism conferences around the world, including the International Tourism Safety Conference in Las Vegas. Tarlow is a well-known author in the field of tourism security as well. He is a contributing author to multiple books on tourism security, and has published numerous academic and applied research articles regarding issues of security including articles published in *The Futurist*, the *Journal of Travel Research and Security Management*. In 1999 Tarlow co-edited “War, Terrorism, and Tourism.” a special edition of the *Journal of Travel Research*. In 2002 Tarlow published *Event Risk Management and Safety* (John Wiley and Sons). Tarlow also writes and speaks for major organizations such as the Organization of US State Dams, and The International Association of Event Managers. In 2011, Tarlow published: *Twenty Years of Tourism Tidbits: The Book*. The Spanish language addition is to be released in 2012. He has recently published a book on Cruise Safety (written in Portuguese) entitled *Abordagem Multidisciplinar dos Cruzeiros Turísticos*. In June of 2014, Elsevier published Tarlow’s newest book: *Tourism Security: Strategies for Effective Managing Travel Risk and Safety*. Tarlow is a member of the Distance Learning Faculty of “The George Washington University” (Washington, DC.); an adjunct faculty member of Colorado State University and the Justice Institute of British Columbia (Vancouver, Canada); member of the graduate faculty of Guelph University in Ontario, Canada; honorary professor at the Universidad de Especialidades Turísticas (Quito, Ecuador), of the Universidad de la Policía Federal (Buenos Aires, Argentina), la Universidad de Huánuco, Peru, and on the EDIT faculty at the University of Hawaii in Manoa, (O’ahu). Tarlow is a founder and president of Tourism and More Inc. (T&M). He is a past president of the Texas Chapter of the Travel and Tourism Research Association (TTRA). Tarlow is also a member of the International Editorial Boards of “Turizam” published in Zagreb, Croatia, “Anatolia: International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research,” published in Turkey, and “Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo,” published in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and American Journal of Tourism Research.

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Chapter 3

HOW TERRORISM HAS AFFECTED ME

*Christopher Bach**

Northeastern University US, Boston, MA, US

ABSTRACT

This chapter centers on my own experience in Afghanistan which was a project started through March 2016. When I returned home, I became obsessed with the history of this country. The current situation, from what I conclude, can be contributed to the Soviet invasion in 1979. Since then, the country has been largely seen as property of other nations, vying for power in Asia. I still support the 2001 invasion and much of the mission today, but now I realize there wasn't a reconciliation focus for Taliban members—restorative justice. This may have ended the occupation faster and made the citizens more competent to govern themselves. In fact, I see the same type of scenario in Iraq and Syria—in America too, for that matter. The land was largely invaded for legitimate purposes by US and allied Forces, and after years of illegitimate fighting, left a vacuum very similar to the territory in the Levant. The point is that without taking direct presence in civil war in Iraq, IS would never exist, a point which very well needs to be discussed.

Keywords: risk, terrorism, Afghanistan, War on Terror, illegitimate fighting

* Christopher Bach e-mail: Bach.c@husky.neu.edu.

INTRODUCTION

I started writing this on 9 March 2016, the six-year anniversary of a suicide bombing on the combat outpost (COP) my platoon and I operated from in Eastern Afghanistan. Our platoon, in the 187th Infantry Regiment, lost two soldiers that night. I remember receiving the news from the senior Radio Operator-Maintainer (RTO) that was working the Tactical Operation Center (TOC) that night. He came in without knocking. He told myself and another, that there was a suicide bomber who had just blown himself up. We were watching a funny TV show on my buddy's laptop and he wanted us to know, it wasn't time to fool around, "quit watching that show and be on guard." For us, be on guard meant smoking cigarettes by the fire and waiting for orders. We didn't know what the orders were going to be, but we had to be ready for them. I could see from the fire pit that the TOC had closed its doors. I wanted to be part of the action, more specifically, I wanted to help because my team leader was there. The platoons took turns rotating out to COP Chergotah every week, where the bomber detonated his vest. Sometimes the rotations lasted weeks due to logistical holdups or imminent threats along the route. I can't remember how long the platoon was out there, but it felt like an eternity when I heard the news.

I was responsible enough as a junior enlisted soldier to man the operations back at COP Terezayi for a couple weeks, but I needed my team leader back, or at the very least, I needed to see him, to know that he was alright. I walked towards the TOC and peaked through the crack in the doors and watched as the chain of command sat in motionless awe. There wasn't a lot of chatter coming from Chergotah and I remember the Company Officer (CO) not liking this, asking for details and not getting them. He remained calm, mostly because our First Sergeant (1SG) was calm—he was an excellent Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) who loved to laugh and make friends, but he would ruin you, if you were on his bad side. We called him Indian Larry because of the Native American ancestral tattoos covering his chest and arms. I could see Indian Larry, and the CO, in their physical training (PTs) uniforms, hovering over the radio, glued to the thermal cameras. Slowly but surely, messages came across the radio, providing quick, understandable details of what happened. It was the RTO at Chergotah. He was a young guy from Southern California I had grown to respect. He was younger than me, but when the incoming rounds started to whistle, he acted like Indian Larry; a much older, weathered veteran. My time peeking through the door was cut short when someone inside the TOC came close. I didn't want them catching

me looking inside. This was the most serious moment of my life; but looking back on it, every moment was the most serious of my life. Of course I had to keep my sense of humor, but after several incidents, I learned how to turn the switch from complacency, to full-on alert, at a moment's notice.

I ran back to my bed to check my equipment and make sure I was ready to man a tower. My gear was ready and I stopped for a moment, caught in a brief catatonic thought. I was finally by myself, the thought of possibly losing my team leader was finally hitting me. Until then, I was caught up in the pitch-black chaos around the COP. I could hear soldiers running in the rocks outside my plywood dwelling and yelling orders for increased security. No one was allowed to sit around; everyone had to pull security, or do something helpful. I grabbed my rifle and made my way to the TOC. I pulled the doors open and a few turned back to look. I was told to leave; only necessary personnel were allowed in. I left, not knowing what had happened to my team leader or to my fellow comrades.

Later on, I found out that two soldiers died, fortunate considering the circumstances. It's painful calling the situation fortunate—so painful—but we're lucky more soldiers hadn't perished that night.

Chergotah was a joint operations outpost, meaning we shared it with the Afghan Border Patrol (ABP). They were a rough group of individuals who ran rotations similar to us. The outpost they rotated out of was a few kilometers east, on the Pakistan border. They were attacked daily by the Taliban and Haqqani Network from across the border in the lawless territory of North Waziristan, in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The constant attacks against them made them weary and tired. They often sat around smoking hashish and cigarettes at Chergotah with us, occasionally enjoying the American culture, but mostly, keeping to themselves. A large portion of our mission was to support them in their operations; in reality, we lead *all* the patrols, did *all* the Key Leadership Engagements (KLEs) with the villagers and such. We didn't expect much from them. They were free to walk around the compound. They didn't have their own, it was shared; it was a symbol of an alliance. That night, when I heard the news, I found out the suicide bomber was wearing an ABP uniform. He walked up to our soldiers and blew himself up. For the remainder of the deployment, not one of us trusted them.

There were reports stating it happened at the fire pit. A bunch of our soldiers were sitting around, playing cards, and smoking cigarettes. He walked up and detonated his vest filled with steel ball bearings. However, these reports came out several weeks later from unidentified, unvetted sources looking for payouts. It was comical how intelligence worked. American

handlers had built a culture of quid pro quo with their sources, and most of the information was weak, if not completely false.

My team leader survived that night, but was never the same man. For the next few months he was different; he never slept so much in his life. He's the one that objected the initial intelligence reports, and instilled in me, the importance of intelligence. Not only was it a personal matter for him, he was an intelligence guy through and through. He was first brought up in the Signal Intelligence (SIGINT) discipline. Later, through his deployment in Iraq, he was tasked as a security detail, which exposed him to Human Intelligence (HUMINT). He decided to give HUMINT a shot and went through the schoolhouse one class before mine. He became my team leader at Fort Campbell, and in the brief time we had before our deployment, he taught me everything I know today. I knew he was serious about intelligence. I couldn't figure out whether he was upset because of the quid pro quo culture or because he was there and knew what happened, but it was a lesson I took to heart.

Given the situation, we could have lost more men that night. It wouldn't be the last time our company had trouble with the ABP. Later, towards the end of my deployment, we received reports claiming one of their officers was responsible for an improvised explosive device (IED) that killed several ABP soldiers. I remember it vividly when they brought them back in the bed of the truck. The ABP also had a compound at Terezayi, however, it was separated from ours by an Afghan National Police (ANP) station and the Terezayi District Center (DC). The DC was a space for politicians to hold meetings and housing for the radio station. The bodies were all neatly tied up in white sheets, blood seeping through. At least two trucks came in with bodies in the beds, perhaps ten ABP soldiers in total. Some of the bodies were severed from their arms and legs and the misplaced weight was awkwardly carried off the trucks. I walked to their compound with some soldiers and we offered any assistance they needed. They refused. A few weeks later reports came in corroborating the initial report, detailing that the ABP intelligence officer, someone who I had always been suspicious of, was responsible for the attack. We thought it would be too costly to wait for more intelligence saying the same thing, so myself, and several armed soldiers, walked over, to detain and interrogate him. I'm not sure how he knew, but when we got there, he became restless and walked to his car. We closed the gate behind us and ordered it to remain closed. The ABP guards were confused and didn't know what to do. Their officers ordered them to open the gate but I told them to keep it closed. His comrades claimed he had to leave for an emergency, but I wasn't buying it. Our soldier must have been intimidated because I heard him release the

safety from his rifle. Several others followed his lead. In front of me, approximately ten meters, an ABP soldier jumped into the gunner seat of his HMMWV to charge the DShK crew-served weapon, and pointed it directly at me. If anything, he was going to be the first one I had to shoot, then I could run the hell out of there with my battle buddies. I began to think, there was no way in hell they would dare massacre a few American soldiers with our company two facilities down the road. Everyone, Americans and Afghanis alike, had their weapons at the low and ready, anticipating the first raised rifle. I told a contractor with us, who was there to help train the ABP, that we needed to get out of there, and we did. They opened the gate. The intelligence officer drove away in a hurry, and we followed suit. I have never had such a powerful weapon pointed at me. I would have surely died instantly, if he chose to push down the butterfly trigger. When we got back, the TOC had been watching on the camera, but they couldn't see over the wall of the compound. The contractor and I explained what happened and the CO decided relations with the ABP had been completely destroyed. We would perform our paternal duties as advisors, but the ABP were not to be trusted.

Corruption in Afghanistan is rampant. Everywhere I turned, either an elected official or military officer, an Afghani, was not to be trusted. We learned that the hard way. We wanted so much to trust them, our mission depended on it. As a HUMINTer, my mission was to find the enemy and eliminate him. I decided then however, that I needed to protect the company and not go on the offensive. In order to do so, I needed to find someone I could trust in the Afghani population. It took some time, but I did. My team leader and I met him every day to talk and develop a rapport. Over time we would develop a professional relationship, different from the quid pro quo relationships other HUMINTers would maintain with their sources. He became a "friend" in the truest form a collector can have with his source, yet, it was understood what we were doing.

My team leader and I were different from the other soldiers. We wore civilian clothes and grew out our beards. My team leader's beard wasn't as beautiful as mine, I must admit, but he tried nonetheless. The beard, I really do believe, helped build rapport with our sources and the thousands of other Afghanis I met. In Afghani culture, a man has a beard, if not, he is considered too young to command respect. In fact, the village elders, as an honorific, in Afghanistan, are called "grey beards." My beard, although having brown and blonde tones throughout, was predominately red, and this was an attractive, much desired color in Afghanistan. Most Afghanis don't naturally have red hair, but some do—we, in so many words, often called them Soviet babies. For

those who didn't, they would dye their beards with henna, to a bright candy red. For an outsider, this was an unnatural shade of red. For me, having a red beard gave me extra brownie points with Afghans.

Our main source, the one I came to trust, wasn't corrupt and his men weren't either. Most of our intelligence came from him and I appreciate everything he did for us. He would treat us as family—the code of Pashtunwali—and we returned the hospitality. He was the first Afghani I met, that I respected. If not for him, my new mission would have been difficult. After the suicide attack, he understood our new paradigm and wanted to help. He had a long history of combating the same groups we were fighting, and felt the same way we did. One thing I didn't like about him, something I had to come to terms with, was his anti-Semitic beliefs. One day, for example, sitting in his office, I rifled through his DVDs and found one that had Adolf Hitler on the cover. I had elementary Pashtu linguistic skills, but I couldn't read the title. He said it was a biography about Hitler. I asked him if he liked Hitler, he was adamant about his admiration. We also talked about 9/11 and I remember him recalling the events very differently. This is when I realized that 9/11 was perceived differently around the world, perhaps, at least in Afghanistan, that the events weren't perceived as insidious as Americans believed.

During our early meetings, I began to know him personally. I met one of my interpreters who had been stationed in the area for a while. He was Pakistani and much older than my team leader and myself, perhaps in his mid-to-late-forties. I really enjoyed his company as well. He was wise and ignorant at the same time. We spent a lot of time with our interpreters, usually debriefing what happened at the meeting. We needed our interpreter's interpretation of the meeting just as much as our own. They picked up on clues like body language or statements made under breath that we wouldn't have picked up on, or understand. Through these debriefings, we became good friends with our interpreters. I trusted what they said. Although hesitant at first, I began to trust this one in particular, after my first patrol to the Ali Sher bazaar.

The bazaar was a few kilometers north of Tereziy. It was the epicenter for life in the surrounding villages. The bazaar was close enough that our platoon could walk, and remain in sight of the camera for most of the patrol; the bazaar itself was mostly under the cover of trees and hillside homes. Immediately south of the bazaar was a turn in the road that wrapped around a garden, fenced off by a three-foot stone wall. As we approached the wall, my interpreter said not to walk too close because there have been bombs in the wall in the past. I kept my distance and informed those behind me. We arrived in the center of the bazaar and an officer told me to go around and introduce

myself. This is what I wanted to do; that is, get out there and “network” with the locals, build rapport. This is what I trained for and it was my first patrol. I spoke to a few men, but I was new, like a virgin, and didn’t know what I was doing. Another interpreter approached me and said, “people won’t talk to you in public; they have information, but are afraid because the Taliban are watching.” I asked a man to join me in an alley, away from the butcher shop porch he was sitting on. He obliged, but he and the other men were suspicious. It wasn’t the sneakiest attempt to elicit information from someone, but I would try anyway. He didn’t give me anything useful and I wondered why? I looked behind me and several people were staring at us. It was going to be hard to get anything.

A bomb went off. The man ran away from me and I was left with my interpreter in an alley. I had a one-man security detail, watching me from the street, but as I looked back, he was running for cover. I ran into a shop with my interpreter, but the owner closed his door in my face. I crouched in the doorway, hiding behind inches of plywood, looking for my platoon but I didn’t see anyone. I told my interpreter we have to find our way back to the platoon. He didn’t hesitate in sarcastically replying that I was the one with the gun. He wasn’t going to lead us anywhere. I held my gun out and quickly scanned the area. Most of the platoon was relatively close, about twenty-five yards away, settled in the garden. The lieutenant was in the middle, on the radio, calling in what happened. The villagers were gone, inside their homes and shops. I hesitated crossing the street, afraid that my movement would attract the attention of the enemy. One of the soldiers, lying prone, saw me and organized cover for me to cross the street. We made it safely across and into the formation.

It was decided that we were going to clear the village. I went with a few soldiers back to where I was taking cover and found a trapdoor inside the establishment. Next to it were several bags of fertilizer; we suspected this was a place worth searching so we went down the stairs. It was pitch-black. The smell surprised me. It smelled like fresh, delicious pastries. Towards the back of the basement, we could see outside light peering in through a slit around a door. One of us pushed the door open, surrounding us, were cookies stacked up like skyscrapers. In the corner, three little children sat, holding each other tightly, in the light of our flashlights and in the line of our barrels. They were terrified. There was nothing down there, except a child labor force baking cookies.

We exited through the basement door into the backyard. It opened to vast, green agriculture, seated beneath hazy mountains—the beautiful part of

Afghanistan—and we cautiously returned to the garden, to meet our patrol. Once in the prone, pulling security, waiting for the remainder of the platoon to return, my interpreter said, “we should be careful sitting here, bombs have been put in these trees before.” I immediately informed the lieutenant and we set up shop outside the garden, on the other side of the wall. I noticed a hole in the wall; my interpreter was right. A bomb was placed in the wall for us and I walked right by it. It could have blown up while I was there. Because every moment is serious, you don’t have much time to dwell on these things. I grabbed the lieutenant again and showed him the hole. We took some quick pictures while the other troops were rendezvousing and we left. We felt extra anxious something else might happen on our short walk home, but nothing did. From the time foreword, I trusted my interpreter.

Trust is the only way to combat terrorism—or rather the insurgency in my situation. We weren’t always good at developing trust with the villages, but we did the best we could. We had to try. There were times we were fed up and felt like killing everyone. Sometimes we found ways to release that anger—whether they were healthy or appropriate, I’m not sure—and then there were times we had no other choice, but to hurt the trust that we had developed. These instances would be lose-lose situations for us. No matter how hard we tried, we were left with no other options.

It was a long, cold, and rainy patrol. We hadn’t prepared for the rain; few of us had dry gear to change into and it began raining shortly into the hike. One of the soldiers twisted his ankle and could barely manage to carry his own weight, let alone the handheld motor tube he was lugging around. Another soldier started to get sick; he was shivering and incoherent, we assumed he was getting hypothermia. He was a big Samoan guy and he could barely carry his own weight as well. The lieutenant decided we needed to find a place to settle down and get dry. We found shelter in an abandoned school—or so we thought. There were books strewn about, and a broken mobile chalkboard lay useless on the floor. Rain was dripping from a hole in the ceiling above us. A few soldiers were propped up to punch a bigger hole in the ceiling for a makeshift chimney. We needed to get warm, so we would have to burn the books. Big Samoa wasn’t getting any better. He lay naked next to the fire, with another naked guy, spooning for body heat. It was comical at first, but when concerns that we were vulnerable, sitting targets arose, our smiles would disappear. Medical evacuation (Medivac) was ruled out in this weather. We had to wait it out, rotating security shifts.

Villagers saw what was happening to their school. They accused us of destroying it. The Taliban also saw what was happening and they convinced

the locals that were evil, psychopathic infidels, with no concern for Afghanistan. I'm fairly confident the Taliban caused the school to become abandoned in the first place, but that was what we were up against—a lose-lose fight against the enemy, at least, most of the time. The Medivac never came, even when the weather cleared. We walked back, including the two soldiers not doing so well. Our actions would not be easily forgiven. The local radio broadcast loved the story. We were not welcome back to that village. The next time we patrolled there, my team leader went. When they left, he said their helicopters were shot at several times. Luckily, nobody was hit.

Thanking God nobody was hit, along with a few cigarettes, seemed to be the mantra that deployment. I found this quite interesting. Not once, did I have a conversation with my comrades about why we were there. I began to question this on my own, however. I had my new mission to protect my company, after all, but to what degree would I go about, doing so? I did some questionable things while I was there. I'm not proud of them. I never hurt or laid a hand on anyone, but I most certainly intimidated and coerced people among other things. Early on in my deployment, after arresting several suspected insurgent members from an air assault mission I designed, I followed the detainees to Forward Operating Base (FOB) Salerno to provide support for the interrogators (I believe the interrogators at Salerno were from a National Guard unit in Florida). I remember one of them vividly. He was an older African-American male that wore a scally cap. He wasn't in the best shape, perhaps because he was constantly interrogating, or perhaps his fitness standards were less strict.

He asked me to help him in the interrogations. I told him I wasn't yet certified in country to do so. I was only allowed to conduct source operations. He assured me I could still help, but I couldn't say anything to the detainee during the interrogation. He wanted me to walk in, interrupt the interrogation with a manila folder filled with papers, open it, look for something, find it, look at the detainee, look back in the folder, and wait for him to ask me if he was the guy. This was my prompt, to stare at the detainee, nod my head, and say it was, aggressively, without taking my eyes off him. I was talking to the detainee, but technically, I was answering the interrogator. I asked him if I could wear sunglasses into the room for a better affect. I suggested that it might intimidate him. He thought it was a good idea, his smile confirmed it.

I waited on the other side of the mirror for my cue. I came in, wearing dark-lensed pilot sunglasses, folder in hand, in a hurry, and slammed the door behind me. The interrogator got up and stood beside me, staring at the detainee while I searched the folder. I acted it out perfectly. I rifled through the papers,

looking for a fake mugshot and landed on a chain-of-custody paper from the office. I looked up in the spirit of a cheap 80s action movie, removed my sunglasses and held my stare. He was scared. I could see it. He began to scratch his arm nervously and shifted around in his chair. He was no more than a few feet from me, but it felt nose to nose. The interrogator asked me if this was the guy and I angrily replied through my teeth that it was. With pleasure, he shook his head and thanked me. I took a step back towards the door without taking my eyes off the detainee, somehow knowing where the handle was behind me, I grabbed it, opened the door, and took my leave.

He liked my performance so much that he asked me to do it again—prop is what he called what I did. We arrested eight persons that operation however, I only assisted in two interrogations. The second was a younger guy, maybe eighteen. This time I sat in a chair, closely positioned at an angle in front of the door, to the left of the detainee, obscuring him from “his escape.” My job was to sit there and look angry. I didn’t say anything. I sat there and stared at him. A few times I acted by shifting in my chair, apparently upset with how the interrogation was going.

During the course of my deployment, I probably did something like this a couple hundred times, in various different settings. I was praised for it. My large stature and keen acting ability landed me a role as Special Forces (SF) general. It was highly discouraged against, impersonating officers, but at the time, elections were taking place and the volunteers for the polls were afraid for their lives—they needed some encouragement. About fifty volunteers, old and young, gathered outside Terezayi and the DC courtyard, pleading for security assistance. We were already stretched thin across both COPs. The Afghan National Army (ANA) was tasked with providing the security, but the volunteers didn’t think they were competent for the job. I put on my Army Combat Uniform (ACU), rolled up my sleeves and tucked in my shirt—as was the SF fashion—and walked out through the gate with an interpreter. I had a guard tower immediately to my left providing cover. To look more like an important figure, I took my team leader’s sidearm. It was only a 9mm Beretta—a standard issue for us—but even that was considered prestigious. In Afghanistan, a pistol is a sign of power. I put my hands up like Richard Nixon, but without the peace sign, and issued an order, demanding the volunteers go to the polls. I told them, “their country needed them.” There was backlash coming from all angles. My main response, something that led me to start questioning our role in the war, was that America won’t always be here; they needed to show other citizens their courage, and with this courage, the Taliban will be defeated. I hadn’t really thought about it like that—what would happen

when we leave? Could the Afghanis police themselves? The only Afghani I knew depended on our strength to patrol the villages.

Afghanis were, in fact, stronger than I had thought. They were persistent and hard-working, but given the circumstances, the recent generations of Afghanis were not allowed to govern themselves; that is, they were set up for political failure. They were a resilient people, but didn't know it; they didn't know how to tap into their social capital. For the better part of thirty years, the country has been struggling with constant invasion and corruption. I didn't know their history at the time, however. Many of the interpreters recalled better times when their grandfathers were prominent pilots in the Afghani Air Force and scholars who had studied in Germany.

When I returned home, I became obsessed with the history of Afghanistan. The current situation, from what I conclude, can be contributed to the Soviet invasion in 1979. Since then, the country has been largely seen as property of other nations, vying for power in Asia. I still support the 2001 invasion and much of the mission today, but now I realize there wasn't a reconciliation focus for Taliban members—restorative justice. This may have ended the occupation faster and made the citizens more competent to govern themselves. In fact, I see the same type of scenario in Iraq and Syria—in America too, for that matter. The land was largely invaded for legitimate purposes by US and allied Forces, and after years of illegitimate fighting, left a vacuum very similar to the territory in the Levant (Transition Needed To Isis).

Some would argue to fix the vacuum we left in the Middle East, a full-on, boots-on-ground invasion may be the only way to defeat the Islamic State (IS), but then again, decapitation campaigns *seem* to be working. I would encourage a dialogue between IS and the world powers; that is, create a reconciliation program—a restorative justice program—allowing IS to have membership in a legitimate government where they can voice their grievances. Of course, many of their laws and beliefs are universally unacceptable, but this is part of the process, finding compromises in order to end war and human rights violations. This is easier said than done, especially since two outside factors are greatly influencing the strength of IS: the Syrian Civil War and political instability and sectarian violence in Iraq.

Without intervening in both the civil war and Iraq's instability, IS will continue to occupy land and IS-inspired lone wolf attacks will continue as well. Additionally, it becomes even more complex because the number of international players involved. For example, Russia will continue to support the Assad regime. Russia views Syria as an opportunity to have a hand in the Middle East, perhaps the same way the United States saw Iraq in the early

2000s, as well as, Israel, for the better part of the 20th century. The Cold War rivalry is literally tearing the world apart. This rivalry needs to be addressed and soon before it escalates to a point where the cascading effects can no longer be contained. Terrorist threats, like crime, will always exist. We have solutions to maintain it, however, we are caught up in an age-old rivalry with other superpowers and it spreads like wildfire. Especially in regions that superpowers invade, to gain power for their Cold War. Many would say that the Cold War is over, I completely disagree with this.

Islamic Jihad-inspired attacks like the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing and 2015 San Bernardino attack will happen again (at the time of writing this the attacks in Brussels occurred). I'm not sure if they will happen more frequently, but as long as IS or any other terrorist group exists, so will that threat. In fact, when IS no longer exists and a new terrorist group emerges, this new group will inspire their own lone wolf attacks. I'm lucky that I live in a democracy, where many have provided solid arguments that fewer terrorist attacks occur, but I still worry.

On Patriot's Day in Boston in 2013, school as usual was observing the holiday (lucky for me again) when the Tsarnaev brothers planted two IEDs on Boylston Street, killing three innocent civilians and injuring over two-hundred. Boylston Street was closed for weeks afterwards, constantly reminding pedestrians of the attack, and fueling their anxieties, especially since the brothers hadn't yet been captured.

The IS is today's al Qaeda; that is, what everyone, nation-state and individual alike, is concerned about. The intelligence reports, as well as, the media claim the San Bernardino attack was inspired by IS. I wasn't in San Bernardino during the attack, but what will most likely affect me, the American society, and the world will be the ensuing encryption battle between the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Apple. The attacker's iPhone was found, and unsuccessfully hacked by the FBI (at the time of this writing, the FBI claimed they had hacked the phone on their own). Apple was ordered to create a program that would unlock it. Apple refused, claiming that this would implement a precedent that would ultimately allow law enforcement to violate the privacy of its users. The FBI's argument is that there is potential intelligence that can be extracted from the phone, further helping them in their mission to protect citizens from terrorism. I'm not sure where to stand on this issue, but it is apparent the American people are divided. For those who support Apple, this is an opportunity to prevent another Patriot Act-like policy. For supporters of the FBI, it would be unpatriotic to withhold such evidence from the investigators. Technology has been becoming more advanced,

exponentially, along with the ability to hack or encrypt messages. This is not an issue that will go away anytime soon and will only become more complex because of terrorism and the divide between citizens.

Terrorism itself divides citizens. There are generally two groups that form after a terrorist attack: one for more intervention and another for less. The events of 9/11 were unique in that it unified Americans for intervention. President Bush utilized this momentum to invade Afghanistan and later Iraq, however, as time tells, Americans predominantly grew tired of military intervention in the Middle East. As the 2016 American presidential election comes to a conclusion, a terrorist attack will tremendously affect the result. Typically in America and in other societies, when civilians are killed in a terrorist attack the electorate shifts to the right, favoring military intervention and revenge over pragmatism. There is evidence of this behavior after the Second Intifada, 9/11, 2004 Madrid train bombings, and many others. For those who follow American politics, the president is an important figure in global politics, directly and indirectly affecting the lives of people from Kabul to Mexico City. Donald Trump, candidate for the Republican Party, has claimed in so many words, Mexicans are thugs and rapists. He has also endorsed human rights violations, stating that we must “go after terrorist’s families” to stop them. This will only exacerbate the problem. In March 2016, Trump also claimed that waterboarding needs to be reinstated. This is a man, willingly stating, that he will commit human rights violations. How will the world look at us when he is president? He isn’t the American mascot anymore, especially since the Google search “how to move to Canada?” is at its highest count ever. A terrorist attack before American primaries are finished will no doubt push voters to the right, i.e., possibly giving Trump or one of the other Republican candidates, the presidency. The other Republican candidates haven’t condoned such insidious behavior, but they, like their GOP predecessors, are more likely to get America involved in another war overseas, than the Democrats. Republican candidate Ted Cruz has come out and said that he would like to see “Muslim patrols.” This screams Gestapo. The New York City police chief, Bill Bratton, is terribly offended by Cruz’ strategy. He noted that he has hundreds of Muslim on his force and, if Cruz were to become president and visit his city, he would have Muslims protecting him. I’ve experienced firsthand the creative evil of the military. It can be intoxicating, however, like a drunken idiot, they know not what they do; they are “agents” of evil, not the evil itself. To authorize such use of enhanced interrogation techniques will certainly create backlash, not only with our global partnerships and allies, but also with the terrorist networks devout to Jihad.

Our constant military intervention has led to a crumbling infrastructure back home. We invest more dollars in the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) each day than we have in the sixteen critical infrastructures of America, over the course of a month, or even a year. What does this say about Americans? Has the role of counterterrorism become such a centralized, government role, that we forgot what America's most brilliant resource to combat terrorists is? It should be known that it was American citizens who stopped the fourth plane on 9/11 from destroying the Capital or Congress. These were the first responders that day, and they will continue to be the first responders in countering terrorists. Our government, most specifically the Bush administration, convinced us to lend them our confidence in fighting terrorism, to the point that we no longer are resilient communities; that is, we are completely dependent, as a large society, on the government, in protecting us from attacks. Terrorism isn't rampant in America, but we are still susceptible to attacks. Lone wolf attacks are perhaps the most difficult for the government to predict and deter. The only ones who can efficiently help stop lone wolf attacks are the citizens. They *know the attackers* and *know when they are acting strange*. Our government needs to play an overseer role in these matters, not an authoritarian one. When the government becomes the sole fighter in the ring with terrorists, an opportunity for the government to suspect its citizens of terrorism arises. This affords them justification in their use of such things like the Patriot Act and the backdoors into our personal technologies. This is not anti-government propaganda, but more so, a wakeup call to the ordinary citizens, the members of American society, any society, who want a better more sustainable life for themselves, and the future.

The networks that have become visible after the attacks in Paris suggest that Europe contains large networks. Larger than previously thought in democratic states. There's also evidence that these terrorists have been to Iraq and Syria, gaining combat and strategic experience, for Islamic Jihad, and bringing those skillsets back to their countries, where they are legal residents. The question is—are they motivated to conduct attacks in Europe before they leave for Islamic Jihad or are they somehow radicalized more so to conduct the attacks once they redeploy back home? Lending more credence to the argument that the civil war in Syria and sectarian violence in Iraq, need to cease, sooner than later.

If these members of terrorist organizations become the new focus for intelligence gathering, would then our capacity to decapitate leadership weaken? As we've been doing for quite some time now, decapitating leadership is a questionable tactic. Scholarship suggests that weaker leadership

creates a decentralized group. Mid-level and lower echelon members take command and attack civilians more frequently. One could argue that these organized attacks, e.g., Boston, Paris, and London, are the result of groups not having strong leadership. If a member is killed or captured, someone will fill that vacancy, regardless of their position in the rank-in-file or chain of command. Limiting or stopping all travel to certain conflict-areas around the world would prevent, or at least diminish the capabilities of lower-level members carrying out such horrific attacks, but I'm not sure this tactic would work for many reasons.

These attacks are planned and well executed. In order for their success, combat and strategic knowledge is required, leaving one to ponder the relationship between capabilities and experience. Commonsense suggests that deployments for Islamic Jihad create experienced fighters, but it doesn't suggest, however, that they would be motivated to bring Islamic Jihad back home. It's possible that these inspired individuals leave home to fight so they can eventually use their skills back home, but this would require an interview. It's an eerie feeling knowing that there are potentially a large number of terrorists running loose around Europe.

To prevent someone from traveling brings ethical issues to light. And even more so, establishing "Muslim Patrols" would no doubt create animosity in Muslim societies. Moreover, animosity would occur if presidential candidate Donald Trump had his way; that is, banning all Muslim immigration and giving Muslims identification cards—scarily similar to the identification stars given to Jews in the ghettos prior to World War II.

The political turmoil that ensues in America today is no doubt a phenomenon of democratic processes, however, what we're witnessing in the anti-Muslim sentiment, and anti-immigration as well, is comparable to the ethno-nationalist momentum witnessed in Europe after the First World War, predominately in the politics of Italy's fascism and later in Hitler's regime. Nations played on the fears of its people and asked for their confidence; the government's role in security, after the First World War was absolute and was founded in racism, not liberty. We are witnessing similar movements across the country. It is understandable that people feel uneasy about terrorism, yet we have been relying on our government to ease that anxiety since 9/11. However, terrorism still occurs and the wars in the Middle East seem to never end, spawning new threats. In order to play on this fear, one must be convinced that this threat is an existential one, not a temporary one. Immediately following 9/11, many Americans were confused why terrorist would attack the homeland; few people had an understanding—myself

included—of American dealings overseas, and our role in political regime change. This entire historical context, one could argue, has spurred the terrorism we know today. Terrorism hasn't always been religious. There are waves of terrorism. One wave, for example, was created by European colonialism. What we are experiencing today is the Lone Wolf wave, with no goals founded in religious grievances, but, perhaps, more as a defense to being an alienated diaspora that was created by modern war and conflict.

Additionally, nations invest in decapitation strikes, calculating the effects of eliminating leadership because, in charisma theory, the removal would weaken and decentralize the group, thus destroying it altogether. It's plausible to realize that if this is done, a weaker member assumes command. Perhaps this individual was stronger than the previous leader, however, in all likelihood, if this member was a stronger leader, he would have been the leader in the first place. The new leader is now in place and the group is considerably decentralized. In an effort to fix this, the group is looking to fill the vacancies throughout the mid-level and lower echelons of the group, vetting candidates through online sites, etc. Those that are qualified, eventually arrive in Syria, Iraq, or wherever the recruit is needed and trained in combat and strategy. For those that are not qualified, they are left feeling even more isolated and angry towards the world, because now the outside group—a group not accepted because of its deviance—doesn't accept them, resulting in a further blow to one's self esteem. The candidates that make it fight in ground wars, potentially motivated to return home to conduct attacks in the democracies where they came from or, they become more radicalized by the horrific images of war, later to return home with a new mission. Both groups, the ones who qualified and those who hadn't, are back where they started, in democratic western society. There is a difference between the two, however. One is filled with confidence and a new, pledged allegiance to Islamic Jihad, looking to take out their frustration and war-related traumas on innocent civilians in crowded, urban centers. The other, a very upset group that has been dismissed by those already dismissed by the world, looking to end their own lives—known as death by cop—not so much for Islamic Jihad. For the latter, there are circumstances where governments were suspicious and prevented them from leaving the country to begin with. One could argue this creates a situation where an individual who wanted to release violent energy on the world was prevented from doing so. However, now because they were denied, they will do so in public spaces where innocent, non-combatant civilians are roaming. Should we allow these individuals to travel to these war-zones with the hopes they perish, never to return home and conduct loon- or

lone-wolf attacks? If they fail to become martyrs overseas and we don't allow them to return, we succeeded in preventing a potential lone wolf attack. In a realist perspective, this would have dire financial consequences; that is, tracking people all across the globe once they left. Then again, this would create a more, centralized government in combating terrorism. We need to become more resilient. Prepare, adapt, and restore the homeostasis of our community livelihood when it experiences a shock—in this example, a terrorist attack. In doing so, we need to address past grievances in diaspora societies and end wars overseas that fuel grievances today. In honor of the two brothers I lost six years ago, I promise to make this world, a safer and more resilient one.

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Chapter 4

**CRAVING FOR THE CONSUMPTION
OF SUFFERING AND COMMODITIZATION
OF DEATH: THE EVOLVING FACETS
OF THANA CAPITALISM**

Maximiliano Korstanje^{1,*} and Babu P. George^{2,1}

¹University of Palermo, Mario Bravo, Argentina

²Fort Hays State University, Hays, KS, US

ABSTRACT

The days of Thana Capitalism ignited after 9/11 gave a new platform where consumers are in quest of others' suffering. We are a death-seeking society and we look for witnessing others' death. While lay people are often bombarded with news reporting murders, or natural disasters, a much deeper narrative of death occupies a protagonist role in mediating between citizens and their institutions. In this review, the authors hold the thesis that disasters do not affect most cultures traumatically, because most cultures have developed agility in the course of dealing with disasters or traumatic events in the past. Also, in their display of evolutionary dynamism, cultures that have such genetic traits crave for occasional recurrences of traumatic events: traits that are not in use may

* Maximiliano Korstanje e-mail: mkorst@palermo.edu.

¹ Babu P. George e-mail: bpgeorge@fhsu.edu.

eventually become extinct and it is natural that cultures that hold these valuable traits do not want their extinction.

Keywords: dark tourism, death, disasters, terrorism, 9/11, Thana capitalism, culture, consumption

INTRODUCTION

The advent of a new millennium adjoined to a wave of disasters and tragic events which oscillate from terrorism to the outbreak of lethal viruses that defied the old welfare state. During years, disasters not only shocked societies by the introduction of political instability, but also the industry of cultural entertainment has thematized on “a culture of spectacle” which fictionalized and covered the reasons behind (Quarantelli 1960; 1980; Bursma and Picou, 2008). The shocking attack on WTC in New York known as the financial centre of the World inaugurated a new age of fear and uncertainty where West understood that nobody was safer anymore and in any place (Zizek 2006). Risk studies and texts on risk perception flourished in almost all disciplines from engineering to social sciences (Skoll 2010; Korstanje, 2015). Philosophers focused on the problem of risk as an ethical quandary resulting from the decline of trust accelerated by late-capitalism (Beck 2002). To some extent, albeit these studies shed light on a new time which was next to come, less attention was paid on why this happens.

This conceptual discussion not only continues with earlier efforts in risk studies, but also coins the term “Thana-Capitalism” to refer this uncanny fascination for disaster-related landscapes. What the doctrine of risk-zero was unable to explain was why technological advances did not suffice to make a safer world. Following the rational paradigm, external or internal threats can be found by the net of experts who work for the state. Whenever these risks are located, experts should intervene according to protocols of surveillance. In this process, science would play a crucial role expanding the produced knowledge in order for society to be protected (Beck, 1992).

If Harvey (1999) indicated that Oil Embargo was the epicentre that started postmodernism and Paul Virilio (2010) evinced the rise of uncertainty that subordinated the security of Workforce to profits and businesses, the evolution and consolidation of a “culture of fear” still remained unchecked. In this review, we hold the thesis that disasters do not affect cultures traumatically,

because most cultures have pre-determined agility developed while dealing with earlier disasters or traumatic events.

Interesting evidence can be found in founding myths as Noah where God disposes of an apocalyptic natural disaster for the reconstruction of a new exemplary culture. At a first look, Noah is the first survivor and the only chosen one by God to continue with humankind on the earth. Doubtless, Noah's ark offers a fertile ground to discuss the roots of selection into Western culture. In view of its influence within capitalist societies, this myth explains how "the principle of selection," which is enabled by the universal Flood, offers an apocalyptic scenario where the salvation of "chosen people" is done by total destruction. Ideologically speaking, Noah's story leads to a process of social Darwinism, in which case capitalism was successfully reproduced worldwide. This reflects an asymmetrical system where a privileged group amasses almost 80% of produced wealth while the rest is pressed to live with limited resources.

The culture of disaster within modern capitalism aims at disorganizing the social ties. In so doing, the derived narcissism is adopted as the main cultural value of society. The question whether capitalism expanded faster than analysts precluded correspond with two key factors: *the needs of being different and the needs of protection*. The society of risk sets the pace to a new capitalism, (thana-capitalism), where the presence of death allows changes otherwise would not be feasible. In days of Thana Capitalism, the life is seen as a long trace where only one will be the winner. The death of others, which is present in media, journalism, and TV programs not only make us feel special because we are in trace after all, but also remind how special we are. Therefore, disasters captivate today to a global audience. Secondly, leisure practices such as classic Sun and Sea tourism is changed to new forms where mass-disaster or mourning spaces are the main attraction. This new segment, known by some specialists as thana tourism or dark tourism, recycles spaces of disasters or mass-death to be visually commoditized to international consumers who need to be close to the Other's death.

The new practices of leisure and tourism witnessed serious alternations in the patterns of consumption. If holidaymakers opted to visit destinations associated with sun and sea, now it sets the pace to emergent segments, where death plays a vital role as the main attraction of destinations. This point suggests the rise of a new class, death-seekers. What would be more than interesting to discuss is the intersection of death and consumption. It signals a radical shift that certainly denote the beginning of a new capitalism namely, thana capitalism.

INITIAL DEBATE

The term *thana capitalism* comes from thanatopsis which was coined by Willian Cullen Bryant (1948) to describe a state of nostalgia to see life through the eyes of death. It signalled to the needs of recycling life through death and vice-versa. In other terms, we are not born to live, because we are dying while growing. This neologism comes from the word *Thanatos* (Greek) which means death. In this token, modernity and death seem to be inextricably intertwined. In this vein, Phillipe Aries calls the attention to the fact that in the middle ages peasants were subject to countless dangers and real death was just around the corner. With the expansion of life expectancy, modern citizens expanded their hopes to live but undomesticated the death producing a paradoxical situation. Effects of disaster or mass-death will resonate in modern capitalist society higher than in medieval times (Aries, 2013).

In a world full of social inequalities, not surprisingly, death corresponds with a criterion of exclusion but what is more important: in the current times, death-seekers not only are moved by Thanatos or a death-drive, but are in quest of reinforcing their ego by the Other's death. Dark tourism situated as a promising segment which grows annually worldwide. Zone of extreme poverty situated in the periphery as India, Brazil, or South-Africa offers a fertile ground for visiting places characterized by slumming and ghettoization. Similarly, to dark tourism, slum tourism initiated new trends where the criterion of attraction seems to be *human suffering* (Reijnders 2009; Freire Medeiros 2014; Tzanelli 2015; 2016). In fact, as Tzanelli (2016) puts it, Thanatourism and slum-tourism are inextricably intertwined since both are efforts to re-interpret the pastime according to the needs of the financial elite, which do not make responsible for the arbitrariness of colonization process. The aura of special travellers, very important persons dotted of higher mobility is reinforced to gaze "others had not the same luck." It is interesting to discuss to what extent capitalism, even in these modern times, encouraged the mobilities of few, constrained the workforce to immobility. Quite aside from this initial debate, scholars interested in dark tourism issues agree that visitors are aimed at experiencing a new sensation, or are in quest of novel experiences, where the "Death of Others" serves to shed light on their own lives (Seaton 1996; Lennon and Foley, 1999).

In this respect, Seaton defines thanatourism as the travel dimension towards thanatopsis understood this as a trip to a site wholly or partially motivated by the desire of meeting death (Seaton, 1996). Another authority on this topic, P. Stone addresses this meaning anew taking into consideration the

wider role of media, in covering not only spots of disaster as ground-zero or New Orleans but other interesting sites as memorable prisons as Alcatraz or Auschwitz. The complexity of this issue leads Stone to see dark tourism under the lens of a spectrum which oscillates from lightest to darkest dimensions. For Stone's account, dark tourism represents an anthropological need to anticipate the own death by means of Others' death. In retrospect, this deep-seated issue mediates in ways of filter between life and death crystallizing a modern symbolic platform so that the self to negotiate the ontological meanings of its own mortality (Stone 2012).

One of the conceptual problems of applied research or fieldwork in dark tourism issues is the lack of shared meaning of the term. "over-reliance" on positivism is also an issue. We have a plenty of anecdotes where interviewees simply lie or are not familiar with their inner emotions. Under some contexts, administering closed-or-open questionnaires' or obtrusive interviews obscure more than it clarifies. This is the reason to reconsider dark tourism beyond what tourists or visitors believe. Apparently, they will respond their motivations are associated with heritage consumption, or knowing further on tragic event enrooted in history, but far from this, their motivations go to the opposite direction (Korstanje, 2014).

In earlier approaches Korstanje (2014), Korstanje and Ivanov (2012) and Korstanje and George (2015) exerted a radical criticism of dark tourism approaches. Underpinned in the propositions of Malinowski that death causes a symbolic rupture of in-group members and officialdom, a gap which should be fulfilled by rituals, Korstanje argues convincingly that disasters not only produces a great trauma in society, but rattles her socio-political scaffolding. At some extent, tourism broadly speaking and dark tourism more specifically, work as mechanisms of resilience to give a lesson to the community about the event (Korstanje and Ivanov 2012). This discourse facilitates the steps towards an efficient recovery process. Nonetheless, over recent years, a radical shift surfaced (Korstanje and George 2015). To wit, disasters pose as the commodity for media and cultural industries to construct a "spectacle" that instill a combination of fear and entertainment to a much wider globalized audience. In this respect, Naomi Klein (2007) explores the obsession for capitalism to produce allegories of disasters through the media. She contends that elite alludes to fear not only for the workforce to accept policies otherwise should be rejected, but to recycle geographical spaces according to Schumpeter's term, the logic of "the creative destruction."

As Korstanje (2015) observed, in post-disaster contexts, victims face a great mourning or extreme loss which disorganizes their feelings. However,

they feel that after all, Gods have protected them. Despite the great obliteration, survivors develop a biased image of themselves, understanding they have survived by some supernatural strength-holds as a virtue, force, or any type of superior spirit. Just there where “Others” have been doomed, they were chosen by God(s), fate or destiny. In view of this, these token follows a goal, which often are associated with violence resistance or the quest for justice. Reactions like this are typical of victims in post trauma conjecture, but if it is not regulated, pathological forms of behaviours as nationalism, Chauvinism or disproportionate ethnocentrism can emerge. The idea of exceptionalism by means of survivors sublimate their pain leads towards a *state of narcissism*, where they feel special, superior, more civilized and outstanding respecting to Others (Korstanje 2015). Precisely, this is the moot point that characterizes the ideological core of thana capitalism, where the needs in gazing for disasters with victimization coexist. To put this in brutally, this is a society that valorizes death over other social values. In next section, the passage from risk-capitalism to thana capitalism will be placed under the critical lens of scrutiny.

THANA CAPITALISM

The old society of risk, technically, starts with the nuclear accident in Chernobyl, Ukraine. This event reorganized the already-existent hierarchal order to a new reflective logic. In decline, the classic institutions created by welfare state were unable to protect citizens no longer. Ulrich Beck, who was one of the pioneers in envisaging a radical change in political making up, argued that the sense of community is now based on the risk perception (Beck, 1992). In the society of risks, the process of knowledge production leads to a state of complexity that creates a paradoxical situation. The same technology originally designed to make safer the life of people, if unregulated it can result in a real disaster. The old word of classes where the first Marxists exerted their radical critique has set the pace for a new one. The classic division between the rich and the poor, or haves and have-nots, have gone forever. Now, everyone seems to be more equal than ever before major risks. The stage of globalization that accelerated the transport orchestrated a closed-system which is very well market-oriented to mass-consumption. For exegetes of thana capitalism, who echo social Darwinist, economic inequalities among class can be compared to the conception of life. If millions of spermatozoids compete for the fecundation of an ovule, this suggests that only one will be the winner.

Unlike risk society, in this new age, few concentrates much while the rest live with lower resources.

The *society of risk* operates under the logic of protection. No matter neither the causes nor the ideological position, nation-state endorses the market to function as protector of the citizenry. The means of production corresponds with a decentralized way, where the process of reflexivity plays a crucial role. This leads to the atomization of agents, which are segmented by marketing experts to be bombarded by different products. In this epoch that begins with Chernobyl, society changes from an economy of producers to an economy of consumers (Donohue, 2003). The paradigm of protection supports the over-valorisation of science as the only instrument capable of providing and disseminating valuable information to make the life safer. Undoubtedly, Chernobyl poses a serious dilemma to the use of technology. The same toolkit used to protect society can be fertile towards a real disaster. Paul Virilio has envisaged this apocalyptic scenario in his book *The University of Disaster*. Starting from the premise that the produced knowledge that determined the interests of scientists at universities has changed, Virilio argues that there is an epistemological dispersion by means researchers fail to get an all-encompassing model to understand reality.

At a closer look, science passed to lead a position to produce a precautionary platform to inseminate fear in the population. The days of science as an instrument towards a better world have passed. The greatest business corporations appeal to science not only to predict the weather, by the use of many climate catastrophe simulation software, but in introducing “an economic disaster modelling-geek.” The nets of experts seem to be more interested in locating and eliminating all risks that may threaten the current means of production, than in helping others (Virilio 2010). In this world, which has gone, risk, risk perception and the industry of insurances have pivoted the interactions in the societal order.

The epicentre of Thana Capitalism comes from the attacks to World Trade Centre, an event that occurred on 11 September of 2001, purportedly propagated by Al Qaeda. This shocking blow represented a turning point where Islam radicalism showed not only the weaknesses of West, but also how the means of transport which were the badge of US, were employed as mortal weapons directed towards civil targets. Educated and trained in the best western universities, jihadist showed the dark side of the society of mass consumption. Many of the steps followed by Al-Qaeda were emulated from a Management guidebook. This made-man disaster showed the proud US that regardless of strength, power or levels of development of the country,

terrorism will be present in all central nations. From this moment on, nobody will feel safe anytime and in any place. As Catholic Church in Lisbon's Quake through 1755, the rational basis of risk experts or risk-related analysis was placed under the critical lens of scrutiny. Beyond what radical conservatives in the Bush's administration precluded, this event initiated a new age where the concept of security and prevention started to dilute.

All these discussed indicators set the pace to a more complex scenario, where economy turns chaotic (unpredictable after financial stock and the market crisis in 2008) where the atomized demands become in a competence of all against all (in the Hobbesian terms). The Darwinist allegory of the survival of strongest can be found as the main culture value of thana capitalism in a way that is captivated by cultural entertainment industries and cinema. Films as Hunger Games portray an apocalyptic future where the elite govern with iron rule different colonies. A wealthy capital which is geographically situated in Rocky Mountain serves as an exemplary centre, a hot-spot of consumption and hedonism where the spectacle prevails. The oppressed colonies are rushed to send their warriors who will struggle with others to death, in a bloody game that keeps people exciting. Although all participants work hard to enhance their skills, only one will reach the glory. The same can be observed in realities as Big Brother, where participants neglect the probabilities to fail simply because they over-value their own strongholds. This exactly seems to be what engages citizens to compete with others to survive, to show "they are worth of surviving." In sum, the *sentiment of exceptionality* triggered by these types of ideological spectacles disorganizes the social trust.

CONCLUSION

As a culture, we subconsciously crave to hear news about disasters. The magnitude of destruction gives us a curious sense of contentment. In this paper, we hypothesized that this has to do with cultural Darwinism. Based on prior experiences of dealing with doomsdays, a culture would have developed some kind of agility which gets encoded in the genetic traits of that culture. Continued non-use means that it faces the risk of extinction. This will make that culture extremely vulnerable when a great calamity hits it unexpectedly. So, keeping the cultural genes associated with disasters is critically important for the survival of a culture.

Fundamentally, it is this fascination with disasters that has given birth to the phenomenon of 'thana-capitalism.' Cultural expressions that keep the *thana genes* alive also include imagined disasters depicted in our various contemporary cultural forms. Also, there is no dearth of consumer products that exploit our anxieties about disasters. While none of us want disasters to hit us individually, keeping alive a sense of death and destruction by liminally going through them is the way our cultures have found to deal with disasters.

Capitalism signals to the constructions of allegories containing death prompting a radical rupture of self with others. At the time citizens believe they are special the trust in neighbours is undermined. This happens because narcissism not only is self-effacing and derogatory, but subordinates the otherness to the empire of selfish desires. In a context of turbulences, the imposition of this discourse is conducive to the weakening of social fabric. Thematising disasters by dark-tourism consumption patterns entails higher costs if the disaster repeats in a near future. The political intervention in these sites covers the real reasons behind the event, which are radically altered to protect the interests of status quo. The political and economic powers erect monuments to symbolize sudden mass death or trauma-spaces so that society reminds a lesson, which allegory contains a biased or galvanized explanation of what happened. Though to some extent, community needs to produce these allegories to be kept in warning, the likelihoods the same disaster takes a hit again seems to be a question of time (Korstanje 2014). As the previous argument given, thana capitalism offers death (of others) as a Spectacle not only to revitalize the daily frustrations, but also to enhance a harmed ego. Visiting spaces of disasters during holidays, or watching the news on terrorist attacks at home, all represents part of the same issue: *the advent of a new class of death seekers*.

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Chapter 5

THE PHILOSOPHICAL RISK IN THE TOURISM RESEARCH: RISK AND TOURISM

*Celeste Nava Jiménez**

Universidad de Guanajuato, México

ABSTRACT

This article centers on a philosophical reflection on the role of risk perception in tourism fields. It seeks an approach to the establishment of a conceptual platform from the reflexives consequences of a critical and reflective thinking, so philosophical tourism research. In this sense, thinking tourism research from philosophy can be risky in implying structural changes which have constrained in many ways the phenomenon of tourism. This work is presented in three segments. A literature review of some authors who have made certain *risky* reflections on critical tourism research. Secondly, this chapter discusses in depth to what extent risk perception, as a conceptual framework, enhances the security of destinations worldwide. As a climax to the bibliographic study and the approaching to the conceptualization, the author proposes a philosophical platform of the tourism research. Finally the research tries to give a new notion about the risk trough the philosophy in tourism studies.

Keywords: critical tourism research, philosophy, risk, society, tourism

* celenava@gmail.com.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has showed to be a resilient industry though fragmented and dynamic called for interdisciplinary research (Pearce and Butler, 1993; Laws and Scott, 2015; Thirkettle and Korstanje 2013). Its complexity leads to scholars to question to what extent tourism opens the doors towards a hybrid social understanding of human behavior. Over years, quantitative methods gained further recognition in view of their versatility to elaborate shared indicators for policy makers to improve the performance of tourist destinations (Pizam and Mansfeld 2000; Enright and Newton 2004). However, under some conditions which ranges from polemic issues (as racism), or questions that threatens the intimacy of people, quantitative tools do not suffice to understand social issues. In part, this happens because there is a gap between what people say and do, but secondly, simply because interviewees are unfamiliar with their emotional life (Thirkettle and Korstanje 2013). Therefore, the qualitative research, which is informed by critical and constructivist paradigms are slowly gaining favor (Guba and Lincoln 1998 op cit Jamal and Hwan Suk, 2003), in the same way Jamal and Hwan Suk (2003) said that qualitative research focused on understanding and meaning still struggles to gain legitimacy in tourism studies. In this context, good studies have paved the ways for the advance of methodological question as: how we know in tourism research?, is it the time to think in new alternatives for tourism research?, to what extent we know what tourism is?

Over recent years, some scholars have questioned if tourism studies reconcile the protection of industry with the configuration of a more radical platform, which helps policy makers to make further sustainable projects. Making good decisions depends upon from the quality of knowledge produced by scientific research. As Ren, Pritchard and Morgan (2010) put it, there are no clear guidelines how the critical gaze can be used. There are significant factors shaping tourism research and influencing the tourism industry, some of them are good other is threatening (Laws and Scott, 2015). In this vein, it is important not to lose the sight that after 9/11 risk and risk perception posed as two important themes for policy makers and specialists (Roelh and Fesenmaier, 1992; Korstanje 2010; Tarlow, 2011). The effects of terrorism on industry in material losses and lives, conjoined to the bad advertising over neighboring destinations coadyuvated in the rise and consolidation of literature in tourism fields, risk perception. In this manner the concept of *risk* is the central part of this research but addressed in a critical perspective so that could be a way to think the tourism research in a philosophical way.

But Why the *risk* from a philosophical perspective could be a factor that shapes the tourism research nowadays? If the philosophy is a seldom discipline set to work on tourism (Haug, 2007). That is the question aim that the present research will shore up some approaches.

A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

The *risk* concept is associated with the *fear* and *threat* (Korstanje, 2015, 2010), in which case it comes from latin term *resecum*. It connotes to “*something to cut*” (Briones-Gamboa 2007 op cit Korstanje, 2015). It is important not to lose the sight that the scenario for the *risk* is addressed by the theorist who has contributed with risk management notions, the critical management studies, and others themes specially the management scene or tourist landscapes.

The best example on risk tourism research in Latin America is Maximiliano Korstanje (2010, 2013, 2015), that from the interest in recognizing the implications for the tourism system after September 11, 2001 as a significant event in the initiation of academic discourse in this line, and the use of violence as a method. Korstanje’s risk model explores the socio-anthropological sense of risk a result of the feeling of fear of humans describing dangers tourist fell at destination. One of the main paradoxes of globalization consists in the connection of peoples otherwise would remain isolated. That way, a sad event as 9/11 resonates in the public opinion though the media in hours. He argues that the theory of risk in tourism research is recent and has been adapted from the Risk Management or "Maintenance of risk" and their study is more about the type of risk, from a sociological view, that is, in their investigations may refer to the following types of risk: risk associated with the residence, risk and family ties, risk associated with nationality, personality and psychological risk. According to the concept of crisis on tourism is related with the *risk* concept too, can therefore be partly understood in the context of the difficulties that tourists face in travelling or even with respect to the problems facing businesses (Lydecker, 1986; Ross, 2005 op cit Hall 2010).

Furthermore, Hall (2010) mentions that the most research attention in a literature’s review on tourism and crisis is for the economic and financial crises, after that these crises events often being linked to other events such as terrorism and increased energy costs. Although there is a consistent literature about the knowledge *crisis* and how this is related with tourism research

overtaking the boundaries in knowledge, considering that tourism is complex from the state of his knowledge (Kadri, 2008), its complexity as complex interdisciplinary research object (Darbellay, Stock, 2012). Before continuing on all the possible significant findings in the literature of tourism about *risk*, it is necessary to develop two principal statements for this research. First one is the question about What is a risk? In this research and following the origin to the word *risk* will be understood as “*something to cut*”. This represents a fertile ground for expanding the philosophical discussion around risk. A second point of entry is why to set work with philosophy on tourism research? Because the philosophy can contribute making strengthen the field of tourism studies in the areas of epistemology, ontology, morals and ethics, amongst other issues (Haug, 2007). Mickūnas (2015) has been investigated the philosophical time travel to explicate time awareness.

Therefore in the time travel, for Mickūnas the past is seen through the present and the future and the latter through the present and the past, for him the philosophy maintains the horizon open for a continuous. Undeniably philosophy means a time travel human awareness. In Latin-American, the philosophers as time travelers (Mickūnas, 2015: 84), have been left an open vein in philosophy as ethics, aesthetics, ontology, metaphysics, religion, history, economics, education, multiculturalism, “indigenismo”¹, colonial and decolonizing thinking (Dussel, Mendieta and Bohórquez, 2011). In this sense a philosophical risk would be something to cut something in these themes either traditional structures or predetermined paradigms.

As matter of fact, there have been some researchers trying to contribute to cut something from philosophy in the tourism phenomenon from the research. Some risky philosophical examples in tourism research:

Research-thinker	Main arguments	Axe
Bente Haug (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The mobility as one central properties in the tourism phenomenon. b) The importance of understanding that the subject, such as a tourist, chooses its own position towards the object, in this case this might be a tourist attraction or activity (Kantian philosophy). c) Being a tourist, by principle, is an act of free mind and will (existential authenticity of Jean Paul Sartre). d) Tourism could become a human practice 	Philosophical perspective

¹ Indigenous movements in Latin America.

Research-thinker	Main arguments	Axe
	<p>with no meaning.</p> <p>e) Arguing through the “Copernican Turn” that in accepting tourists as being of free mind and will and seeing tourism as meaningful, tourism is an activity that can contribute to the individual by developing one’s authentic self.</p>	
Cohen (2012)	<p>a) The reflexive approach help to generate more trustworthy, richer texts in qualitative leisure research.</p> <p>b) The reflexivity as a methodological approach embraced (ideally) throughout the entire research process.</p> <p>c) The ‘researcher self’ can play a critical role in the nature of the knowledge that she/he helps to construct.</p>	
Pocock (2015)	<p>a) To explore one researcher’s emotional entanglements with her/his research project and foregrounding emotional reflexivity as an important and potentially enriching epistemological stance.</p> <p>b) The poetry as a tool to explore and express emotional entanglements in research.</p>	
Gregory S. Szarycz (2011)	<p>a) Phenomenology as a valuable methodology for tourism research and it is increasing in tourism literature.</p> <p>b) The philosophy portrays phenomenology as an alternative to science, differing in its presuppositions, its methods, and its objectives.</p> <p>c) The phenomenology is a genre of research that renounces certain concepts associated with science: reality, objectivity, abstraction, and generalizability. Instead it embraces experience, meaning, subjectivity, and understanding.</p>	
Downward, Paul (2005)	<p>a) Critical realism comprises a transcendental approach to understanding a structured reality, in which the triangulation of methods is required to capture a concept of cause associated with emergence out of agency and structures</p> <p>b) The use of critical realism in management research in sport, tourism and sports tourism.</p>	Critical realism integrated to tourism research

Table (Continued)

Research-thinker	Main arguments	Axe
Platenkamp, Vincent y Botterill, David (2013)	a) Critical realism proposes a differentiated ontology of social reality divided into the 'transitive domain' (our theories, concepts and discourse of research) and the 'intransitive domain' (the largely enduring structures and proper-ties of objects that enable and constrain human agency). b) Also proposes a stratified ontology structured into: (1) the empirical; (2) the actual; and (3) the generative mechanisms.	
Xue, Lan Manuel-Navarrete, David Buzinde, Christine N. (2014)	a) Alienation is manifest amongst social beings as an unintended but conscious experience of separation or as deliberate surrender of personal interest. b) Alienation in tourism phenomenon: the production lens, the consumption lens and the existentialist lens. c) Multi lens model to analyze alienation in tourism destinations	Criticizing Tourism industry and tourism development
Mickūnas, Algis (2015)	a) The philosophical time travel	Concept of Time Travel
Erica Wilson y Keith Hollinshead (2015)	a) Importance of qualitative inquiry approaches in tourism studies. b) There is significant focus within the field now upon the trinity of ontological, epistemological and methodological concern.	Qualitative research
Castillo, Marcelino (2011)	a) Critical epistemology of tourism implies an attitude of judgment, reflection, method and knowledge oriented to transform reality, not to keep it in balance.	Epistemology on tourism research

TOWARDS TO A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL TOURISM RISK

In view of what Lai, Li and Scott (2015) said about tourism researchers are more interested in solving specific problems than in expanding their knowledge on the roots of problems. In fact tourism-related studies form a theoretical platform which is inscribed into a managerial approach on risks. Instead of studying risks as social facts, they are prone to protect the profits of

international investors. This conceptual discussion goes in another direction, we need to discuss critically the philosophical nature of risk together its axiological, ontological, and epistemological contours.

An operational definition of *risk* given for Tierney cited in Korstanje (2015) refers to the probability of realization of unwanted consequences produced by an external event or foreign subject event where their integrity may be affected in whole or in part. One of the premises of risky tourism research could be the art of questioning the answer as one of the specific student learning objectives in the tourism context proposed by Sheldon, Fesenmaier and Tribe (2011). This means to know the “whys”, the “whats” and the “whom” of the things.

The philosophy gives some hints on the theoretical tools to understanding the world following an integrated background of ontological, epistemological and methodological premises. As Haug (2007: 158) observed, the contributions of a philosophical approach are obviously that of linking tourism to fundamental issues of human life and thereby contextualizing tourism within a framework of theory that could increase the theoretical substance of the field. Tourism has adopted a view of risk which connotes to rationality. Since risk should be defined as a rational thought on the phenomenon of tourism whose consequences demystify, emancipated or freed (*cut*) tourism research of traditional paradigms previously made to ensure production “something” to “someone”. The rational thought’s principal constituent is the reflexivity.

The critical turn in tourism studies could be an example of a philosophical risk whenever the critical tourism research provides the arguments or actions to emancipate or shape the tourism research. Because the results of that kind of tourism research should shape the tourism industry and the phenomenon of tourism and the change is not always well-accepted for all. So if something is not well-accepted then so it is a *risk*.

So it is the philosophical risk because during the research, the researcher thinker has to have a philosophical pillar to do his arguments. For the risky tourism research could be addressed to critical realism philosophy.

Some theories are at risk of collapsing if examined from a philosophical perspective (Huang, 2007). Could this happened to tourism research? That it will be a danger for whom?

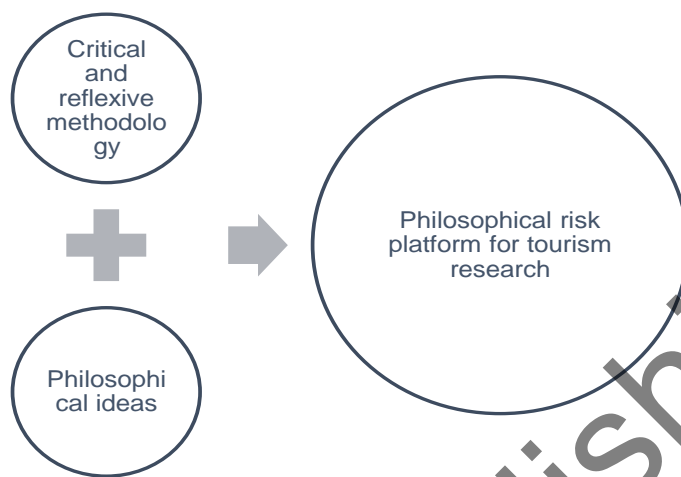


Figure 1. Elements for the philosophical risk platform.

ABOUT SOME RISKY FINAL REFLECTIONS

Talking about the concept of platform, Jafar Jafari is the principal builder (Xiao, 2013). This tourism platforms are: advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy, knowledge-based, and public platforms (Jafari, 1990, 2001, 2007). In time of social complexity, the new philosophical platform will be focused on critical and philosophical tourism research, because, as Wilson (2008) said, a philosopher takes up some stance on the social and political norms and practices of his times, the touristic philosopher should too. The philosophical tradition is of great value for the kind of thinking that causes (Caton, 2014).

The philosophical risk platform should help to touristic philosopher defining tourism problems and understand the different realities among the tourism phenomenon. The reflexive methodology could be one efficient tool for critical and reflexive thinking stimulating self-reflection and understanding how the political-economical dimension works for tourism research as a social phenomenon.

In terms of the philosophical risk platform it should be integrated philosophical ideas and critical and reflexive methodology; working to build critical knowledge in tourism research and risky knowledge for somebody. The platform works from the apparatus criticus of touristic knowledge builder.

Table 1. Philosophical risk platform for tourism research

Philosophical risk platform for tourism research	
Tourism Research	Weakening of the economic-political structure that have been dominated the phenomenon of tourism.
Tourism alienation	
Tourism epistemology	
Theory of tourism	
Critical realism	
Reflexive methodologies	
Tourism phenomenology	
Tourism conceptualization	
Interpretation of tourism	
Critical tourism theory	
Tourism Ethics	
Transdisciplinarity fundamentals for Tourism Research	
Social Science and Humanities for Tourism Research	

The challenges facing the tourism industry and tourism educators call out for a new paradigm of tourism education (Sheldon, Fesenmaier and Tribe, 2011) that includes the new ways to think it too, from inside to research tourism to outside the social living. The ability to reflect on tourism research will measure the containing power of risk to change something that means to arrive to the social *praxis*. However, this is a much deeper issue which merits to be discussed.

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Chapter 6

POSTCARDS FROM HELL: EVIL AND ISLAMIC STATE

Primavera Fisogni, PhD*

Metaphysics and Journalist,
La Provincia daily newspaper, Como, Italy

ABSTRACT

Islamic State is an open-ended question for scholars, however it is possible to sketch several aspects of its profile through the lens of the phenomenological reduction. In the following paragraphs I'll briefly explore whether IS could be compared to the more updated version of the evil empire according to a philosophical perspective. What I'm going to argue is that the self-proclaimed state of Da'ish pretends to follow the more proper Islamic faith, on the contrary it has restored hell as a real place on the earth either in a metaphorical (§1.3) and in a supernatural sense (§1.2).

My aim is also to prove that 1) Iblīs – the prince of the devils of the Holy Quran – has taken the place of Allah, 2) the idea of sacred has substituted the one of divine, so that, within Islamic State 3) destruction is the more strategic than construction and 4) death is far more essential than life. According to this set of features, I intend to prove that IS ought to be recognized worldwide and especially by the Islamic community, guilty of *shirk*, the main accusation of polytheism moved by the Caliphate to the global world through the doctrine of takfīr (§4). The

* vera.fisogni@tiscali.it.

great deception of Islamic State proceeds from a main premise, its being a totalitarian state, an aspect that marks a sharp divide between Da'ish and a wide number of jihadist groups (§1).

The artificial body of this blurring borders' state is inspired by a strict Salafist interpretation of Islam. This is the point of departure of a restored version of political evil where the Caliph is recognized the sole vicar of God in the Universe. On a metaphysical ground this contradictory frame leads IS to consider itself the best of the possible worlds (§2), with a proud attitude to the world of life that surprisingly recalls the story of the fallen angel Iblīs. I argue that the upthrow of reality, which is a consequence of the totalitarian political schema, needs the mystic of martyrdom to survive: death not life has become central in all the activities of Islamic State (§4). My purpose is to prove that IS gives birth, on the political scenario, to a great deception, of which the victim is primarily Islamic faith. It has in fact nothing to do with a state, nor with Islam, nor with God.

It is basically the opposite of them all.

On the ground of contemporary political philosophy, the Caliphate is a powerful case-study because it brings to light a supernatural idea of evil as a component of the state: a possibility firmly denied by Hannah Arendt in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* and *The Life of the Mind* that nevertheless I'll defend in my paper, on the basis of the takfir ideology. For a better understanding of IS, in the last part of the investigation, I suggest to apply Maria Zambrano's theory of sacred (§3) presented in *The Man and the Divine* that outlines a fruitful key to get inside IS' mystic of evil.

BEYOND TERRORISM.

THE CALIPHATE, A TOTALITARIAN STATE

Islamic State cannot be reduced to the phenomenon of terrorism, although it has been often considered an intrinsic part of traditional jihadism, formed within Al-Qa'ida network. The ideology of takfir – or the radical exclusion of whoever does not accept the literal interpretation of the Quran, according to the Salafism-inspired doctrine based on the strict reading of Imam Taqī al-Din Ibn Taymiyyā – makes the Caliphate a totalitarian regime grounded on the law of sword.

“Islam is religion of sword not pacifism.” (Dabiq, 7:20)

This point of departure has to be underlined to thread the argumentation on a secure ground. We wouldn't understand, in fact, the ongoing atrocities of IS if we wouldn't take in consideration the essential divide between IS and other forms of jihadism, unable to give rise to a geographical-political-social entity. What makes the Caliphate a totally new jihadist phenomenon, on the other side, is properly the fact that IS has been a self-proclaimed state that is widening its territory in every way possible. Since its very beginnings, it was conceived by Al Zarqawi as a state entity to which giving birth through the union of territories or *wylat* made by agreements or military operations (Lahoud et al., 2014). A totalitarian regime, to be effective, needs a geographic profile and borders. These are the transcendental conditions, in a Kantian sense, to allow the state's bureaucratic structures to apply fundamentalist ideology to all the aspects of everyday life. Not Al-Qa'ida, nor other jihadist labels have ever been able to develop a territorial organization, although the dream of Caliphate has always been at the core of Osama Bin Laden's strategic view before 9/11 attacks. Despite its blurring configuration, IS can be definitely recognized as a body politic risen from the purpose of a territorial entity animated by a supernatural breath. It may be useful to quote a passage of the ideological manifesto of Da'ish, published on the e-zine *Dabiq*:

“We do not perform jihād here for a fistful of dirt or an illusory border drawn up by Sykes and Picot. Similarly, we do not perform jihād for a Western tāghūt to take the place of an Arab tāghūt. Rather our jihād is loftier and more superior. We perform jihād so that Allah's word becomes supreme and that the religion becomes completely for Allah.” (Dabiq, 8:3)

Compared to the historical totalitarian states of 20th Century (Nazism, Stalinism), IS seems to share the very point of departure: the central role of ideology. Even if it undeniably pertains to a history of terrorism, it is incorrect to label IS as a phenomenon of hyper-terrorism, although it is motivated by religious radicalism “especially in the worldwide distribution of ideas, methods, and means with which individuals and group across the world get to work” (Rosenthal and Muller, 2008:149). Since Abu Bakr al Baghdadi declared it in 2014, the Caliphate operates as a state within the international scene. Nevertheless, its main aim is to go beyond the traditional idea of state, by shaping the global Muslims' nation (the *umma*). IS can be properly said a regime that wants to “build a new humanity,” eradicating every trait of spontaneity” (Forti, 2012:27). A political project founded on unreality,

totalitarianism basically overturns the process with which the identity of a nation is built. It does not happen through hospitality, openness, stratification and integration, as historically comes about for civilizations. Totalitarianism eradicates the differences and aims to destroy everyone who does not want or cannot be included in the ideological frame.

The death camps were, in the Nazi regime, the ideal laboratory where to forge the new humanity. This interpretation can be applied also to IS. Minorities like Shiites, Yazidis, Kurds, Christians are perceived as a human waste to eliminate. It is not a case that the Caliphate's first step as a political entity was the strategic and systematic elimination of the minorities living in the occupied territories. As well as the Nazi regime, IS considers its people a community of chosen, in virtue of the religious faith, according a set of beliefs and practices that endeavor "for a return to the halcyon days of Islam that was only during the time of prophet" (Javaid and Nourén, 2015:215). Before exploring the main consequence of the anthropological upset, which entails the mystic of martyrdom for surviving (§4), I'll sketch the relaunching of the hell's imaginary. To investigate this feature might be particularly fruitful in order to explore the Islamic State phenomenon that can hardly be overlapped with the classical frame of the demonic in totalitarian states.

The Hell on Earth

Removed from contemporary civilization, as a mere theological frame and an illusory fear that dates the Middle Ages, hell comes back into contemporary global imaginary as a veritable place laden with atrocities, beyond the borders of Syria and Iraq. The ordinary speech equates hell with IS. What place, indeed, could ever been inhabited by "the order of Satan" as former Us Secretary of State John Kerry defined the Caliphate's fighters?¹ Two are the levels of this evil empire in the Western media representation. One is related to the demonic as a component of the totalitarian attitude to the world of life, the other deals with the places where the IS' violence is performed and represented.

They both are part of the Caliphate's profile.

It was since the discourse about the Soviet Union as the "evil empire" held by President Ronald Reagan at the National Association of Evangelicals, in

¹ Posted on September, 18th 2015 on *Csn News* (<http://www.csnnews.com/news/article/melanie-hunter/kerry-isis-order-satan-0>).

Orlando (1983) that a world leader di not evocate such a theological place. It is nevertheless a fact that the demonic face of Islamic State has become a recurrent topic of the ordinary political narrative since late 2014. The association between jihadism and the devil's land has also been underlined, among the others, by Russian orthodox archbishop Hilarion Alfeyev (IS fighters are said "servants of Satan")² and Italian theologian and exorcist Gabriele Amorth³. This topic deserves attention. The Caliphate, in fact, has reversed what Hannah Arendt noted in a famous passage of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*:

"(...) the totalitarian hell proves (...) that man can realize hellish fantasies without making the sky fall or the heart open." (Arendt, 1973:446)

The Caliphate operates in the name of God who is considered the highest source of authority. This is something new and at the same time archetypical in the phenomenon of totalitarian regimes, whose people are called to act according to a supernatural aim.

"The call to defend the Islamic State – the only State ruling by Allah's sharī'ah today – continues to be answered by sincere Muslims and mujahidin around the world prepared to sacrifice their lives and everything dear to them to rise high the world of Allah." (Dabiq, 10:4)

The title of Caliph assumed by Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi properly means "the vicar" of Allah. However, a contradiction lies at the very heart of Islamic State. In fact, whoever pretends to bring the infinity into the finite necessarily reduces the Omnipotent, Eternal, Unlimited Entity into the fragile features of reality. It follows that all the operations of IS, which are proclaimed "in the name of God" are definitely demonic, in a supernatural sense. God has been clearly disavowed. For Arendt totalitarian evil has nothing to do with the literary or theological meaning, which deals with the demonic. She notes in *The life of the Mind*, notes in *The life of the Mind* as follows:

² Posted on November, 19th 2015 on the *Christian Post* (<http://www.christianpost.com/news/isis-militants-are-servants-of-satan-russian-archbishop-says-150466/>).

³ Posted on April, 8th 2015 on *Il Giornale* (<http://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/padre-amorth-ecco-perch-lisis-satana-1114184.html>).

“Evil, we have learned, is something demonic; its incarnation is Satan, a “lighting fall from heaven” (Luke 10:18) or Lucifer, the fallen angel whose sin is pride.” (Arendt, 1971:3)

On the contrary, IS provides a clear counter-evidence to this statement. Pride, the capital sin of Satan, comes back on the stage of Islamic State and sketches the profile of Iblīs, the fallen angel of the Holy Quran who denied God’s command to bow in front of the first men, in order to adore him (Qur., 7: 12). He refused to obey assuming to be himself the best (*hayr*), among the created beings, in virtue of his nature made by fire, differently from mud, which the human beings were made up with. It is interesting to note that the same behavior belongs to the Caliphate when pretends to be the highest political institution ever made by humans. For it Islamic State since the very beginning has made the sky fall, coming back to the famous Arendt’s statement: its hellish fantasies have become real and the hell doors on the earth were definitely opened. Nevertheless, we can apply to the Caliph and its people the designation that Arendt refers to Satan:

“That *superbia* of which only the best are capable: they don’t want to serve God but to be like Him.” (Arendt, 1971:3).

In the totalitarian evil described by the German political thinker men “act out envy” for the “absence of thinking,” like Nazi functionary Adolf Eichmann (Arendt, 1973: 4). It is not the case of Caliphate. The first degree of the IS’ evil empire depends just upon the presumption of being the *best* of possible worlds. The apodictic logic of Da’ish is the same logic of Iblīs (Zilio-Grandi, 2002: 7). It relies on takfīr or the accusation of unbelief directed to the non-Muslims and to those Muslim who have abandoned the Islamic law. According to it, like a logical trap, 1) those who do not obey to the very strict rules of *shar’ia* are infidels and thus it comes that 2) the infidels deserve a worldwide elimination. Iblīs applies the same dialectical presumption to the created beings declaring to be himself the best of all. Briefly, takfīr gives rise to an indisputable sentence of guilty that allows the IS to perform *jihad* against the unbelievers or *kuffār*.

“Everyone who opposes this goal or stands in the path of this goal is an enemy for us and a target for our swords, whatever his name may be and whatever his lineage may be.” (Dabiq, 8:3)

Such viewpoint brings to the extreme consequences the intimate drive of any totalitarian regime that reputes its ideology to be the best for the State, triggering the overthrow of reality. This idea recalls the theory of political perfectionism theorized by Italian philosopher Antonio Rosmini (1985), in which it may be seen the source of the totalitarian attitude that unavoidably flows into regimes like Nazism or Stalinism (Gatti, 2000). Similarly to the evil empires of the 20th Century, the Caliphate is aimed at performing a system reputed to be the best for the human agency and is willing to sacrifice anything for its strategic goals. The rejection of the world of life basically brings to the rebuilding of a new political subject casts in its image. If we reflect, IS – which considers itself to be the vicar of Allah in the world, through the person of the Caliph – is assuming the role of a supernatural and omnipotent creator. IS, through Salafism, validates a political subject – the Islamic State – that plays *de facto* the role of God. Through the lens of the principle of the best, the takfir ideology provides nothing else than the premise of the satanic attitude of Islamic State.

The Dark Geography of Terror

A further degree of hell's imaginary of IS refers to the dark geography of terror which radically differs from Al-Qai'da's strategy of fear. The 9/11 attacks shocked the world in 2001 not only for the massive number of deaths but also for the symbolic reference of the targets, which were veritable totems: global terrorism was deliberately addressed to the very heart of Western democracy (the Pentagon) and free market (the World Trade Center). The offensives to the Atocha Station in Madrid (2004), the London Metro (2005) and more recently, to the Boston Marathon (2013), on the contrary, are not part of that symbolic mainstream. The second wave of terror targeted free zones, passages, places where people meet and leaves for several destinations. They are properly speaking Non-Places (*non-lieux*) according to the definition of French sociologist Marc Augé (1996): they are spatial locations disengaged from any historical or social identity. For it, they belong to the geography of the super-modernity (*surmodernité*), as well as airports, malls, hotels, beaches where people meet and tourists spend their holidays, all favorite goals of global terrorist attacks. On the anthropological ground ordinariness of the places reflected on jihadist organizations, which are not only invisible – and very frequently lone wolves – but also well integrated in the society as the

phenomenon of terrorists next door clearly brings to light (Fisogni, 2011). Things have been completely changed with the uprising of the Caliphate.

Terrorist attacks are only a part, although a huge component, of the totalitarian strategy of leadership as the major terror events in Paris (November 13th 2015) and Bruxelles (March 22nd 2016) demonstrate. What is relevant, in the making of IS imaginary, is the spectacular frame in which executions of prisoners or destructions of the archaeological heritage take place.

The hellish postcards with which IS kept terrorizing the world, by executing Western citizens since 2014, have been sent from the desert. The frame where the execution of British engineer David Haines was performed in 2014, the desert or *sahrā* in Arabic is either a location and an empty place with a huge evocative power. It reminds, especially to Muslims, the *Rub 'al-Khālī*, the “fourth empty part,” the dry heart of the Arab peninsula where the Caliphate was born in 7th Century. Within that void the imaginary of Islamic State has been filled with pop culture mixed up with the historical Islamic heritage.

In the desert are the colors to speak louder than any other geographic feature. The orange jumpsuit of the victim clearly recalls the one of the Guantanamo Bay's prisoners. The black outfit of the perpetrator calls one's mind back to the Caliphate's flags color, but traditionally refers to the way the Prophet was dressed up when he entered Maqqa (Scarcia Amoretti, 2001:212) on his camel. A distinctive trait of the Abbasid dynasty, black was the favorite color of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-833), according to the description provided by poet Nizāmī 'Arūdī of Samarcanda. It is impossible not to see something familiar. A very strict link connects these icons with the black dressed Death in Ingmar Bergman's *The Seventh Seal* (1957). The walking of the Egyptian Coptic prisoners the 15th February 2015, along the sea brought back to memory the last sequence of the movie, where the Death is leading her victims on a mountain's cliff. Although black is the symbolic color of Abbasid Caliphate, the aspect of IS executors has something in common with the *ninja* fighters of the Nippon Medieval legends. They were basically assassins, however they were believed to have some magical qualities, such as extraordinary athletic skills and the invisibility, all aspects that made of them veritable myths of pop culture, as well as Jihadi John “the beheader.” The over production of images leads to a higher level of atrocities posted on the social networks since the beginning of 2015. A point of no return, also for what concerns the deadly imaginary, was the execution of Muath Kasebeah, a Jordan pilot made prisoner by the Caliphate's fighter. He was killed with fire.

This execution is loaded with references to hellfire, as it is portrayed in the Holy Quran. Fire, the matter of which the *jahannam* – the Quran's *inferno* – is made, anticipates the eternal damnation: the harsh cruelty of the execution shattered the public opinion and the Sunni Islam authorities, like Ahmed Muhammad Ahmed el-Tayeb the great imam of al-Azhar mosque and former president of the Islamic University of al-Azhar, in Cairo. Muath's assassination brought on the stage the anticipation of the Day of Judgement giving birth to a supernatural place within a natural scenario.

THE SACRED OF ISLAMIC STATE: CONSTRUCTION THROUGH DESTRUCTION

As a totalitarian state, the Caliphate brings to the final consequences the grammar of unreality that consists of the denial of the present world, replaced with another one completely false. My central argument is that the supernatural ideology of IS creates through destruction: it comes to its concrete realization what Spanish philosopher Maria Zambrano theorized in *The Man and the Divine* (*El hombre y lo divino*, 1955). Moving from this theoretical frame, we can interpret the dismantling of the archeological sites as a kind of construction, not simply a destruction, in the proper sense of Bruno Latour's *iconoclasm*.

In the previous paragraphs I've underlined that IS, according to the takfir doctrine, considers itself the leading political entity of the world. Far from being only an ideological belief, this idea marks a sharp divide between IS and the other States, civilizations, worldviews. On a metaphysical ground, the Caliphate wants to affirm its identity by denying diversities. This is properly the situation in which the sacred comes to light. What does it mean? I use the term "sacred" in Zambrano's perspective, that's to say as the consequence of any Self-centered attitude to deal with the world of life. In short, the sacred is the outcome of any identity that prevails on relation: the human person is basically a subject who relates; when the *I* becomes stronger and obscures the *You*, the subject adores himself and his acts and gives birth to the "sacred." For Zambrano this term moves from a very human assumption – a subject is definitely an *I* – however it turns to the Satanic, because the sacred is located at the opposite of the divine, which consists of openness and relation.

On a dynamic level, the sacred is animated by the incessant effort of making. As the opposite of the divine, this efficiency has nothing to do with

free creativity. It mainly refers to destruction, the dark side of creation. What's the capital sin of Islamic State? If we reflect, it turns the "divine" (openness, relation, creation) into the "sacred" (closure, Self-presumption and Self-affirmation, destruction). We have already noticed that IS has upset the idea of God trying to downgrade the infinity of a religious faith into the finite borders of a state.

Spanish philosopher Zambrano (1904-1991) lived in the darkest years of the 21st Century and was exiled for almost her life. She could have an experimental view of the dictatorships which led her to a finely grain phenomenological intuition. Compared to Hannah Arendt's theory of totalitarianism, and especially to the main idea that totalitarian regimes turn reality into unreality, Zambrano addressed her analysis to a metaphysical perspective. She precisely noticed that ideological violence is framed within the human agency, for being the person an *I* set within an *I-You* environment.

Zambrano's theory is particularly useful for understanding the IS phenomenon because through the lens of her philosophy we can interpret the destruction as a part of the hellish project of the Caliphate and to reject, for example, the view of those analysts who see a form of iconoclasm in IS' destruction of the archeological heritage (Romey, 2015). The more recurrent interpretation of this violence against the things (Sofsky, 1998; 2001) deals with the condemnation of idol worship, considered the Unforgivable Sin according to the *Hadith* but not to the Quran, where no references are addressed to such a destruction (Fouad Allam, 2005:196). IS militants declare to follow the Prophet Mohamed when they take down idols – all kind of antiquities, from the Mosul Museum to the Palmira's temple of Bel – and destroy them.

The strict interpretation of an episode of the tradition (*Sunnah*), that probably dates back to the pre-Islamic society, through the ideological lens of takfir is undoubtedly at the origin of the demolition of many Roman and Assyrian sites and statues. However, we can also interpret "these as performative acts of violence in the public sphere," as archaeologist Ömür Harmanşah assumes:

"I prefer to see ISIS's destructive work as operating in the realm of Bruno Latour famously called "*iconoclasm*" – the contemporary and perpetual image wars in the public sphere, both destructive and constructive, and driven by advanced technologies by capitalist hypermodernity, new media mobilization, and the global economy of the extensive consumption and regeneration of violent imagery. In this sense,

I see ISIS not all as an anachronistic religious phenomenon, but as emerging from the very dynamic culture of our super-modern moment.” (Harmanşah, 2015:176)

What basically diverges between iconoclasm and iconoclash, in Latour’s original view is the kind of intention that moves an act.

“*Iconoclasm* is when we know what is happening in the act of breaking and what the motivations for what appears as a clear project of destruction are; *iconoclash*, on the other hand, is when one does not know, one hesitates, one is troubled by an action for which there is no way to know, without further enquiry, whether it is destructive or constructive. This exhibition is about *iconoclash*, not *iconoclasm*.” (Latour, 2002:16)⁴

Could we really think of IS’ destructions as acts made with hesitation? The images of the Caliphate fighters made the “shirk temple” of Bel in pieces posted on the internet, shattered the world in 2015 and rise a number of questions concerning the attitude of Islam towards images. As Bettetini argues, this issue is highly contradictory because IS pretends, on one side, to cut off with the past and on the other side, to thread its ideology on the former times of Islamic civilization (Bettetini, 2016:15).

The loss of coordination in the acts of destruction performed by IS’ militants of the powerful message launched by the Caliphate to the global audience: IS wants to destroy civilization, not only the classical heritage. The destruction in itself is not highlighted as the primary scope, although the event’s massive impact. A sharp divide can be seen between the injuries against the Palmira’s archeological site and, for example, the destruction of the Baymian’s Buddha in Afghanistan made by Talibans in 2001. In this case the authors deleted the site completely and posted the images of the final bombing showing the clear intention of an act that can be codified as iconoclasm. Coming back to the intuition of archaeologist Harmanşah we can conclude that Zambrano’s theory of sacred gives a satisfactory explanation of why IS’ fighters has done in Palmira an act of pure iconoclash. In their Self-centered presumption of being the purest and the best people in the world, they celebrate themselves and their power through the sole action they can perform, a destruction that pretends nevertheless to be founding of a new society.

⁴ Italics in the text.

THE DEMONIC AND THE REVERSE OF GOD IN ISLAMIC STATE

The sacred, which is a peculiar trait of Islamic State, in the sense investigated above, is the consequence of considering identity (only those who follow the *takfīr can be said properly human*) as an absolute in opposition to relation (the excommunication of those who do not belong to IS' ideology). This anthropological deception, for being the human person a subject who relates, lacks of any ontological foundation. Moving from this intuition Zambrano assumes that sacred opens the doors of the hell: it can be easily found in "an intermediate place" where life is "without texture" (Zambrano, 2001, 163)⁵. Those who fall into such a trap, the Spanish philosopher assumes, suffer from a peculiar illness: the envy, the very heart of the hell, where the "impotence of being" (Zambrano, 2001, 267) is experimented.⁶

We have already seen how the oblique glance of Iblīs – the veritable master of Islamic State – characterizes the evil attitude of the Caliphate, as the consequence of a vicious resentment. In the destructive-constructive aim of IS can be easily seen how Islamic State is envious of good, of the primacy of Allah: in its nullifying effort the Caliphate rejects pity and compassion. The God of IS is never merciful (*ar-Rahmān*), he is always great (*al akbar*).

At the light of Zambrano's thought, such an incessant work of negation reveals nothing else than the power of will, the deepest source of envy, the "sacred illness." It is rather evident that the sacred is a sort of simulacrum of God, a reversed profile of God and it is also easy to understand what the Spanish philosopher means when she argues that only divine might save the sacred, so that no action has to be left out in order "to convert such an uncontainable action into its contrary" (Zambrano, 2001:XXVII)⁷. As the sacred is the opposite of divine, the aim to act in the name of God it is not only impossible (sacred denies any relation; God is Relation) but it gives rise to the opposite of the divine, the Satanic. It follows that, in Islamic State, God has been substituted by Iblīs and destruction has replaced the role of creation/construction. A human person who assumes to have a dominant role in the universe perceives herself as omnipotent. That's the root of the original sin evoked in the Book of Genesis as well as in the Holy Quran. In this global reversal of (Islamic) faith and human relations, a main phenomenon arises.

⁵ Translation is mine.

⁶ Translation is mine.

⁷ The translation is mine.

Islamic State is guilty of shirk, the same accusation that it directs against the world through the doctrine of *takfīr*.

The sacred, in Islamic States, is an essential component to understand the proper nature of the Caliphate's jihadism. It also allows us to upgrade the idea of demonic, as a main trait of the totalitarian evil. In the masterful analysis of the concept of demonic in Jan Patocka's philosophy, Derrida noticed that it is "originally defined as irresponsibility, or, if one wishes, as nonresponsibility" (Derrida, 1995:3), since the term was introduced by Plato in the Western thought (the *daimon* inhabits humans). Nevertheless the absence of responsibility is part of totalitarian regimes, according to Bauman, who in *Modernity and the Holocaust* wrote:

"(...) responsibility is silenced once proximity is eroded; it may eventually be replaced with resentment once the fellow human subject is transformed into an Other." In (Bauman, 1989:193).

What is new, in IS' demonic – I suggest – is the irresponsibility in front of God, not only in front of the human beings: it brings to light a contradiction that makes the Caliphate go against the same principles on which it has been founded.

THE MYSTIC OF MARTYRDOM IN ISLAMIC STATE

The overturning of reality into a false representation and the impossibility of founding a state entity on a supernatural ground – the Caliph operates in the name of God as its vicar, in order to make a global *umma* – puts IS in the conditions to introduce, as a basic component of its society, the mystic of martyrdom. It becomes the main strategy for the Caliphate to survive because it connects the religious aim to the bureaucratic frame needed by a totalitarian state.

Not life but death orients IS and its members, since the first breath of the babies. Every single citizen, in fact, is called to die for the cause of God in the interpretation of IS and to defend Islamic State, which is considered to be "the only State ruling by Allah's *sharī'ah* today" (Dabiq, 10). Self-sacrifice then becomes the first law within the borders of Caliphate and abroad, also for women, who are not allowed to take part to the battle, except in defense against someone attacking them. In any case, the logic of martyrdom entails for the female's part of IS a peculiar role, consisting "in building the *umma*,

producing men, and sending them out to the fierceness of battle” (Dabiq, 11: 41). Women play undoubtedly a role in the propaganda, especially the Western migrants who are very active on the social networks. It is the case of Zehra Duman, an Australian girl who made the *hijra* in 2014, got married in the Caliphate with a mujahidin and suddenly became widow. She posted a tweet:

“The kuffār think that death to a mujahid is a loss. NO, by Allah, martyrdom is a major reward and an honour! We will have victory either way.” (Saltman and Smith, 2015:33)

A society of martyrs, where everybody is ready to die for the sake of Islamic State, makes the Caliphate definitely fall into the capital sin that it try to combat, the so called *shirk* or polytheism. It has become a martyrs-factory for assassins and fighters who die in action, to whom the propaganda’s digital magazine *Dabiq* dedicates the special section called *Among the Believers Are Men*. A close reading of the profiles shows how exemplar is for IS the narrative of martyrdom, for at least two reasons; on one side martyrdom motivates citizens to orient their lives to the supernatural aim of the Caliphate’s government, on the other side it changes the satanic face of Islamic States’s operations (executions, terrorist attacks, war, children used as soldiers) into a religious one, through a mystification that is typical of classical totalitarianism. This is also useful in term of propaganda, for increasing the appeal of Islamic States among those, especially young people, who are looking for deeper motivations on which to thread their ordinary lives. I quote the case of Jean-Daniel Bons, the French guy, 20 years old who joined the jihad in Syria, with his elder brother and became a *shahid*.⁸ Furthermore, the mystic of martyrdom emphasizes only the “positive” side of the act of killing themselves as a witness of faith and eclipses the “dark” aspect of doing something against the Quran’s principles. A sharp divide, in fact, exists between the *shahid*, or someone who is prepared to struggle and give up his life for the truth, and so become a martyr (Ezzani, 1986) and the *intihari* or suicide, “which entails eternal damnation.” (Hafez, 2007:60)

The great deception of the Caliphate is made through articles that throw light upon the supposed virtues of terrorists and assassins. Among them we meet the profile of Abū Muhārib Al-Muhājir, the battle name of Mohammed

⁸ “*Les enfants perdues de la famille Bons*”, *Paris Match*, 16 Janvier 2014, <http://www.parismatch.com/Actu/Societe/Djihadistes-francais-Les-enfants-perdus-de-la-famille-Bons-544458#>.

Emwazi, as known as *the beheaded* o Jihādi John (Mekhennet and Goldman, 2015) for being the leader of a quartet of British jihadist in Syria (Mendick, 2015). How could such a person become a model, a paradigm of virtue for the *umma*? It was a difficult case for *Dabiq*'s editors to beatify Emwazi, also for its controversial behavior: when he was arrested by the police, on the occasion of his trip to Kuwait, he firmly denied to have something to do with jihad. The beatification of Jihādi John is thread on the secure ground of the self-interpretation of the *Hadith*, the second source of the Islamic law:

“During the interrogation Abū Muhārib Al-Muhājir would present himself as unintelligent, as was the method when dealing with intelligence agencies. The Prophet said, “War is deception” (Reported by al-Bukhārī and Muslim).” (*Dabiq*, 13:22)

The precise purpose to make of Jihādi John a martyr of Islamic States is evidenced by the hagiographic narrative that presents the beheader as a tender uncle for the Caliphate's orphans. The editor never provides information about the atrocities made by Emwazi, which made his famous worldwide. The only reference to his bloody career comes from a passage at the end of the story:

“His harshness toward the kuffar was manifested through deeds that enraged all the nations, religions, and factions of kufr, the entire world bearing witness to this.” (*Dabiq*, 13:22)

In this essential trait of the Caliphate can be seen a main divide between IS and Al-Qa'ida for what concerns the profile of *shahid*. In brief, we could say that for the jihadist label founded by Osama Bin Laden the deliberate death in action represents the only possible world for the terrorist who dies. On a philosophical perspective (Fisogni, 2009; 2010) this act is perceived as an end in itself by the *shahid*, not as a simple mean in order to get to the final result, as Pape assumes in *Die for Win* (2005). That's why the concept of martyrdom, in Islamic State, is wider than Al-Qa'ida's, encompassing all the aspects of ordinary life. What makes the difference between the two jihadist groups, it is properly the totalitarian profile of Islamic State, the main trait from which this discussion has moved.

CONCLUSION

Not only cruelty nor the absence of pity and mercy are the hellish traits of Islamic State. We are facing something new respect the totalitarian regimes of 20th Century: the phenomenon of Caliphate is not reducible to a group of bureaucrats who put a set of procedures into practice. The paradigm of radical evil theorized by Hannah Arendt – then criticized by the Arendt herself⁹ – can hardly be applied to Islamic State where people are perfectly aware of the decision of the leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the “vicar of God,” to eliminate all those people who don’t practice the strict Salafism-inspired way of life. IS has a very simple worldview, with a simplified logic: this is the key of the Caliphate’s appeal that moves thousands of young people with different backgrounds and education, from Western to East, to join its ideology, also according to a pervasive propaganda. However, the powerful attraction of IS reveals the more fragile side of it. As I’ve argued in my paper, Islamic State’s presumption to represent God on earth and to act in the name of the Omnipotent clashes against the limits of the finite world and give birth to a social-political-religious entity that is closer to the hell than to the Paradise on earth. To proclaim IS the best of the possible worlds puts its members in the condition to consider themselves at the same level of that Creator they adore. All the efforts to create a political or social entity then becomes the paradigm of a negativity hungry of self-affirmation or of a destructive-construction, which inhabits contradiction, the place where – on a logical as well as existential ground – the hell is located.

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⁹ I precisely refer to the letter Arendt wrote to the friend Gershom Scholem (24th July, 1964) that marks her rethinking of the “radical evil” theory. “It is indeed my opinion now that evil is never “radical”, that it is only extreme (...) Only the good has depth and can be radical”. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism* Arendt defined the “radical evil” something “beyond the pale even of the solidarity of human sinfulness” (Arendt, H. (1973). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, A Harvest Book, San Diego, New York, London: Hartcourt, 437).

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Chapter 7

**DARK TOURISM AND
DIGITAL GIFT ECONOMIES:
SOME EPISTEMOLOGICAL NOTES**

Rodanthi Tzanelli*

Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leeds, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper suggests that the study of dark tourism or thanatourism tends to reproduce some old conceptual and ideological models of research. This becomes evident when we consider the absence of cyber-epistemologies of dark tourism online and their covert communication with governmobility or governing the social through mobility. Of primary focus is here the management of humans through technologies facilitating the taming of death. Our engagement with literatures of thanatology and dark tourism as a type of tourism promoting consumerism highlights that (a) dark tourism has been limited to traditional terrestrial fieldwork of the tourist as a consumer and tourism as a marketing process connected to experiential authenticity, and (b) as a result, researchers fall back to moralized approaches to it as territorially-bound heritage. This conceptual schema connects to the old Western European split between technology and memory. Alternatively, unconditional support of digital technics tends to glorify labour to merely attack the spirit of postmodern consumerism. We note that setting the “gift” of technology and its

* R.Tzanelli@leeds.ac.uk.

technicians against the “gift” of dark heritage does not encourage rigorous epistemological analysis of the status and transformations of dark tourism in the cyber space because it does not take on board the historical dimensions of digital governmobilities. Instead of condemning technological means as instrumental and therefore inessential to contemporary social analysis, we have to (a) redefine the digital gift of dark tourism as temporary extension of life and (b) engage with Internet methodologies of digital dark tourism as an emerging theme in tourism analysis.

Keywords: cyber sphere, dark tourism, epistemology, gift economy, governmobilities, *téchne*, technology

IDENTIFYING A PROBLEMATIC DATUM

Tourism epistemologies still have a long way to go to integrate multidisciplinary speculations on human perception. We may recall Levi-Strauss (1968), who argued that in epistemological variations of social sciences there has been a confusing dissociation between observable world and structure. For him, what ethnologists were accustomed to see, hear and write during fieldwork, was not enough to configure social issues in their field. His observations aimed at deciphering the inconsistencies of ethnomethodology centering on the dissociation between what people do and say. As French sociologist Bourdieu (1992, 11, 43) would later add on social class and taste reproduction, we often follow habit. In this paper we argue that the antinomy between a conscious, fully articulated research agenda and our not fully conscious habitual interpretation of “facts” persists in virtual environments, which currently facilitate ways of governing social perception – what Bærenholdt (2013: 20) identifies as a “political technology”. For this we will focus on investigations into dark tourism online – or, rather, their absence from a social scientific agenda.

Valuable research has advanced on dark tourism as a social phenomenon, as well as the interest of tourists in visiting dark sites (Foley and Lennon, 1996; Seaton, 1996; Miles, 2002; Strange and Kempa, 2003; Wight, 2006; Jamal and Lelo, 2008; Robb, 2009; Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Sharpley, 2005; Stone, 2012; Kang et al., 2012). Yet, such research prioritized the perception of such sites by tourists, thus polarizing methodologies on the basis of demand-supply or guest-host binarisms, and replicating the design of consumer-orientated “opinion polls”. With regards to site marketability,

authenticity plays a crucial role in the consolidation of dark tourist destinations, so the idea of a virtually-mediated experience is on the losing side already. Because the emphasis on “tourist-constructed” authenticity is underpinned by the presupposition that tourists are valid sources of empirical information, researchers were encouraged to dismiss philosophical approaches that contradict the “safe” empiricist model and favour description (Korstanje, 2011b).

Alternatively, the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) that emulate virtual landscapes generated a polemic concerning the extent to which dark tourism and the human fascination with death are ethical to pursue or encourage. We find this reaction equally unhelpful, but we utilize it as our starting point, for reasons that become apparent much later. Our paper explores what happens when we research dark tourism in virtual environments, and how we can bring forth epistemologies, which transcend empiricist claims. In terms of approach, we borrow from both classical anthropological and sociological research on tourism and from the “new mobilities paradigm”, which better acknowledges that disparate forms of movement, such as tourism/travel, web-surfing, capital and business, form nodes that become implicated in societal governance across national boundaries (Hannam et al. 2006; Hannam, 2008; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007). Our more general thesis is that dark tourism represents a postmodern attempt to reverse the social function of death, weakening the social bond with the introduction of a sentiment of superiority over the past – only this is now managed by networks of digital business. At this stage, technology and virtuality accelerate the dependency of the self on the suffering of others. Philosophically speaking, it is safe to say that, from their birth, humans are dying; they come to this world from and to death. Anthropologists would argue that the recognition of our finitude through ritual is a tactic of deterring the process of bodily “corruption”. Such rituals – present, for example, in funerals, as speeches for the deceased, or in public events, as collective commemorations – are missing in virtual environments. No website owner or developer can “do” and sell dark tourism in such healing ways. As a result, even social scientists willing to research dark tourism virtually tend to reproduce the empiricist conundrum – now more unsuccessfully, as even the “opinion poll” option does not account for its mediation by technological means.

The paper suggests that we drop this epistemological framework and start our philosophical investigations from scratch. To be clear, when we speak of “dark tourism” or “thanatourism”, we refer to physical, emotional and now

virtual/digital visits to physical sites and landscapes marked by death and suffering. In line with the new mobilities paradigm, our emphasis tips the scales of investigation from globalization to cosmopolitan concerns (e.g., Germann Molz 2004, 2012), by questioning or transcending the foundations of established normativities in interdisciplinary scholarly environments (Sheller 2014). We exclude from our investigations deaths connected to literary and cinematic plots (e.g., tours induced by horror films), especially those not anchored to social-historical realities; famous ghost tours connected to legends; the whole *Poltergeist* craze that entertains global fandom, and sites of individual deaths. From all the possible versions of dark tourism we focus on historically validated deaths in sites of past atrocities (such as Auschwitz), mass shootings (such as battlefield visits) and traumatic public spectacles (such as terrorist attacks of the 9/11 calibre) (Slade, 2003). Although this focus narrows down Seaton's (1996) definition of dark tourism, it also clarifies how our investigation differs at a basic definitional level.

In the following section we revisit the discourse of thanatology: the *lógos* or reasoning of death (ancient Greek *thánatos*). Death is a question of social perception of beginnings (birth) and endings (death), which robs humans of a self-regulated, meaningful conclusion. In this section, we explore how social scientists analyse the ways we cope with this realization. In the third section we examine the literature on dark tourism, pointing at gaps, but also helpful observations for our digital investigations. In the fourth section we proceed to investigate the philosophical problems social scientists face, when they try to transfer their epistemology from other (tangible, terrestrial or material) fields onto the cybersphere. The cyber sphere has challenged our set understandings of territory and "place", but not debates on the porosity of place (Cresswell, 2006; Adey, 2010), the socio-cultural dimensions of (cyber-) movement and their implication in reproductions of network capital, 'access to communication technologies...and the social and technical skills of networking' (Larsen and Urry 2008, 93) – in our case, also participation in whole continental philosophical traditions and political outlooks. Something is "lost", we argue, before something is gained back, or retrieved by cyber-visitors during their virtual tour. Yet, this possibility of retrieval or recuperation is fraught with a perceptual issue that recasts Levi-Strauss' cautioning note into contemporary social scientific analysis on mobilities.

MANAGING DEATH: THANATOLOGIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Thanatology has shed light on human interpretation and acceptance of death. Sociologically speaking, religion and religiosity are mechanisms that alleviate human beings from the trauma of their inevitable death – mechanisms that are absent from secular societies, in which there is no expectation of afterlife (Bardis, 1981; Bardis, 1986). The poor, social scientists claim, who are subject to more material deprivation than the rich, invest in death (Korstanje, 2006). There is enough evidence (Bardis, 1986) to confirm that the black accept death easier than white populations. Likewise, large city residents are less inclined to ponder on death than the inhabitants of rural areas – something also suggesting that metaphysics and economic conditions are inextricably intertwined. The impact of material conditions on human perception and the emergence of subjectivity through reflexive work play a significant role here – for, as German philosopher Feuerbach acknowledged “religion is an act of reflection, a self-reflection about the essence of humanity: god is for man the sublimation of their sensations and ideas as the reminder to the lived ones” (Feuerbach, 2009, IV). Note that Feuerbach’s conclusions are based on a historical anthropomorphizing of death. To counter-balance deprivation, societies construct an archetype of the divine world, which is at odds with real life. Poor and “developing” societies are prone to believing in the omnipotence of gods, because they offer in afterlife what humans could not attain in life.

Such preoccupations have been ubiquitous in human history. Huizinga (1993) reported that, during the Middle Ages, death represented the decay of life, inducing a primitive fear. Communal constructions of values and forms of social action were meant to counter cruelty, conspiracy and corruption and secure social bonding. For example, chivalry, love and honour served to give hope to peasants, who were more oppressed by their lords. In this context, the idea of death connected to the imaginary of sacredness: the certainty of bodily putrefaction was a “dead certainty” (so to speak) for common people, but did not apply to sacred persons, bishops, or saints. Contact and proximity with such personages was a sign of religious devotion. Pilgrimages were not a spectacle at these times, but a need to be close to those chosen by God. By the end of medieval times, describing and portraying death had also become more frequent. For example, Belting (2011) explained that death and image are historically intertwined. In monarchies the presence of an ailing King, who

could not make a public appearance, would be symbolized by a mask or a subrogate body. This imagological representation would both reconstruct a social hierarchy at risk of extinction (the death of a significant “royal body” could plunge society in chaos and disorder) and exhibit the nature of politics. According to this theory, image allowed for the sublimation of death. One of the founding fathers of social anthropology, Bronislaw Malinowski, who explored the performance of rites in Melanesia, acknowledged that death represented an archaic problem for humankind. Surprised by the death of fellow humans, the survivors experience uncertainty, as nobody knows who will follow the deceased. To reduce the resulted anxiety, the living commemorate the event by constructing a monument. The mourning process commences with the emergence and expression of two particular sentiments (fear and pain) and concludes when these are alleviated (Malinowski, 1948). The externalization of such emotions in architectural forms marks this: the dead now live in material structures as images and ideas for the living.

Material structures are thus connected to healing processes – and it is not a coincidence that more contemporary societies commemorate significant deaths in the form of images and imposing structures. Aries (1975) contends that processes of modernization improved life conditions and expectancy, but paradoxically uncovered the wilderness of death. Where during the Middle Ages death resided in an exotic domain, outside the social, and tamed, understood, only through religious ritual and artistic representation, today mortality terrifies because it is the absolute end for the living. Jeffreys (2013) suggests that this happens because we socially acknowledge the presence of two different times: the one we accept, that of our life span, does not alter our identity. The passing of days expresses a time which is chronologically explainable. But the second time involves events unfolding after our death, which we will not experience in person but can observe after the death of others. This temporal framework threatens our existence and exposes our vulnerability. Human beings generate social institutions to respond to problems they face in life, but their real enemy, death, cannot be socially mastered.

The impossibility to tame death was first reaffirmed in the institutionalization of ethno-national (-ist) solidarity and state bureaucracy. As Herzfeld (1991, 115) points out, armed with taxonomies, bureaucrats are national modernity’s foremost arbitrators and the state’s hierarchical face: “any challenge to national language is a reminder of death, the underlying disability of all nationalisms...It is in converting this basic fatality into a predestination to ultimate good that the work of nationalistic discourse lies –

the abolition of death, that ultimate otherness within". Horror stories of bureaucratic resurrection of deceased family members in Greek tax and election registers – a peculiarity with which this article's author is familiar – add a more humorous note to bureaucracy's posthumous magical powers. Once one is recorded in state records and identified with the help of photos of appropriate dimensions, they cannot easily die (especially in expansive bureaucratized societies that are short of cash). With this we reach an important conclusion: death is the "other" of socially intelligible taxonomy, as much as is a threat to economic order. Social transactions are not possible with the dead – though, as we will see later, the postmodern condition has turned even death into a lucrative pursuit.

Here we may proceed to identify an economic and social change in political regimes across the world as relevant to social thanatology: the disintegration of communism and the adoption of capitalism by whole countries with declining local economies (Lash and Urry, 1987). Based on a limited control over business by states, investors have selected peripheral countries with lower costs to enhance their profits. Undoubtedly, in an increasingly globalized environment, this resulted in a combination of cost-benefit searches that trapped workers into a system of limited job security and extreme competition. Capitalism has, in many respects, become enmeshed into bureaucratic apparatuses as much as it has attained its own bureaucratic logic of labour demand, consumer desire and produce supply; and in an era of failing nation-state power, the appropriation of the bureaucratic logic by transnational capitalist networks is also very real. For workers, operating out of this logic means death (Gottdiener, 1994).

There were further consequences of this profound association between bureaucracy and capitalism, which are visible in thanatic discourses of community-building to date. Hofstadter (1992) argued that competition and entrepreneurialism were connected in the US to the adoption of Asa Gray, Graham Sumner and Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinism. Such biological theories postulated "the survival of the fittest" and "social determinism" as two significant axioms, reinforcing the sentiment of exceptionalism inherited in the nation's founding fathers. Hofstadter argues that the provision of equality to citizens by law clashed with the reality that some social actors were successful, while others were not. As a supra-organism, the social structure overrides the interpretation of law, so in order to advance to a better stage humans ought to accept the struggle for survival as the primary cultural value. Millionaires are not examples of greed or avarice, but of evolution and natural selection. They have been selected for their strengths, tested in their success in

business, and the ability to achieve adaptation to the socio-economic environment in which they functioned as entrepreneurs. Social Darwinism was a doctrine originally adopted by some religious sects, so Sumner and Gray's suggestion not to leave the poor without support carried some moral gravity. Note, of course, that Calvinist and other Protestant circles emphasized the hostility of the environment as a proof of faith, suggesting that humans evolve in a conflicting and dangerous world (Weber, 1985). The simultaneous promotion of the image of the prosperous city as an "earthly Eden" hosting only "chosen people", exerted considerable influence, leading to considerations of labour as divinely ordained. For Americans, in order to be successful, one had to ensure they are selected by God – a theory functioning as Social Darwinism's secular counterpart (Hofstadter, 1992).

Social theorist Bauman provides another useful link between death, bureaucratized surveillance and the new disorganized capitalist logic. For him, the capitalist ethos has modified ideas of citizenship: today's citizens are not mere producers but also commodities in the service of the society of the spectacle (Debord, 1995). He uses the *Big Brother* TV show to explain how people enter publicly a broadcast contest like commodities, ready to be selected and "bought" by others. Participants in this reality show know that only one will win, and the rest will "die" an image death, as only "prestige" matters as cultural capital for contemporary - especially, but not exclusively, Western - lifestyle choices. *Big Brother*, for Bauman, illustrates how the capitalist ethos is based on prestige-building for few and capital pauperization for the rest, which (also in line with Bourdieu's (1984) conception of "symbolic capital") translates into straightforward economic destitution in some cases. The modern state set the pace for the advent of neoliberalism to monopolize people's sense of security. This does not mean that states are unable to maintain security, only that markets use it to re-channel consumption with the imposition of fear. Human disasters, such as the Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, reveal the perverse nature of capitalism, which enabled the abandonment of thousands of poor citizens to die, with the production of a "show of disaster". For Bauman, the sense of catastrophe, like death, serves to cover the inhumane nature of capitalism (Bauman, 2007, 2008). Society only answers to crisis, when its economic system is at risk. For exogenous dangers, inflicted upon its "pariahs", spectacles can describe consequences without explaining causes. Bauman's argument discards the value of charitable spectacles without further consideration or explanation of how they can turn capitalist indifference on its head, by raising public consciousness by at least alleviating the consequences of disasters. But his emphasis on image

management and its social hermeneutic value are valuable for our argument: What do we really know about the real causes of Auschwitz or 9/11? Could a Holocaust or Ground Zero museum explain the complexity of human nature? For Bauman, any attempt to sacralise dying as a spectacle preludes the represented tragedy's neglect.

The significance of image-management through processes of "museumification" has a direct connection to warfare and violence (Korstanje, 2013a). Wars facilitate ethno-genesis and nation-building with the fictionalization of violence and death in museums and public shrines (Tzanelli, 2008, 2011). At these shrines, which today have replaced old religious temples, the society stores images, literary treasures, as well as a lot of objects, instruments, or weapons aimed to enhance national pride. We may even argue that museums represent a profound signification (emulation) of wars and suffering. Revolts, riots and radical revolutions end behind the display windows of a museum, as spectacles for the "tourist gaze" (Urry and Larsen, 2011). One of the aspects that have facilitated the expansion of capitalism rested on the efficacy of its disorganized bureaucratic machine to recycle human symbols. Museums are built as a reminder of war, but only on fictionally uniform stories of violent encounter, death and loss aiming to enhance social solidarity in *specific socio-cultural contexts*. Genocide museums aim at emplacing the values of democracy and tolerance. Auschwitz did not say much on the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or the violation of human rights perpetrated by American governments after the Second World War. As Guidotti Hernandez (2011) puts it, there are no good or bad histories, humans committed the same mistakes over the centuries. Each civilization emphasizes the cruelty of others, but pays no attention to its own forms of extreme violence.

To common forms of violence exerted by states, we may add a more subtle one, which consists in covering historical events. In America, the power of states to discipline the bodies of aborigines depended not only on their strength but also their capacity to create a story. Taking away from the aborigines the will to articulate their own history allowed white citizens to accept indigenous genocide by means of oblivion. Such instances of obliteration by oblivion are many, but, again, the preservation of image persists in them, as well as the propensity to classify, segment stories of violence. Apropos Bauman and Bourdieu's analyses, this example will allow us to forge links between the virtual and the visual so that we reconsider dark tourism in digital domains. But before we do that, we have to examine if

tourism analysis actually furthers our epistemological investigation into *digital* dark tourisms.

LITERATURE ON DARK TOURISM

Dark tourism has generated a hot debate, with some experts placing attention to the phenomenon as cultural entertainment based on repressed sadism (Blom, 2000; Baudrillard, 1996, 2006; Koch, 2005), and others emphasizing its existentialist uses by tourists as a way to comprehend their own death (Lennon and Folley, 2000; Miles, 2002; Stone and Sharpley, 2008). Dark tourist sites are territories where mass-death or suffering have determined the identity of a community, but no less true is that, under certain conditions these sites might be commoditized to sell death as a product (Poria, 2007; Chauhan and Khanna, 2009). Stone and Sharpley (2008) warn on the need to distinguish dark tourism from other similar forms of tourism. The curiosity or fascination with death seems to be part of the definition, but it is also worth remembering that such tourist experiences are framed by shared values that promote social solidarity. Dark tourism may be defined as “pilgrimage”, but of more importance seems to be the contemplation of death of the self by “sightseeing” (Stone, 2012), or other audio-visual practices connected to tourist commerce (Tzanelli, 2014a).

Applied research on dark tourism tends to be descriptive, rather than explanatory. Biran, Poria and Oren (2011) claimed that the specialized literature does not explain the roots of *thanaptosis*, because these studies are not based on empirical evidence. Like heritage-seekers, dark-site visitors like to enrich their current understanding of history. The epistemological limitations of research are due to missing data on the ways tourists or visitors interpret, experience or are motivated to visit the site. At a closer look, dark tourism not only entails fascination for death as a primary reason of attraction but a quest for authentic experiences. This approach catches the evolution of experience at diverse stages, simultaneously combining this with its symbolic meanings for the tourist subject/interpreter. At the other end, stands the message/story that these sites carry, independently of individual interpretations: E.H. Cohen (2011) has explained that dark tourism serves as an educational instrument for society. Notably, visitors tend to think of sites, where memorized events took place as authentic – as opposed, for example, to museums or shrines built in sites that have nothing to do with the original

traumatic events. Cohen's observations flag the political aspects of dark tourism, connecting those to locations tied to tragic events.

Stone argues that dark tourism has gradations ranging from darkest to lightest expressions of death. While the former are characterized by devotion to sites of extreme suffering, such as genocide, mass-murders, or disasters, the latter concern spaces of cultural entertainment, such as Dracula museums. The differences between these types are detailed below.

Darkest type	
Lightest type	
Orientation Education	
Entertainment orientation	
History Centric	
Heritage Centric	
Perceived authentic	
Perceived inauthentic	
Location authenticity	
Non-location authenticity	
Shorter-time scale to the event	Longer-
time scale to the event	
Lower tourism infrastructure	Higher
infrastructure	

Source: P. Stone (2006) "A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attraction and exhibitions". *Tourism* 54 (2), 145-60.

Stone adds that some sites offer darker products than others depending on the degree of suffering. Each subtype can be framed into a spectrum of dark suppliers. Dark "fun factories" that represent fictionalized death are perceived as less authentic than an Auschwitz museum; the more they become part of a tourist industry, the more they offer frivolous experiences to visitors (Raine, 2013).

It is often assumed that dark tourism sites exhibit spaces of great pain. It is not resolved to what extent these spaces are conducive to a "spectacle of horror". It has been repeatedly argued that death sites should not be commercialized. Sociologically speaking, in late modernity, instead of correcting the problems that led to disaster, post-industrial societies recycle spaces of pain to introduce new business. Hence, tourism is conducive to logic of exploitation, where death is the primary resource of attractiveness, when the original site of loss should serve to enact community-building mechanisms

(Sather-Wagstaff, 2011; Korstanje and Clayton, 2012; Klein, 2007; Korstanje, 2011a; Tarlow and Korstanje, 2013b; Verma and Jain, 2013; Korstanje and Ivanov, 2012; White and Frew, 2013). At the same time, as Sather-Wagstaff (2011, 47) notes, “historical commemorative places are not made as important sites simply because of the events that may physically mark them as distinct places through bloodshed or the destruction of...landscapes. These places are made through ongoing human practices in time and...across multiple spaces and places”. Her ethnographic observations on the Ground Zero site are important for the development of our argument: for her, the site’s symbolic hole is filled by the conflicts amongst various actors/agents (better defined as “dark site interpreters”), which range from politicians, families, neighbours and investors. All of them struggle to impose their own discourse about 9/11, until the most powerful stakeholders monopolize the interpretation of the event in view of their own interests. In this sense, Sather-Wagstaff adds, tourists are proactive agents that produce meaning beyond the monopoly of political control.

Epistemologically speaking, research into dark tourism cannot always dissociate interpretation from perception. Some studies promote the voice of the tourist as the only agent capable to understand what is happening in context. Positivist approaches that promote thinking about the “truth” in any studied social phenomenon as an objective reality, which can be reached by collecting people’s opinions alone, poison tourism analysis. Such approaches run the risk to be partial but in non-conscious and publicly declared ways, thus leading to unwholesome conclusions, as the present paper’s author found out the hard way during fieldwork (Korstanje, 2014a, 2014b). At the same time in tourism, as might be the case with particular approaches in other managerial disciplines such as marketing or management, there is still a tendency to see in tourists important sources of information, simply because they are consumers. More interested in improving business in designated dark sites, such research falls into overt simplifications of what consumers want to get out of their visit. At the other end, certain types of social science research tend to moralise dark tourism, focusing on old communitarian debates concerning the preservation of local, national or family values preserved in dark sites. Whilst such approaches reveal much about the significance that hosts place on certain locations as parts of their heritage, they might prioritize anti-consumerist polemics over analytical elaboration.

This tendency may now be reproduced in digital domains, where cybernauts, ever more distant to the suffering dark sites enclose (Giddens, 1990 and Lash and Urry, 1994 on “space-time distantiation”) might be

regarded by researchers as ignorant consumers, or social automata consuming holiday packages someone else designs for them. But what do we truly know about the funding principles of these “packages”? Do the ways their messages are mediated merit consideration prior to any critique of such websites’ content? Does the context of production of these messages matter the same way a traditional ethnographic (“dark tourist”) site’s would? Can we base our analysis of “digital dark tourism” on established theories? In the following section, we start our epistemological journey anew: instead of locating ethical issues outside digital perceptions of darkness and death, we will place them within their contextual emergence in particular world histories and cosmologies. We argue that the particular “constellation of mobilities” that we investigate (i.e., the convergence of virtual travel, embodied tourism and technological movement) points to the diffusion of particular historical patterns of philosophical thought – what Cresswell (2010, 17) defines better as “geographically specific formations of...narratives about mobility and mobile practices”. Our “digital dark tourism” will become an issue of (primarily visual, occasionally audio-visual) *design as collective perception*, based on the urgency to exorcise death from life.

THE DIGITAL “GIFT” AND DARK TOURISM EPISTEMOLOGIES

Mobility has routes, as Cresswell (2006, 2010) notes, maintaining a socio-cultural kinetics that impinges on physical borders and virtual/imaginary boundaries and generates friction. The friction we investigate stems from the epistemic background in which digital technology emerged – hence a consideration of the spatio-temporal coordinates of its birth as an idea and practice matter. The cyber sphere has been one of the most revolutionary Western inventions of the twenty-first century: originating in the inception of the so-called World Wide Web (WWW) by British scientist Tim Berners Lee, it slowly developed into a new way to organize human perception, classify ideas and practices and build a virtual counterpart of tangible social realities wherever there is Internet connection and activity. Today Britain’s most advertised cultural capital, on which the West’s network capital rests to provide business (global networks of technicians, web designers and other professionals), the WWW has developed into a narrative of Western creativity and generosity, drawing upon conceptions of “the digital gift” (Tzanelli,

2013). Social anthropology has taught us that, from so-called “primitive” to “developed” societies around the world, the overriding objective in a gift economy is to give away resources to secure and retain status ((Bourdieu, 1997; Currah 2007, 475) – in our case, to demonstrate abundance in digital resources and the power to distribute them as gifts. Not separating market regulation from the moral principle of symbolic exchange, as Malinowski himself has purported (Malinowski, 1922; Cheal, 1988), the WWW has become an extension of terrestrial political economy with a twist: its operation as an exchange mechanism is based on virtual “webs of obligation”, in which returns have abstract origins and destinations. As anthropologists and sociologists have shown, in many societies the monetary calculation that openly characterizes formalized exchange finds its informal expression in the cultivation of moral indebtedness (Firth, 1983, 102–3; Strathern, 1983). A number of scholars from different disciplines have challenged analytical differentiations of societies on the basis of solidarity versus calculation (Baudrillard, 1973, 1975; Sahlins, 1974, 1976; Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Sayer, 2003) – differentiations that, as Appadurai (1986, 11) has explained, derive from theoretical attempts to divorce Marxist from Maussian approaches to exchange and reciprocity.

This background has implications for the ways we view Internet projections of dark sites and stories. To be clear, even when we remove the barrier between exchange and reciprocity, the online marketization of dark tourism enters a web of invisible obligations, because it is almost always connected to territorially situated histories handed down to younger generations. These obligations (to respect one’s heritage) existed independently from the digital gift and almost always predated its “invention”. Subsequently, the digital gift of the West cannot be fully equated with the terrestrial gift of dark heritage, so that an equitable circulation can equalize givers (terrestrial dark site hosts) and recipients (tourists-web surfers). An exactly balanced exchange of technological-*cum*-economic (Internet) and cultural (dark sites) capital is never feasible, as the two forms of capital are not identical, only analogous (Sahlins, 1974, 193; Ardener, 1989). As a result, the digital projection of heritage spots with dark tourist histories is implicated in the global governance of giving, which is progressively more diffused across private (e.g., travel companies with websites) and public sectors (national tourism organizations). Despite the diverse objectives of these sectors, tourist attraction compels website designing to focus on the aesthetic principles of darkness – whether these are connected to slavery and racism, the Holocaust or genocidal war. The darkness of dark tourist websites is morally hued in

sepia colours or, as is the case with slum enclaves connected to dark tourism (Tzanelli 2014a), physical dirt or cleanliness – all things appealing to an aesthetically reflexive visitor, who knows how to consume the “exotic” (Beck et al., 1994; Giddens 1994) as (im-) material presence standing outside (*éxō*) the familiar (life, society).

Where there is consumption there are governmobilities – relations among people organized by decentralized power apparatuses (including business) that enable global flows (Bærenholdt 2013, 24-25). It is not incorrect to argue that the cyber sphere (an English translation of *kyvernochōros* from ancient Greek *kyvernō*: to govern and *chōros*: space, sphere) is the equivalent of the good old bureaucracy, which does not let humans sink into oblivion (Herzfeld, 1992) – for, the essence of our humanity is invested in visual and oral/written discourse (Smith, 2007; Alexander et al., 2011). There is a vast literature on cybernetics and Internet studies as well as an ever-expanding bibliography on digital methodologies we cannot present here from lack of space (see Cavanagh, 2007), but we can safely link the rise of virtual life to issues of democratic participation, cosmopolitan belonging and respect for difference (Poster, 1997; Hand and Sandywell, 2002; Slater, 2002; Yar, 2012). The new digital bureaucracy’s capacity to keep people’s identity and memory alive has altered the coordinates of human perception: whereas practices of typology and classification persist, ideas of materiality and proximity cease to matter. The high degree of mobility introduced by the last technological revolution shortened distances and times (Urry, 2007; Sheller and Urry, 2004; Korstanje and Tarlow, 2012; Tzanelli, 2014a, 2014b).

Under these new conditions, digital tourism is fully constructed and reconstructed in cyberspace through ideas and emotions induced to web surfers by virtualized snapshots: the historical depth of suffering, its presence in monuments of pain, the photographs of those who suffered. Such ideas and emotions feed into the physical dark site’s “traumascape” (Kaelber, 2007) in a deterritorialised fashion. So, so-called “digital hermeneutics” feeds upon fully worked emotions from afar, creating new compassionate cosmopolitan subjects, keen to observe their debts to the dead with the help of the new digital gift (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006). In other words, Western technology *allegedly* enables a reciprocal cycle to close, by providing the means to a global dark tourist clientele to pay their respects to forms of heritage centred on suffering and loss. Practically speaking, from the point of view of web developers, managing the diversity of different physical sites of suffering compresses history into small textual and visual compartments that are hosted in highly mobile websites. The original “home” of dark tourist pain loses its

privilege to provide first-hand accounts and is mediated through the technological means of a deterritorialised “host”. In this new arrangement, dark sites turn into the *object* of reciprocity that circulates with Western technology’s lending hand – the “real gift”.

Note that gifts are properties – much like heritage, a European concept denoting generational inheritance that business legalized and turned into possession no longer organized by kinship obligations. Classical gift theories see time as a mediator between the act of offering and the moment of reciprocation (Mauss, 1954). But, as Zeitlyn (2000,2) notes, in telecommunication systems not governed by classical economics, such as those of open software, time and quantity are not counted, as there are no metrics to stabilize their variables. “Ideas of ownership” he claims, still exist

But these are symbolic since, by definition, with open source software possession by one person does not dispossess another - the obvious contrast in this respect is land. Knowledge also has this attribute which is why copyright legislation is more contentious than ideas of ownership of shoes, cars, land and so on.

As is the case with open software, business-orientated dark tourist sites are open to the global public and time matters only as a quantity internal to the structure of reciprocity. As a result, as opposed to their advertised values (the gift of dark heritage) the role of technological means per se can be devalued by web-surfers and social scientists alike as catering for inauthentic experiences (Fabian, 1983; Germann Molz, 2012, 115).

The reasons for this devaluation take us back to classical definitions of tourism. Tourism is conventionally understood as movement “away from [a person’s] usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his [sic.] needs [while considering] the impacts that both he [sic.] and the industry have on the host socio-cultural, economic and physical environments” (Jafari, 1987; Theobald 1998, 8). Even if we consider the extent to which visitors of websites promoting dark tourism experience a blend of “home” and “away from home”, the very tourist product (a dark history, its physical site) acts as a constant. However, the remoteness of their experience is significantly altered in symbolic ways, as the emotional and cognitive dimensions of remembering or apprehending the histories of the dead are mediated in specific visual forms. Some digital sites dedicated to promoting dark tourism may also include auditory stimuli, but the primary form of mediation remains ocular.

Vision immediately connects digital versions of dark tourism to Western traditions of apprehending the world through practices of gazing, surveillance and visual scrutiny (see Germann Molz 2012) – all the Foucaultian parameters of discursive “bureaucratization” that Urry (1990, 2002; Urry and Larsen, 2011) used in his “tourist gaze” thesis. In fact, we may add that Urry’s understanding of systematic ways of “seeing” tourist destinations with roots in Western oculocentric practices and debates that envelop modernity, matches the association of established organized tourism genealogies with Western European epistemological traditions in a critical fashion. The recognition of paid leave during the years of European totalitarianism and of tourism as a human right after the Great War (Dann and Liebman Parrinello, 2009), were part of this process of bureaucratic rationalization. Below we delve deeper into the ways such conceptual and political-ideological developments suggest a very close relationship between the birth of a modern tourist system and Western modernity, with an emphasis on ocular organization and the division of tourism-orientated labour.

VISUALITY, THANATOLOGY AND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN ROOTS OF DIGITALITY

We cannot discard this background, if we wish to develop a digital analysis of touristified thanatology, as the split between work and leisure sits on Western European philosophical traditions and their mobilisation of classical philosophy. Such old philosophical debates affected contemporary understandings of technologies such as those of the Internet, which hosts established dark tourist sites as products. Website design is a blend of craft (apropos Berners-Lee, know-how labour) and art (the outcome of educational training on the projection of aesthetic principles in digital design). The shift from crafts to centrally disseminated artistic education has been part of state rationalization processes that connected to the emergence of national cultures. Polanyi (1966) speaks of an “art of knowing” we cannot capture without looking back to those milieus of tacit knowledge that produced such crafts and Giddens’ (1984) concept of “knowledgeability” encapsulates the early phases of artisanship. As opposed to uses of artisanship as part of nationalized and commoditized folklore “associated with the emergence of national consciousness and glorified as the repository of ancient skills” (Herzfeld, 2004, 5), website design was soon to evolve into a deregulated profession

based on combinations of the craft of digital management and the aesthetics of product presentation.

To comprehend how this development impinges upon the ways digital dark tourism is regarded in social science research, we need to travel back some centuries, after Renaissance and into the Age of the Enlightenment. The split between ideas of “art” and “craft” had begun as a division between *epistème* (knowledge) and *téchne* (technology) in European thought (Stiegler, 1998; Parry, 2003; Frabetti, 2011). The real turning point was Aristotle’s (1946, book 6: 3-4) definition of the “technical being” as a being with no end in itself, hence a tool to serve someone else’s ends. The demotion of *technitis* or technical human to an instrument echoes both Weber’s *Zweckrationalität* (instrumental/goal rationality), a type of social action involving the calculation of the most efficient means to the desired ends (Gerth and Mills, 1948, 56–7) and Marx’s critique of human alienation from labour and its production tools. Indeed, the onset of modernity and industrialization conceded *téchne* as technology with utilitarian value, but also led to dehumanizing associations of labour with capitalist profit-making. But ancient Greek conceptions of *téchne* would also encompass technologies of writing, which philosophers such as Plato (1974) had associated with amnesia. The loss of memory or *anámnesis* was predicated on the suggestion that writing technologies, including the art of poetry, were instrumental, hence crafts in the service of power that drifts humans away from the truth. Unlike Plato’s, European modernity’s self-establishing essence of technology is focused on mastery (*Herrschaft*), which is responsible for the division of the world into subject and object (Moran, 2012, 267-8). In other words, *téchne* has come closer to modernity’s epistemic objectives of articulating the object of mastery, hence subjecting it into alien “power grammars” (Derrida 1976; Foucault 1980, 1989). We return to this observation below.

Post modernisation would also prompt digital capitalist nodes of business to utilize *téchne* in a variety of loosely defined “educational” ways, including that of aesthetically reflexive tourism. Tourism has aptly been connected to conceptions of *scholé* as holidays differentiated on the basis of entertainment for the working classes and educational pursuits for the middle and upper classes (Dann and Parrinello, 2009). Here we can place the genealogical trajectory of our studied “constellation of mobilities” (Cresswell, 2010): following Western rules, these *téchnes* have become part of postmodern epistemic or knowledge economies in the service of capital, prestige-building for international media conglomerates and nation-states. But their origins in technological labour as part of folk and working-class cultures (tightly

connected to peripheral custom and cosmologies), is either obliterated or manipulated by means of commoditization. Having now undergone a civilizing process of their own, such digital *téchnes* can master the nature or character of dark sites, their histories and surviving narratives. In other words, the technics of digital crafts meet the world as polished articulation of aesthetic principles conferred upon dark tourist sites. By analogy to the old bureaucratic regimes of the nation-state, the new disorganized digital tourist business *articulates* the nature of dark sites, facilitating governmobility.

The power of articulation is based on the digit, which, by analogy to wording, connects phonemes into concepts and generates meanings in social contexts in the form of discourse (Bourdieu, 1992, 44-5; Derrida, 1997). Etymologically “articulation” comes from the ancient Greek noun *árthōsis* (connection, joint) and describes the bending of one’s joints. But the noun’s origins in *arthrōnō* (verbally articulate) reminds us of Durkheim’s embodied understanding of nationhood in terms of human maturity and subjectivity (Tzanelli, 2011, chapter 5). Today, this “physicalisation” of power is constantly countered by the polygenesis of sociality, which manifests in the form of assemblages or multiple competing social compositions such as those of the mobile web designers (Tonkonoff, 2013, 277). But in line with Foucault’s (1997) concept of “biopolitics”, web designers still continue to blend cultural symbolizations of biology (the “nature” of dark histories as aspects of a community’s “evolution” in time) with industrial (dark pasts) and post-industrial (digital-technological) processes – including those of bureaucratization (the organization of image and sound to narrate dark stories). The digital spectacularisation of the corresponding physical sites reminds of Bauman’s (2007) warning that consumers of these reality frames may end up occupying a simulacral world, in which the causes of dark tragedies are not answered.

The organizational behaviour of web designers stands outside our thesis. Instead, it is more pertinent to argue that postmodernity’s emphasis on image management may result in an unintended paradox: deprived of any other sensory input, the visitor of dark tourist websites may be considered as an incomplete human subject – unlike the terrestrial tourist, who enjoys landscapes and cultures in various multisensory combinations (see Crouch, 2009; Jensen, 2011; Tzanelli, 2013). Like the medieval ailing King, who would be present only through his artistic representations (Belting, 2011), the chosen dark tourist destination “repairs” the absent presence of a dark heritage. For the social scientist who studies dark tourist sites this may legitimate indifference towards digital tourism as a non-authentic offshoot of tourist

mobilities – an indifference replicating the old argument of tourism’s validation on the basis of experiential authenticity provision (Cohen, 1979, 2011). Trapped into Western European modernity’s Platonic cave, digital tourist gazers are not considered as tourists – in fact, they are not even complete human beings in control of their own faculties (Strathern, 2004). In this respect, more established tourist epistemologies would be prone in the case of digital dark tourism to project the fear of death onto their quintessential object of study: the websites’ visitors.

To understand this, we must return to the very conceptual basis of thanatourism in *thanatopsis* or the gazing of death. The fascination with death stands at the heart of industrial society’s mechanical production, with media playing a significant role in explaining how murders work. Just like dark tourism’s ability to enable human interpretation of the death of others, the media provide a disciplinary mechanism that enables audiences to accept death as a spectacle that stands outside their own experiences. Unfortunately, *thanatopsis* was misunderstood by some tourism scholars such as Seaton or Sharpley: the term was originally coined by the American poet William Cullen Bryant (1817) to denote the speculation of one’s own death through the eyes of others, while entertaining relief for avoiding it, at least temporarily. Because of this deferral of the finite event, Bryant’s *thanatopsis* should be regarded as the happiness for life, which is possible only if one accepts their own death as part of the life cycle. Instead of considering *thanatopsis* as part of the dark tourist’s fascination with other people’s death (apropos Seaton and Sharpley), we may view it as the mechanism with which new technologies enable consumers to enjoy the gift of life.

With this, we finally arrive at a conclusive observation on the epistemological pillars of digital research. Just like Levi-Strauss’ ethnographic subject, tourist researchers who attempt to do – or refuse to engage altogether with – cyber-ethnographic epistemologies of dark tourism, continue to reproduce old prejudices regarding what is authentic about tourist practice. Resting such epistemological prejudice on dark tourism rituals (the “being there”, “paid my respects”), encourages them to consider web-surfing, design and virtual travel as social phenomena irrelevant to their research vocation – or indeed, any sort of tourism analysis. We nevertheless must consider how this attitude connects to attitudes towards technology and labour predating modernity and developing throughout the modern and now the postmodern era.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we tried to highlight the normativity underlining scholarly discourses on dark tourism in digital environments. Through a review of literature on death as a social force and of dark tourism or Thana-Tourism as rituals *enabling* tourist mobilities (business, heritage circulation), we arrived at the conclusion that human engagement with death through consumption (as practice) and consumerism (as ideology) is a way to ward off death from life. The practice is constitutive of the governmobile ethos of contemporary social formations, which are based on networks and assemblages and promote socialites from afar. Yet, we also noted the puzzling absence of scholarly engagement with the buzzing business of digital/Internet dark tourism, placing emphasis on websites designed to cater for prospective terrestrial tourists to dark sites or mere web-surfers. We argued that we might connect this absence to Western European philosophical traditions of what it means to be a fully articulated human being, with speech capacity, full bodily mobility across time and space and coordinated senses. We suggest that digital tourism is a new research area that we can explore with the help of the new mobilities paradigm. However, we noted an absence of interest in digital methodologies and research by mainstream tourism scholars. We argue that this is connected to the fact that digital dark tourism is rife with the Western politics of space and the historical development of European epistemological discourses that devalue digital crafts as instrumental labour. However, it is our contention that by setting the “gift” of technology and its technicians against the “gift” of dark heritage does not necessarily encourage rigorous epistemological analysis of the status and transformations of dark tourism in the cyberspace.

The very implication of the gift economy in such debates muddies the waters. One normative discourse focusing on the digital commercialization of dark tourism would propel researchers to ask: what sort of “gift” is that, which sits on the graves of others? This deals web technicians and labour the final blow, because it represents them as uncritical reproducers of the capitalist logic and perpetrators of historical oblivion. In addition, crippled in terms of embodied, sensory inputs and outputs according to European phenomenological traditions, the digital cosmopolitan tourist experiences a form of death by distance and dissociation from the original gift of dark heritage. The opposite discourse would propel researchers to consider digital dark tourism as a fortuitous deferral of one’s end. In this instance, the epistemological focus must be re-addressed: instead of condemning the technological means as instrumental and therefore inessential, we have to (a)

redefine the gift as a temporary extension of life and (b) acknowledge mobile Internet methodologies as constitutive of digital dark tourism. It is not that we discard the terrestrial dark sites' historical background, only that we highlight the epistemological damage that the gift of dark tourist heritage might do to social scientific research. Centring on guilt and debt, the emphasis on dark histories can promote the devaluation of new digital technologies and their technicians. Likewise, glorifying the latter can lead to new normative discourses of labour that do not resolve true analytical issues. In terms of social research, the elephant in the room is neither the gift of technology nor the gift of heritage *per se*, but how both produce contemporary hermeneutic scenarios about our social world.

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Chapter 8

**GREAT TERROR AND
NEO-LIBERALISM IN CHILE**

Freddy Timmermann

Catholic University Silva Henríquez,
Santiago, Chile

ABSTRACT

This chapter explores the manipulation of fear during the last bloody dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in Chile. We focus on the theory of “derivative fear,” which serves as a disciplinary mechanism for work-force to accept economic policies otherwise would have been rejected. The emotional consensus established after the coup was designed to undermine any resistance as well as producing a counter-politics, which remained up to date. The doctrine of a great terror as it was formulated by Military forces, paved the pathways for the rise and expansion of neoliberalism in Chile and other Latin American nations. Since Latin America has much to say respecting to terrorism, we find the history of Chile is pertinent to shed light on how Western nations are struggling against terrorism today.

Keywords: terrorism, terror, politics, fear, neoliberalism

INTRODUCTION

A historiographic analysis always begins its search from the present time in order to find the comprehension of its object of study. In this case, it will start from the perception of the changes suffered in Chile's current subjectivity. They are transformations occurring in just a few decades, which is the first aspect that needs to be highlighted: the speed of such events. What happened to a society that lost the sense of its democratic practices --certainly debatable and limited in the 60's and the early 70's-- and came to accept structures that now impose a severe limit to such practices? The answer comes from an emotional element, a special kind of fear: terror. Our working hypothesis is that the Civic-Military State that ruled the country from September 11, 1973, generated terror in order to establish an emotional consensus that may allow the legitimization of its project: the economic neo-liberalism since 1975 and the cultural and sociopolitical neo-liberalism since 1979, which, in order to be fully and widely developed, were functional to the limited implementation of democracy that took place in 1990 and became stronger when linked to another, more global but also auto-generated kind of terror that permeated the Chilean society at least between the years 1995 and 2000. As the comprehension of the deployed terror is directly related to the main power device of the Civic-Military Regime (hereinafter, the CMR) --the exercise of violence-- it becomes necessary to first analyze the previous growing developments of contexts of insecurity that shed light on the perceptions of the reality that lead the civil and military elites to operate by imposing fear. Later, references will be made to the kind of terror of the CMR and its influence on the Chilean democracy since 1990 and its transformations.

The *Great Terror*, paraphrasing the events of the French Revolution, is the fear suffered during the CMR. It is gradually generated. The operations of psychological war, the structural economic violence, the propaganda, the open and hidden social repression are means that influence its origin and development some of them systematically conceived from the State. There are also elements, such as the historical violence, that conform the Chilean society and that are functional to the fear. It is central, however, that the state terrorism is based on an "intimidating practice, supported by a chain of repressive events that intend to be exemplary" (Escalante, 1990: 3). The fear is perceived as an event that generates a variable emotional effect due to the fact that it is interpreted as a potentially dangerous experience, object or information, when its control or reversal is uncertain. A central element is the experimentation of an unsafe situation, so its development will look for a

context of security (Timmermann, 2015:37-57). The fear affects all the society, including the civil and military elites that are supposedly not affected by it, because “for years the political repression introduced and maintained an intolerable dimension in the social relations: the sinister quality of the political reality” (Lira-Castillo, 1991: 7-9).

THE DERIVATIVE FEARS

The Cold War

In the 60's the violence is projected as a political tool, a surprising fact in a country whose society until then “was too civilized, too law-abiding and too democratic for that” (Stern, 2009: 24). If its previous conditioning factors are considered, the fact is not so surprising. One of them, is the Cold War, which installs a central insecurity - the anticommunism. The United States has a primary role because the Congress approval of the National Security Act in July, 1947 became the “culminating response to the insecurity that had been spreading around the world,” even more when, upon the creation of the National Council of Security and the CIA, “the relationship of the whole nation was altered in relation to both its enemies and its allies” (Carrol, 2007: 158, 159, 163). George Kennan with its article “The Sources of Soviet Conduct” “became one of the pillars of the Cold War imagery.” He said about the USSR that “as it is not a totally military threat, I doubt that it may be completely offset with military means” (Lewis, 1989: 39-68). But the road taken by the USA did not consider the latter idea, as Stalin's support to Kil Il Sung's invasion of Korea in June, 1950, is the fact that provides the “totally military threat,” according to the perspective of the USA (Judt, 2011: 231, 232). The enemy had been established in the National Security Council Report 68 (NSC-68) in April, 1950. It presents the existence of two forces located in opposite poles; in one of them represents the absolute evil, a devilish force that intends to dominate the world with no chances for a commitment to be established, so it must be defeated, eradicated and eliminated. (Chomsky, 2002: 22, 23). It is a State that projects a secular religious perspective of itself and the rest of the world and tries to reach the security in virtue of an emotional context --fear-- which is generated by the visualization of its own threatened world. This imaginary of the Cold War is in a great extent imposed by the USA in a vast area of the world, always collecting the local conditions for its development. The Congress for Cultural Liberty organized by the CIA

agent Michael Josselson between 1950 and 1967 was fundamental to this purpose (Stonor, 2001: 13, 400-420). All these campaigns were functional for the insecurity contexts that in the 60's would be accentuated for the USA by the Cuban Revolution and the insurgent movements that succeeded in Algeria, Indochina, the defeat of Chang Kai-Shek and the emerging insurrections in South Viet-Nam. On January 18, the National Security Memorandum 124 was enacted "giving rise to an extensive governmental counter-insurgency effort" thus initiating the "counter-insurgency era." In August, 1962, the document U.S. Overseas Internal Defense Policy set forth that "the most urgent problem for our national security is the threat posed by the existence of an insurgent movement inspired, supported or directed by the communists" (Maechling, 1990: 33-44). Against this background it is necessary to operate in different ways, some of them relatively indirect to establish safety conditions using the propaganda, the sale of military weapons at a low price, training courses for officers in its military academies and the Alliance for Progress.

In Chile, the perceptions of the elites and the supporters of the right-wing and center political groups, a part of the Catholic Church, militaries, etc., will be influenced by this Cold War imaginary, which in its reception, operates on a long-standing anti-communist base that constitutes "probably the ideological link with the greatest presence in Chile insofar as its impact has been visible in the way of doing politics and sometimes decisive in the course of different processes and relevant events," and which developed from the Catholicism, nationalism and liberalism existing in Chile since the XIX century. (Casals, 2013: 35). In the 60's, Chile's importance "lay in the *value of demonstration* of its political system for the region, and even, for Eastern Europe (Fernandois, 1998: 166), before the seduction inspired by the Cuban Revolution. This would change during Johnson's and Nixon's administration. Brazil and Chile, "where the democratic institutions were more solid and stable...were the countries of great concern for the US government, due to the progress of leftist tendencies. There, the technique of the *coup d'état* was not enough; it was necessary to use the technique to create objective conditions, not only economic but also social and political, that would oblige the Armed Forces to culminate it. And the CIA devoted itself to this task by means of the *spoiling operations*, deceiving operations, one of which consisted in penetrating into the political, students,' workers' and other organizations to help in the radicalization of the crisis through a long period of agitation and profound social disorganization" (Monitz, 2008: 83). The Church report states that "Covert United States involvement in Chile in the decade between 1963 and 1973 was extensive and continuous." "The goal of covert is political

impact” and it had a direct effect on the generation of a political perception of insecurity centered on Marxism¹. The CIA mainly works with *El Mercurio* in the generation of fear (Kornbluh, 2003:92-97). Fear also comes from other sources. One is the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (Revolutionary Left Movement -MIR) which in the late 60’s and during the Government of the *Unidad Popular* (UP) intends to produce a destabilizing² political violence. In relation with the Chilean Communist Party, the Soviet Communist Party “contributed to the better articulation and operation of its party machinery” and to “support the daily activities of the party: pay the wages of its officials and office rents, as well as supporting printing presses and publications, organizing events: in other words to achieve a more relevant party political presence” (Ulianova-Fediakova, 1998: 145, 146), installing its own fears at the local level (Colihuinca, 2004: 237-439)-, which contributes to visualize an object of insecurity in the local stage for the civil and military elites.

Historical Violence in the Urban and Rural Worlds

Lechner maintains that in Latin America the order is not posed as a political problem nor as a collective and conflictive work, because “the young Latin American republics support themselves more on the idea of the National State (and, therefore, a notion of community as a preconceived unit) than on democratic procedures” (2002: 98). It is the elites, whatever their type, the ones that govern, without necessarily intending to obtain ample consensus, giving priority to their own interests, generally damaging the interests of the rest of the society. On that basis and to varying degrees, a perception of insecurity resulting from the prevailing injustice is generated in the majority of the population, thus leading to the polarization of the idea that there are the rich and the poor and/or the ones who dominate and those who are dominated. This is part of the structural violence -logically reflected in economic figures³

¹ Covert Action. Intelligence Activities. Senate Resolution 21. Hearings before the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities of the United States Senate. Ninety-Fourth Congress. First Session. Volume 7. December 4 and 5, 1975.

² In this respect, the declaration of Mauricio Rojas, who was a member of the MIR during that period, is quite revealing: "But it is necessary to be honest until it hurts: we liked to frighten the "momios" (a Chilean slang to refer to the upper-class, right-wing and conservative people) and the military, and we were late to realize ourselves that fear, resentment and hatred was accumulating on the other side" (Ampuero-Rojas, 2016: 79).

³ In the country, Meller points out that in the early 50's, considering a total of four hundred thousand rural families, 5% are the owners of large farms, 30% own small farms, 30% own

and exclusion politics - existing in the country around the decade of the 60's, which to some extent was beginning to modify its assumptions due to both the electoral reforms and the possibilities of social participation as a result of Frei's *Revolución en Libertad* (Revolution in Freedom) and Allende's *Chilean Road to Socialism*, despite the fact that both are directed by political elites that inherit and partially reproduce these legacies. When conflicts arise -some think that the revolution is a threatening excess and others think it is insufficient to obtain more security-- violence appears in different forms as a method, apparently politically legitimized, to overcome those conflicts and establish a new order and conditions of greater safety. The *Reforma Agraria* (Agrarian Reform) that has been taking place since the decade of the 60's is observed antagonistically⁴ by the elite of the big landowners because it breaks the "ascetical subordination" (Bengoa, 1988: 22) existing since the XIX century and, therefore, the foundations of aristocracy (Barros-Vergara, 1978: 230-240). In the city, the political violence of the Chilean State is experienced from the massacres of the saltpeter workmen carried out by the military as well as the living conditions that were allowed there. Further south, and especially on workers, there is also repression to other types of strikes since the last decade of the XIX century, (DeShazo, 2007: 159-179; Lira-Loveman, 2000). From 1958 to 1973, democracy is deepened, but the violence of the State is not absent (Moulian, 1983: 107, 108). Also, "new patterns of violent criminality and political violence start to be settled, marked by the increase of robberies and the rise of groups committing common crimes with political aims." In 1966 there were 37 crimes; in 1967, 89; in 1968, 81; in 1969, 151; in 1970, 219. The average of popular violent crimes during the government of Gabriel González Videla was 12,5; 10,6 during the government of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo; 18,6 during Jorge Alessandri's; 31,5 during Eduardo Frei's; and 63,9 under the government of Salvador Allende. Inter-group conflicts occurred in the cities and in the rural world, where the numbers generated by strikes and sit-down strikes were 702 in 1967; 674 in 1968; 1.275 in 1969; 2.036 in 1970; and 3.036 in 1971 (Frühling, 2002: 299, 308, 309). In the city, the material living conditions of ample sectors caused "the expansion of a reality of a social marginality mainly characterized by the poverty," where "a new spatiality- the slums- and the presence of a new social class - the slum-dwellers" were observed, "a new reality" "that is not well accepted by the

mid-size farms and 35% of the families do not own a piece of land (they are sharecroppers, outsiders, etc.) (Meller, 1998: 86).

⁴ Arriaza, Rafael. "Ira y Reforma Agraria. La Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura. Chile, 1967" (in print).

society as a whole, and stirs, among the most traditional sectors, a feeling that ranges between fear and contempt towards this new emerging face of the popular” (Milos, 2007: 11, 561).

The Elites

The party system was transformed into an activator of the social conflict that repeatedly tended to question its own legitimacy, not being the irruption of the civil society into the political society but the scarce *civilization* of the political society (or the noticeable politicization of the civil society) the main key for the explanation of the increase in the magnitude and characteristics of violence” (Martínez, 1990: 101, 102). Also, the “dependency theory” in the decade of the 60’s “causes the idea of *all or nothing* in the radicalized sectors of the middle class, and the concept of “*guerrilla group*” facilitates an individualistic voluntarism that finds its expression in the urban guerrilla movements of the sixties and seventies.” (Werz, 1995: 235). The occupation of the cathedral and the uprising of the Tacna Regiment showed the tensions existing inside the Catholic Church and the Army. In the well-to-do neighborhoods of Santiago, private guards were hired to defend the properties. These perceptions of insecurity were confirmed and expanded by the violent acts - or those interpreted as such- that came from the *Unidad Popular* and its supporters, though Allende did not think of a violent confrontation: his declarations in the sense of leading the “revolution” and to do what it takes as the case may be, the indolence of the government to cope with the deployment of paramilitary groups like the MIR, the Ramona Parra and Elmo Catalán Brigades; and others, such as the Revolutionary Peasants and Revolutionary Workers Movements or the sit-in strikes in industries and large farms, with the immediate organization of the Communal Councils that would have the administration, the constitution of Industrial Cordons; the existence of Allende’s Personal Friends Group; the arbitrary nationalization of properties and industries; the offensive headlines of the *Clarín*, *Puro Chile* and *El Siglo* newspapers; the abuses and arbitrary actions related to nationalizations, etc.

Broad political right-wing sectors maximized their perceptions of insecurity. The *Estanquero* magazine, by declaring an extreme anticommunism, intended to formulate an authoritarian project in order to provide a solution to what it conceived as a profound crisis in the country (Casals, 2014: 99-102). Besides, in 1966 at the Pontifical Catholic University of Santiago, and founded by Jaime Guzmán, emerged the student movement

called *gremialistas*, who were totally opposed to the global politicization of the institutions of the society. The neoliberal tendency was also developed there, at the School of Economics. In June, 1967, *El Mercurio* started with the publication of *Página Económica* (Economy Page) and the magazine *Polémica Económico-Social* (Social and Economic Controversy). In 1969, nationalistic ideologists connected with the Hispanism and the Opus Dei founded the *Portada* magazine. In 1971, they founded the *Qué Pasa* magazine. The right-wing re-organized itself under a different doctrine in the *Partido Nacional* (National Party). Its program evidenced a perception of insecurity in relation to the economic freedom, the Marxism, the waning of the State institutions, the bureaucracy, the Executive Power, the Parliament, the politicization, the economy and the middle class⁵. The “*gremialismo*” adopted a similar perception (Moreno, 2010), and would later assume a messianic dimension (Rubio, 2013: 63). Since 1971, the paramilitary group *Patria y Libertad Nationalistic Front* had started to operate in terrorist attacks and sabotage in order to destabilize the *Unidad Popular*.

The military were also permeated by functional developments to insecurity perceptions centered on anticommunism. In 1936 the countries of the region adhered to the USA’s hemispheric policy of security, and after World War II, to both the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and Pacts of Military Assistance, whereby the Chilean Armed Forces received 172.7 million dollars between 1950 and 1970 and Chilean military personnel attended the International Military and Educational Training Program, thus increasing their level of professionalization, while being transmitted ideological elements especially related to the global confrontation with the Soviet Union, which would be linked with previous geopolitical conceptions in order to give shape to the concept of national security (Frühling-Portales-Varas, 1982: 21), now emphasizing the counter-insurgency rather than the defense in case of an attack of a neighboring country. Between 1950 and 1977 a total of 6,833 Chilean military staff attended said programs (Portales, 1982: 21). Their relations with the government were increasingly building up their own privileges which expanded up to the internal security without a significant participation of the citizens, because “the major definitions of the defense policy remained outside the national debate” (Fruhling, 1982: 18, 19). The concepts developed towards a “much wider restriction of the individual and social guarantees than those provided by the pre-existing states of emergency,

⁵ Ha llegado la hora de defender la libertad. (It's time to defend the Freedom) Partido Nacional. July 29, 1966.

going from being a sporadic or occasional function to a permanent one and using the expansion of the military justice in the forms of repression (Frühling, 1982: 48, 49).

The emphasis of the Christian-Democratic Party on the social aspect and its action line over the Armed Forces politicized its officers. While the traditional discourse minimized the military function, which justified the budget reductions, their preparation to fight communism and the theories of the DNS was reinforced. President Frei's military policy is the reflection of the Cold War context and, together with the Revolution in Freedom intended against the Frente de Acción Popular (Popular Front Action – FRAP), the counterinsurgent repressive mission tries, according to Lyndon Johnson's proposals, to avoid the effects of the Castro regime, Vietnam and the guerrillas emerging in the region's neighboring countries, even though after 1965 there is no hegemonic tendency in that respect nor a relation with the national situation (Valdivia, 2003: 24-29). There is, however, an "internal social unrest, especially due to the economic precariousness" which "became a breeding ground for spontaneous demonstrations in mass meetings in the canteens, rumors of requests or petitions and claims addressed to the commanders" (Villagrán, 2002: 115). In this context, they will experience the influence of the Right and some of its the most extremist groups in their procedures and ideas, which will be accentuated, because the anti-oligarchic feelings in the Armed Forces of the beginning of the century became debilitated by the training that some officers received in the USA. They felt some tension with the system because they were closer to the social problems of the moment and had to repress the workers when the authority so decided, and even more when they perceived the incapacity of the industrial bourgeoisie to achieve a self-sustained economic growth. This pushed their search for a new economic model, which required the reorganization of the political parties, the hegemony of the state ideological apparatus and a different role for the Armed Forces. The Doctrine of National Security, though decisive, did not show homogeneous results, and its influence, as far as the internal enemy is concerned, on some military sectors was evidenced only during the *Unidad Popular* and after 1973. The new doctrine was reshaped on the basis of previous ideas, and reinforced some principles such as anticommunism and the contempt of the political parties and the politicians. However, it also emphasized its interest in favor of the structural modernization, keeping the role of the State and the regulated incorporation of marginal groups. There was a strong criticism for the isolation and social devaluation of its institutions, which, however, did not result in a consensus about the total collapse of the

order stipulated in the Constitution of 1925 (Valdivia, 34-43, 33, 62). Nevertheless, it operated in a context of unforeseen development in which, unavoidably, the military were politicized in virtue of uncertainties of great emotional power. Even though they were not alone, they were affected differently, as there were other elements which caused them more unrest. On the one hand, in those years the perception of having an unbalanced military capacity in comparison with Argentina is accentuated and disappointment emerged when observing Chile's smaller role in the geopolitical concerns of the USA, which weakened its dissuasive capacity before its neighbors, a fact which was added to the pacifist ideas of Jorge Alessandri, in favor of disarmament, with the subsequent reduction in the military expenses, not consulted with the military. (Garay, 2014: 55). Internally, they felt that the accelerated democratization resulting from the sociopolitical hyper-mobilization of the late 60's and early 70's modified their links with both the State's apparatuses and the society, as it altered the Executive-Legislative relationship and jeopardized their existence when questioning their structure of totalitarian authority when influencing the troops. They were politicized when, in 1970 "the hazy uneasiness and the existence of opposing fronts results in the form of deterioration of the discipline, in other words, of the very foundation of the institution" (Joxe, 1970: 150). It is important to consider this fact, among other elements (Timmermann, 2005: 259-330), in order to understand why since November, 1973 the CMR adopted the founding option –functional to the *Great Terror* displayed ever since- rather than the restoring option. Although they did not completely agree with the Right and the political center in relation with the ideological assumptions that they felt were being threatened, they did agree in the manner in which they should neutralize the object generating fear. Based on this, the temporary rhythms of the studied fears must be understood.

THE GREAT TERROR

The psychological war is the main element of state terrorism. Its repressive strategies are directed against all the society because "All kinds of people's relationships that might threaten the regime's stability were possible objects of the repression... the individuals, the family, the groups, all the society" (Agger-Jensen, 1996: 386, 395). The application by the CMR of fear-producing psycho-technologies at the discursive level possibly started on the very same day of the *Civic Military Coup* (hereafter, CMC), as evidenced by

the document “Psychological preparation of the population to counteract the Marxist action” (Escalante, 2002). The institutionalized production of fear by the state started months later. The psychologist Hernán Thuane Scaff directed the Department of Psychology of the Human Relations Division, based in the Ministry General Secretariat of Government. The contents of the psychological action plan proposed in June, 1974 and the 104 speeches of General Pinochet from 1973 to 1976, were in line with the elements that generated and provided fear: Chile-Patria; International Marxism, All of us, Chileans; Armed Forces; Women, Youth; Workers; current government, previous government; Government Junta (Munizaga, 1988: 99-131). These operations were also included in the official documents of the CMR, the *Declaration of Principles*. (Salazar, 2007: 105).

There was a functional context to these operations because the violent events, typical of a CMG, favored a new context of insecurity that produced fear in the population: executions without a previous trial, indefinite mass arrests and Courts-Martial as the prevailing repressive forms (Frühling, 1982: 16). Insecurity and the perception of the Armed Forces as the element that generated it were installed. The main tool for the discursive production of fear in the CMG was the proclamation which created “criminal violations to be known by the military courts in times of war,” that is to say, it punished disobedience (Astrosa, 1973: 147-153), establishing a threat and dividing the society into the guilty and innocent ones, which within the military action, imposed a negative pole: the government of the *Unidad Popular* and its followers. The way out of the suffered fear prior to the CMG became urgent in the military and in the Right to recover the balance and restore order. Therefore, the discursive production of fear had to legitimate the use of violence and the destitution of the President of the Republic from the very first day. The central objective of the *Constitution Act of the Government Junta* and the *Proclamation N°5 of the Military Junta*⁶ was to clearly establish the cause of the affliction of the crisis in the country and determine those who are responsible for such crisis. Before getting an explanation it was necessary to get the collective atonement or ritual punishment, where guilt was the most immediate basis for fear, the last device of sense, which immediately found its victims at hand (Escalante, 1990: 25, 26), the government of the *Unidad*

⁶ The following official documents of the CMR will be analyzed: Constitution Act of the Government Junta; Proclamation N°5 and Chile's Reality and Destiny, 1973; Declaration of Principles of the Chilean Government, 1973; National Objective of the Chilean Government, 1979. They will be quoted as Act, Proclamation, RDCH, DP, DCH and VFCH, with the number of the page containing the information in parentheses.

Popular, which is considered guilty for the critical situation in the country. The discursive notion of the internal enemy is critical, because “limiting the danger of a visible object, clearly identifiable and officially sentenced as “evil,” the fear becomes controllable” (Lechner, 1988: 96). The positive pole was made up by those who dispensed the fear and uncertainties, those who obeyed and supported the new authorities and, mainly, the new military power: the Junta. The *Proclamation* and the *Act* articulated the punishments for those who disobeyed the CMR, establishing a political threat that operated against those who became enemies of the nation. It was the end of politics and the beginning of a different type of security and insecurity, both unpredictable and arbitrary, originated from the State.

The civil and military elite given by the CMG operated on the basis of *derivative fears* (Bauman, 2007: 11,12); almost all the rest of the population operated on the basis of the fears that resulted from the “war,” which according to the military, was being developed. There was no temporary distance to develop the *Great Terror*. In this sense, the violence exerted in the CMG was mainly justified by the people who had previously experienced it and they imposed a new hegemony in which the elements of their *derivative fears* started to be deployed in the discourse for the rest of the population. With that, their enemies remain intact. The insecurity caused by the government of the *Unidad Popular* was emphasized with some details in different ways. As political propaganda, mainly directed to the military, from the late 70’s onwards, when referring to the Courts-Martial, the press “creates a hostile climate against the accused” and highlighted the legitimacy of the punishments and coordinately presented the contents of the *Plan Zeta* (“the Z plan”). In the process FACH 1-73, which started in September, “it is intended to project to the national public opinion the idea that the followers of the *Unidad Popular* were the *enemies* of the nation (Frühling, 1982: 16, 17, 23). An experiential uncertainty was established, which allowed the enlargement of the previous fear to the *Unidad Popular*, the possibility of its return, but focused on the economic aspects that were suffered at the time. Thus, a dramatic context suffered by many, was revived: the scarcity of food (RDCH, 1973: 37, 40). This way out of fear, projected for a large part of the population, delayed the economic solution, and in the meantime it had to respond to the political aspects and be economically, though not culturally, disciplined yet. In this way it was possible to endure the material poverty without blaming the CMR and experiment psychological safety on building a coherent sense. These may be the first elements to later configure a *nonsense ideology* (Feierstain, 2012: 34-81). At the same time, regarding a way out of

fear to shortages, a dependence from the government and its projects is installed. The idea was raised that the country would be reinstalled, social justice would be implemented for the most dispossessed and social peace would be established. (RDCH, 1973: 25). Although this *derivative fear* had not changed with regards to its purpose – the government of the *Unidad Popular* – in relation with the information and/or disinformation that was generated, the perception was different. Now it was not a transitory or distant object of insecurity, typical of the “war” being waged by the military in the CMG but it was also an object that remained. Also, the possibility to find a way out of it, because the citizen was included in the “fight” against it from its daily life (RDCH, 1973:8). Therefore, the interpretation of this object –though not the intensity of this fear- has started to be modified, even more if it is linked with the chances that it might return to the country by means of an external action. It was argued that “we aim at defeating Marxism in the minds of the Chilean people, who will be able to compare and judge each of them by their results” (RDCH, 1973: 8). Thus, insecurity was installed in the different contexts where the war had to be won: at home, in the territory, in the future marked by the sociopolitical utopia, in the “consciousness.” This possibly was the most important step taken in RDCH: draw the fear closer to not only the citizen’s daily life but also its body and mind. It was not fully systematically achieved yet, but the constituent components were already discursively projected. The construction of the *Us* and *Them* had already started, because the “existing internal state of war does not necessarily mean the generation of a punishment affecting everybody indiscriminately.” An identity which excluded the guilty or those who committed treason against the nation was clearly projected. But it was an identity which had to be accepted by obligation mediated by the fear to punishment if the CMR was disobeyed. This punishment imposed the existence of a limitation, reinforcing the transit of the discursive significant to sign, a central process for the construction of a *nonsense ideology*. Setting the limits of the violence to be developed was also done with the chances existing for everybody, those who either directly or indirectly exerted the violence and those who suffered it, in order to be rid from fears. It is considered as temporary and it is thought that the military will soon return to their quarters; the fear suffered does not grow into terror. Fear is still controlled because the trauma, the object that produces it, will disappear and democracy will return. The *Act* mentions the idea of restoring it and RDCH is not clear in proposing a complete restoration. As the emergency situation and the massive military operations were coming to an end, the very context of the CMR began to disappear. The CMR, which had to carry out operations of psychological war

in the military world in order to generate a functional hatred to the “war” would also have to generate them in the population in order to reinforce the weakness of its fear to the *Unidad Popular*. The emergence of the DINA -the secret police- and its actions that prolong the violence and take it to daily-life spaces in an apparently hidden form and the Declaration of Principles will be central elements for its production since early 1974.

Declaration of Principles of the Great Terror

Around 1974 the conditions were settled to produce the *Great Terror*. The CMR revealed a document that imposed the complete systematization of a model of society. It consisted of a discursive operation to produce fear that included the participation of psychologists from the Department of Human Relations of the General Secretariat of Government. It was the Declaration of Principles (hereafter, DP)⁷. The CMR had to modify the image that it had projected on the public opinion due to its use of force. Internally, Allende’s death and the bombing on *La Moneda* produced animosity against the government in a large portion of the population. The systematic propaganda to undermine the *Unidad Popular* had obtained a significant justification, but a more concrete projection of the events towards the future was becoming necessary. The “war” actions were already unjustifiable. Their effects affected other developments, especially in the diplomatic and economic fields, because the issue of the violations of the Human Rights had consequences that isolated the country internationally, depriving it from resources. Besides, the military may not govern by themselves. There were areas in which they needed the civilians, although they were already working with them. It was also important that the civilians may know where the government was going after the natural improvisation in the instalment of a completely different regime. The civil elites still had a vivid feeling of the events during the government of the *Unidad Popular*, and that had to be exploited.

The emphasis on the discursive operations performed as a psychological war was coincident with the DP. Such emphasis was the existence of a world crisis, a *derivative fear* that had taken place in the studied elite and a portion of the population at least a decade before the CMC, if the previously described diagnosis made by the Partido Nacional and the *gremialismo* is considered. It

⁷ Published on March 11, 1974 by Editora Nacional Gabriela Mistral was written principally by Jaime Guzmán (Cristi-Ruiz, 1992: 37), with the participation of Junta’s Advisory Committee (Arancibia-Balart, 2006: 197).

was a structural element in the conservative ideology (Nisbet, 1995: 41), and a central idea that was present in the DP (Timmermann, 2009: 38-446), as it installed an extreme insecurity in light of the difficulty to be released from the suffered fear in the short term. It produced an immediate tendency to search for protection. It had a decisive influence on the construction of the “own path” (11) designed by the CMR and allowed to revive the fear of the *Unidad Popular*. Based on this, the existence of a different threat was projected discursively, less factually tangible but with a greater psychological presence. It would be of prime importance for the future construction of a *nonsense ideology*. Thus, the psychological coercion was extended in time with the existence of a negative pole which was more present than the *Unidad Popular*. It was the existence of the international Soviet and Cuban Marxism (27), susceptible to be materialized towards the past by linking it with Allende’s government by the present economic effects, by the alleged terrorist acts executed by groups or individuals followers of the UP, by the presence of Socialists or Marxists in the State, the Church, the opposition, etc., or by the repressive operations, the torture or forced disappearance, which installed it as an internal enemy that was being punished but still existed. Marxism activated the “drastic punishment” (23, 24) -state violence-, which could be increased or reduced according to the future requirements of the power developed by the CMR. Besides, “the discourse [of the CMR], when becoming a routine, desensitizes those who listen to it. The initial helplessness – for considering it incomprehensible or false as it severely distorts the reality and the meaning of words- is followed by apathy. Its repetition has, however, the power to remind those who listen to it, the presence of the world that is behind those words. An irrational world, characterized by a power that is used without restrictions to submit the dissident to the ruler’s will. Although the discourse may desensitize, it permanently reminds the existing insecurity” (Munizaga, 1988: 16, 17, 9).

All the production of sense in the political area and the capacity to impose compliance by means of the application of violence impossible to bear against fell on the Junta and the Armed and Police Forces which became an object that generated insecurity. Now, each citizen may become an internal enemy of the country. Therefore, two fears began to operate: those existing before September 11, connected with the negative effects produced by the *Unidad Popular* -and now the international Marxism-, and the fear to the exercise of power by the new government. The latter was the fear to physical death, which was still being experienced through the continuous repressive work that was routinely developed, but now adding its arbitrariness and surprising and

unpredictable character. The political threat became a death threat if the rules initially announced in the proclamations were violated. Keeping this threat in time, the variation in its tones and rhythms was what imposed fear as terror. But in the discourse the State must appeared distant from the exerted power, without allowing the perception that it legitimated the violence it had and the use at its will to avoid participation, the consensus that might discuss the hegemony that it intended to consolidate as the substitution of the previous one, in this case the one that was managed by the parties and their elites. Therefore, in the “New Institutional Structure” raised by the DP, the State was a critical issue. (13-20).

The newly proposed institutional structure allowed for the construction of a *non-sense ideology* against this terror, but it did not necessarily relieve it as it continued to be present. Then, that State, apparently the protector from former fears, was feared because the National Security that supported the exercise of factual violence operated when introducing it into the System of National Planning (22, 23). Only the political action, understood as the possibility to produce and absorption of changes in virtue of the people’s needs in a liberal democracy, may overcome the immobility shown in that sense by the described State and creatively generate outcomes for the fear suffered. Therefore, it was severely condemned. The “partisanship” was regarded negatively (25, 29 y 30). The political development of the CMR stood in a perspective of permanent lineal transformation of the nation towards a utopia, not an immobilization, although the overall effect of the repressive context from the State forced the terror to paralyze the participative community identity of the former liberal democracy. It was pointed out that the notion of democracy was intended to overcome in order to “provide our democracy with a solid stability...refining it- from the vices that allowed its destruction.” But the intention was not only a “simple rectifying task” but it was a “creation,” the “new institutional system” (27). It was a *derivative fear* which was expressed looking for a dispensation. The references to democracy was not eliminated and it was always presented as a desire of the regime to install it. It was not eliminated but transformed. It was a gradual way to establish guidelines leading to a *nonsense ideology* and, consequently, to a radical modification of the political identity. One of the central elements of this transformation, as far as a daily and close protection is concerned, was the principle of subsidiarity (15), which proposed a type of cooperatism that at the local level offered a limited perception of the spaces of power accessible to some type of transformation by means of an individual action. Therefore, a different, more restricted universe of sociopolitical balance was established,

which deepened the controls by the State and the dependence on the elites, and with that, the handling of the rhythms of existing fears. The existence of a “social power” was considered, which “is destined to become into the most important organic channel of the citizen expression (29) but its development has limitations that allow the protection of the “political power,” basically from the guilds, making them to depend on each other. This “organic, social and participative...democracy” (27-32) prevented the development of political autonomy, i.e., it kept it under control and directed it in virtue of a sociopolitical dependence of the elites. Social power provided a prioritization that consolidated the granted order and, consequently, factually, the impossibility to generate a transformation from the State. Thus, the existing fears were strengthened in virtue of the unlikely elaboration, even individually, of a political way out of those fears suffered, as the mentioned dependence prevented the growth of any complaining dissention that may affect the State. Operation took place at the local level. Thus, the factual sociopolitical experience encapsulated the ways out of daily fears within certain limitations, leaving the one projected at a higher scale as ideological or psychic phenomena without a real contrast. Here, the granted existing utopia put into practice its psychic consequences for the control of fear. It generated a homogeneous psychic atmosphere which, being tensed in a self-discipline on real bases, whose support is the latent immediate repressions covered by the provisions of the National Security, unified the individual with those immediately social fears and those that belong to the proper times of a utopia, wider, and lived psychically. It was a step-by-step structure for the production of fear, which was completed with the conception of “guild” to project an essentialist psychic tone to the described structure. Here the fundamentalist “Christian conception” (36) became essential because it was “in the field of the ideology about order and hierarchy where the Catholic traditionalism suits with the authoritarian conception of the world...[because there] each individual has a position and plays a role. Therefore, if the harmonic order of the positions and roles is maintained, the conflict disappears from the society” (Brunner, 1981: 73, 74).

The curve of fear in the DP may be established by understanding that a sort of fence was progressively imposed in order to control the fears. One was territorial. It started in the State of “Chile,” and continued in the region, in the guild, and culminated in the family. The other was psychological; it went from the infinite to infinite through the “Christian conception” and the nationalistic “tradition,” which ends in the History, the finite, by means of its beliefs, “values” and “conclusions.” Moreover, the transversal imposition of violence

and utopia must be added, the “right” being (16) the immanent law that orders, eliminating the uncertainty and allowing the internalization of a value that placed the elites as administrators of justice equally for all. So, the immanent and transcendent laws established a curve of fear based on an unquestionable hierarchical order: God-Junta-State (Timmermann, 2005: 164-187).

The *DP* projected its power devices by producing or leading the transformation of the *deimos* in *phobos* (André, 2005: 21), from the controlled, reflexive, and mental fear to one that is intense and irrational, accompanied by an escape, which was directed according to the type of ideological obedience or sociopolitical and economic discipline that was intended to be supported, in a balance with the internal contexts of the power of the regime. The intention was to control said “escape,” always installed a type of “imagination” that caused fear before it was factually present, before anything happened, before the necessary. It was the transit of fears to the present, always controlled, to the anguish in the present-future, always thought of as a possible escape, because fear did not act only in the negative sense but also in the sense of socialization, as the remaining emotions. It was from this point that the civil and military elites, after producing it, later appeared as the providers of protection and security, given the fact that they allowed the re-appropriation of reality through their interpretation. They controlled the escape, though they maintained that state without concentrating it. Slowly, the world crisis began to generate a *desensitization* and the necessary *denegative pact* whose center was the political conception. This rationalization meant simplification, prevention, social control, organization, bureaucracy, marginalization of freedom and creativity and, finally, militarization of the society. In order to reduce the fear, it ended up coming out of History and creating a context of fear siege. (Mongardini, 2007: 90, 39).

Insecurity without Fear

The first transition of the types of fears suffered at the beginning of the CMR occurred in late 1973. It received the previous *derivative fears* and those of the CMR. The second transition was generated since early 1976. The *Declaration of Principles* in March, 1974, and the *National Objective* of December, 1975, corresponded to similar interpretations of reality, written to be functional to a context of power that had not been modified. The military who took power after the CMC expanded their presence in the control of the country and of the government, while the “gremialistas” did the same in their

described own spaces of power (Timmermann, 2005: 165-330). However, differences arose in the military bloc and the neo-liberals emerged. There was fear of international isolation. From 1976 to 1978, the international criticism and that of the Chilean Catholic church before the massive violation of the human rights on the one side, and the need to expand the economy which, as a result of such criticism, was going through hardships, on the other, as well as the tension generated by civilian *gremialistas* to obtain greater spaces of power within the regime by providing it with an institutional character, led to the modification in the exercise of violence, which began to decrease. The hegemony of Pinochet-Army High Command is somewhat undermined by the consequences of Orlando Letelier's assassination in the USA, whose government put a strong pressure to prosecute former director of the DINA, General Manuel Contreras and as a result of the decisive dissidence of one of the Junta members, General Gustavo Leigh, and also because of the possibility of a conflict with Argentina – and Peru and Bolivia. This is the time for the victory of neo-liberalism, when it is believed that the economic recession has been overcome. However, there were still fears about the typical politics of liberal democracy, the popular sovereignty. The Chacarillas Address⁸, written by Jaime Guzmán in July, 1977, characterized the “new democracy.” The idea of a central “danger” did not disappear completely, and acquired, however, a new, more internal projection, as said danger was then perceived in relation to the consequences that the regime's political immobility may produce. The *Unidad Popular* and the “international Marxism” were not mentioned directly, so they had lost their urgency and political utility within the existing limited pluralism. But the fear of the typical politics of liberal democracy, popular sovereignty, still continued. There was fear of returning to the past but also there was fear of the military absence in the power of the future country. The proposed process detailed the steps, but it did not set the precise length in time. The steps were “differentiated” “by the diverse role to be played by the Armed Forces and the Police on one side, and the civilians on the other.” That is to say, the gradual implementation was always established considering the Armed and Police Forces in order to provide them with full security that their project shall be materialized, and trying to avoid their perception of future uncertainty regarding their desire to exercise the military guardianship on the civilians and, therefore, to protect the homeland. This intention of leaving everything established by means of a solid legal construction showed, to some extent, a degree of insecurity, an extreme fear of failing to control the history

⁸ The Chacarillas Address in July 1977, characterizes the “new protected democracy.”

itself and the apparition of situations that may be socio-politically beyond control. Discursively, the same tendency was evidenced by the DP. Then, fear was ritualized with words immersed in transcendent elements (Timmermann, 2009: 45-105). Now, the only thing that mattered was the political reading in immanent terms.

Neo-Liberal National Security Doctrine

After the *CHD* the CMR began to move through the possibly most delicate path, thinking about its stability, since the CMC. The fears reflected in said document were surpassed by several events. A decisive one occurred in 1978: the conflict with Argentina about the Beagle channel. The Neighborhood Hypothesis 3 (HVM) may occur, i.e., the nation may be forced to face an armed conflict with the three neighboring countries at the same time. Another decisive event was related to the relatives of the disappeared-detainees, who took by force and occupied three churches in Santiago and the UNICEF offices and started a hunger strike. The local press spoke with them for the first time. The Lonquén case (Pacheco: 1994) established the veracity of the information provided by the Vicaría de la Solidaridad (Solidarity Vicariate). The coercion was modified, tolerating limited political spaces and encapsulating social organizations (labor and university movement), acting “when the opposition sectors move outside some vaguely-designed frameworks and therefore it is not necessary to act against each and every one of its movements” (Fruhling, 1982: 97-100). Besides, the government was expecting that letters rogatory may be received at any time in relation to Contreras for the assassination of Letelier. The government was going through an extreme situation, and this was the context in which, by the end of July, Pinochet decided to remove General Leigh from the Junta in order to clear the internal front. Many of those who doubted his power, aligned with him once again. Near mid-1979, the Supreme Court refused the request for the extradition of Contreras, coronel Pedro Espinoza and captain Armando Fernández Larios. Pinochet and the military elite had once again taken control of their spaces of power. That was the circumstance that the *Visión Futura de Chile (VFCH)*⁹ would try to legitimize in order to implement the design of a

⁹ The “Future Vision of Chile” shows a “master” class of Augusto Pinochet on the inauguration of the academic year at Universidad de Chile. April 6, 1979.

Constitution where, additionally, the National Safety Council, allowed the Armed Forces to look safely at their own future and the future of the country.

Despite these difficulties, the neo-liberalism reached its maximum level of influence on the CMR. In Chile, unlike Argentina and Brazil, there were no previous contacts between business technocrats and the military, with the partial exception of the Navy. It was generated neither to overcome the Substitutive Industrialization of Imports nor to enter into an industrialization stage, but to make a substantive leap towards a primary-export economy. These elements transformed the military mentality. The impact of the levels of consumption offered by the model and a larger budget allowed them to obtain external loans to maintain the rate of the military modernization. The success was accentuated by the hegemony obtained by the neo-liberal discourse, as all the opposition press had disappeared (e.g., the press of the Christian Democratic Party), except for the magazines of the Catholic Church, with a limited number of copies printed. At the partisan-political level, almost all the media were in favor of the model being imposed, neither was there an alternative to the neo-liberal model. There were elements rooted in the military worldview, such as the issue of efficiency - comply with their duty, achieve a goal- and the relevance of the modernization - a concern for the issue of growth, apart from The new ones had the previous parameters less internalized because they had attended the War Academy, already in the hands of the NSD and the neo-liberalism, where they had been ideologically trained. Now, the market is the economic expression that represented the impersonality of the command, because the decisions were subject to objective and uniform regulations, thus making everybody equal within their context (Valdivia, 2003: 139-149).

For the Right, the neo-liberalism introduced changes in their historic way of doing politics, which from the 40's, evolved towards pragmatism, as a consequence of the deterioration of its doctrinal-ethical and political-defensive components. Previously, the conservatives only defended the existing order and rejected the revolutionary logic, the social change, the modernization, the politics. Neo-liberalism, on the contrary, assigned great importance to the ideological action; it was revolutionary, wanted to found the society again, had a utopian vision of a self-regulated market. Their cultural-ideological strategies played a crucial role. Since 1978, they raised awareness in the average citizen and the elites developing a rational discourse on the construction of a new society by means of specific policies and reformation plans. They used mass media, especially the newspaper *El Mercurio*, and the magazines *Qué Pasa*, *Ercilla*, which made their concepts popular in their

editorial lines. The achievements, accomplishments and the “modernizations” were propagated and their efficacy and some leaderships -as those of the majors- are highlighted, who would embody the achieving efficacy and the public service, in substitution of the former politician. The main offensive was the formation of elites and political frameworks, which was done in association with the gremialistas. Magazines of political-ideological kind, such as *Realidad* (1979) and *Public Studies* (1980) were created along with corporations or think-tanks, such as the Center for Public Studies. They acquired and controlled academic agencies and research centers. “Currents of opinions” were generated, such as the New Democracy Group (1979), linked to the university *gremialistas* and which gathers those who elaborated the DP with the neo-liberals. The *Corporación de Estudios Contemporáneos* (Corporation of Contemporary Studies), linked to the traditional Right was formed in 1978 (Vergara, 1985: 173-175). Attempts are made in the field of education to produce transformations in the area. Gonzalo Vial becomes the Minister of Education in 1979. Being a nationalistic of the *Estanquero* editorial, he openly presented an educational project that was similar to the one presented by the *gremialistas* and neoliberals, but this time it was not hidden. He criticized the explosion of schooling existing in the previous years and proposed that the State should focus on the pre-school and elementary education in order to convert each Chilean individual in good workers, patriots and citizens (Valdivia, 2003: 239, 240). After a year he was removed from office. His successor, Alfredo Prieto, was advised by the ODEPLAN and the Ministry of Finance. For the neoliberals, the educational system should form people who knew how to read, write and do basic calculations, as stated by Milton Friedman, and the State should leave its administration in private hands. National unity would be achieved through the individual performance in the economic field. Transcendental consequences would derive from that policy.

The New Idols of the Market

The *Future Vision of Chile* (hereafter, *FVCH*) was functional to the modifications of the context generated since the late 1978. This certainty about the future of the RCM under the Pinochet’s leadership was taken by the FVCH at the beginning of 1979 and modified what was stipulated by the DCh. For the government, the economy showed a good development and it felt legitimated by an important sector of the people. The neoliberals, together

with Pinochet, also consolidated their project since that year and expanded their space of power. The *gremialismo* modified its principles when facing the neoliberalism, which appeared as the coherent articulator of the *Great Terror* suffered. These changes were not purely conceptual, as the juridical control of the *Great Terror* was not neglected. The use of violence was stressed directly and indirectly in the FVCH, but there was not much emphasis on the former enemies of the first years of the CMR, because enough security had been achieved in relation to their control. There are few references to the National Security (33). However, the 1979 *Presidential Address* claimed that “in relation with the specific tasks assigned, this Renowned Institution [the Upper Academy of National Security] has constituted the study commissions that are charged with establishing the bases for the formulation” of a “Policy of National Security...” (94). The Constitution of 1980 would contain an important presence of the “national security,” legally consolidating the military surveillance over the political power, thus legally creating the monopoly of the use of force and institutionalizing a different perception of the NSD, functional to the neoliberal project and to the power hegemonies of the Junta and Augusto Pinochet and the Army. The juridical functionality of the *Great Terror* was therefore strengthened because this fear “needs total institutions, with regulated uniformity, with privileges and punishments, that replace the normal mechanisms operating in their containment in a democratic regime” (Mongardini, 20017: 114).

The elites sustaining the CMR, despite their dissents, liberated their fears and felt safe because the military surveillance constituted a resource of political threat, now legally established, to guarantee the permanence of a new order that protected from Marxism. For the rest of the population, at different levels, there was no possible way out of their fears unless they entered, though partially, into *degenerative pacts* and into the construction of a *nonsense ideology*. It was also possible to offer political or military resistance, or abandon the country, or hide one’s identity in a micro-society level, protect it in the private, family experience, with the conversations, readings, music, television, etc. (Bravo, 2009: 201, 205; Durán, 2012: 133-136). But the object of fear that emerged with the CMG continued to be strong, among other reasons, because the mass media had kept the traumatic memory alive (Munizaga, 1987-1988: 90). For many, the liberation from the *Great Terror* would only be possible by radically altering the sociopolitical identity.

The Voice of the Eighties

The *Great Terror* was apparently weakened by the crisis of the neoliberal system existing in the country between 1981 and 1985. The production of sense in the “popular” world had not been fully permeated by the neoliberal beliefs because the CMG replaced the political parties by a civil society that experimented “the growth of a nationwide organizational structure that allowed to restore relationships between the organizations at both the national and international level and especially reaching the poorer sectors of the population. Its “pre-conditions” were to “build transnational relationships and the flow of resources” given by the human rights organizations connected with the churches that had some affinity in their “socially progressive Christian vision”; such resources were directed “to the Chilean civil society, completely avoiding the government’s control.” Almost 500 NGOs were created and many organizations developed “at the local scale in towns nationwide,” and “cross section social relationships” were institutionalized, generating the promotion of autonomy, “the formation of critical political awareness, and the empowerment of groups and communities” that developed “alternative communication systems.” Therefore, “social links were restored” with a “strong cooperative load.” “The creation of this national network of organizations and its relationship with independent media, made the expansion of the democratic discourse easier” (Bastías, 2013: 25, 33, 314-332). However, a communicative material was beginning to be created with contents emerging from the market and not from the practice of social subjects in a liberal democratic system. As of 1979, the population was encouraged, through the motivation of its desire for consumption, to define its life strategies and therefore becoming a part of the system. The political communication was no longer important because publicity operated beyond the simple exhibition of a competition system among companies, showing pseudo-subjects that could be questioned and represented and their consumption ways now constituted forms of social differentiation. Its information was accompanied by *divertimento*. The television was the main medium that exposed this reality. It was not possible to do it with a national culture, with the practices or conflicts of the subjects. The market was the only speaking subject and the previous physical interconnection (the square, the street market) was replaced by a discourse that codified the ways of entertainment, dressings, knowledge (fashion, sports) that were necessary to know in order to become a part of the upper classes. This new way of disciplining the society replaced the “*us*,” which was constituted

by the elaboration of shared goals and media, by a social type realized by abiding certain pre-established guidelines. (Munizaga, 1987-1988: 91-93).

The 1981-1985 crisis did not put an end to the Neoliberalism-National Security Doctrine model and its fears. Many people, as reflected by the plebiscite of October 5, 1988, preferred an authoritarian regime that maintained the socio-political order. The number of wage laborers had decreased, being the workers weakened in their political (trade-union bodies¹⁰), social and economic structures, increasing the number of the unemployed and marginalized unable to generate actions of common interest, without stable symbolic or regulatory referents. This, "instead providing an orientation to the collective society... favors individualism and the atomization of the population and, therefore, the mass behavior," the individuals going "from apathy, the refuge for the most intimate primary groups" to the "mass mobilization of expressive type," all of which "strengthens the centrality and inexpugnability of the state." (Tironi, 1988: 75, 76). Besides, the entrepreneurial class had increased its power¹¹, and felt identified by the authoritarian project of the CMR -being the Catholic fundamentalism which linked them with concepts coming from the National Security Doctrine- and not with democratic perspectives. The *Concertación de Partidos Políticos* (Concertation of Political Parties, hereafter the *Concertación*) would operate over this context since 1990, reorienting the political practices towards a formality that, despite some progress in this respect, maintained the individuals without a participation that clearly influenced the policies that were designed. This is understandable in the government of Patricio Aylwin, given the fact that the *Great Terror* remained deeply installed because of the military repressive action experienced before which constituted a clear violation of the Human Rights never seen before. Steps were taken, logically "to the extent that may be possible" and this is what, in the early nineties, the entrepreneurial and Right elites took advantage of to consolidate their positions (García, 1998: 166). Apart from that, a fast legitimization was necessary to settle the democracy due to the also material expectations existing

¹⁰ The unionization rate of the economically active population rose from 14% in 1986 to 22% in 1991, but fell to 16% in 1997 and 10% in 2000. The percentage of the work force covered by collective bargaining rose from 9% in 1986 to 14% in 1991 and dropped to 3% in 2000 (Drake, 2003: 155).

¹¹ This is deepened with the weakening of the middle class, which together with its political and bureaucratic institutions "played an important intermediation and arbitration role in the political process," thus softening "the socioeconomic tensions between the entrepreneurs and the workers." It was fundamental in the constitution of the "commitment state" of the mesocratic state. "Its financial and cultural foundations were deliberately undermined" (Nef, 1999: 101).

in that respect. Keeping the parameters of a market economy was not only economically reasonable but also politically appropriate so as not to produce resistance in the CMR regime, which still projected power in its favor with General Pinochet as the Commander in Chief of the Army. It is for this reason that a political system functional to the liberalism was institutionalized, though without the power of the CMR as far as factual violence is concerned (De Vylder, 1989: 86). Its survival would develop other fears to annul the liberal democracy that could be built after the first government of the *Concertación*. In its favor would be the fact that its explicit objective was to depoliticize the economy, which would lead to its implicit objective, i.e., depoliticizing the social life (Lechner, 2002: 253). Also in its favor was the fact that the liberalism of the Right, by the end of the first decade of the XXI century, was based in the hard aspects of the neoliberal institutional system that separated the economy from the politics, ideologically sustained by Friedman and Hayek, or the Public Choice school, which “is not the liberalism that can take the democratic socialism or the progressive Christian-Socialism.” The magnitude of this force fell on the fact that its ideas would also partially penetrate the *Concertación*. (Guardia, 2009: 96).

POLITICS AND NEOLIBERALISM

As of 1990 the neoliberal model was deepened. The governing coalition resigned its parliamentary majority without culminating the impunity for the crimes against the Human Rights and without limiting the existing military autonomy. This was possible because the civil Right, more liberal politically, was defeated by that Right, the UDI, which was closer to the authoritarianism of the CMR, and due to the weak democratizing effort made by the *Concertación*.¹² The Constitution of 1980 remained without substantial modifications (Portales, 2000: 23-228).¹³ Politics was reduced to the

¹² There were limitations for more decisive progress. The President of the Republic had restrictions in his power over the military and over General Pinochet, who remained as the Commander in Chief of the Army for eight years. These limitations were also connected with the Central Bank, the Constitutional Court and economic policies (Huneus, 2012: 31-54).

¹³ In 2009, Santiago Escobar claims that “the process of reforms of almost 20 years, though very important to consolidate the democratic transition, it has finally led to a juridical monstrosity for Constitution, which perpetuates the anti-democratic and corporate content of its origin and which is profoundly asynchronous and unbalanced for a Modern democratic performance” (2009: 43).

establishment of a technical management subordinated to macro equilibrium that allowed the market to operate without any risk. The search for “governability” -contention of conflicts- and the establishment of an agreed transition stranger to the political decisions publicly agreed upon, hid the fear that its failure could cause the CMR be strengthened again. There was political conformity and intellectual complacency (Joignant-Menéndez-Carrión, 1999:14) and Boeninger’s “navigation charts” were imposed (1998: 347-526), which did not prevent the apparition of new insecurity spaces from different scenarios. Pinochet made it clear when in December, 1990, he put military pressure by mustering the troops as he saw his wife and his son threatened by accusations of presumably illegal financial operations. Also, in May 1993, when the President of the Republic is abroad, the black berets took custody of the Armed Forces building and a second military mobilization is produced, with the intention of forcing the signing of a Punto Final (Full Stop) law in relation with the trials to the members of the military for the violation of Human Rights, apart from other concessions. Three years before, as a result of the Rettig Report¹⁴, the Army had declared that “there was no reason at all to apologize for having taken part in that patriotic task (of restoring the social peace and the democracy)” (Cavallo, 1998: 102).

A general disillusionment with the proposed democracy began to appear. Gonzalo García claimed in those years that “The instrumental consensus of 1989 would only allow the inauguration of the democracy of the 90’s, but it would not have the capacity to lay the foundations of a stable and lasting social harmony, and it has not had such capacity for years.” (1998: 179). The parliamentary elections of December 1997 -apart from the fact that the *Concertación* failed to obtain the necessary majority to proceed with the reforms that would eliminate the authoritarian elements because the Right had a majority (53%) that was artificially created by the Constitution of 1980¹⁵- showed a great amount of invalid and blank ballots and people who did not register in the electoral rolls. This tendency was increased when in March 1998, general Pinochet occupied a seat in the Senate. The political parties were perceived as elites that took advantages of the influences and privileges that were considered illegitimate or unfair” (high salaries, parliamentary

¹⁴ Except for the almost silent decision of the Parliament to approve economic compensation laws for the families included in the official list of victims of State agents— unknown agents, with no ranks, no face – the truth is that the report was not discussed, and was stored in the libraries...” (Zerán-Garretón-Campos-Garretón, 2004: 53).

¹⁵ Around 1998 the government sent constitutional amendments for three times (elimination of the appointed senators and senators for life and the modification of the binominal system of elections) that were rejected by the Senate (Lahera-Toloza, 1998: 707).

allowances). Politics was also linked with rather dishonest practices or with corruption episodes. The leaders of the popular urban collective action criticized the politicians because the latter made promises but failed to keep them and manipulated the interests of the neighbors in order to achieve their goals. Therefore, among other reasons, “the political links and the discursive resources of the subject” lost relevance and a “clearly instrumental relationship with those forms of political mediation that are available” was deepened while the “affective links with the national political order are ostensibly weakened” (Rayo-de la Maza, 1998: 467, 468). The economy recovered¹⁶, unlike the full expression of the labor world (León-Martínez, 1998: 307) and of the people, which did not have the expected public spaces for its development.¹⁷ The illustrated perspectives of democracy gradually acquired a formal existence, absolutely divorced from bigger local, institutional and educational spaces¹⁸ and also divorced from a value-based introspective culture in search of its communitarian construction.¹⁹ When Pinochet was arrested in London, the Right and the government agreed on the idea that the national sovereignty had been violated, thus avoiding the delivery of justice for the violation of the Human Rights of which he was responsible. The confidence of the citizens in the political and legal systems was profoundly damaged.

The negative influence of the market in the democratic network and also the need to operate to modify its influence can be observed from different from different points of view. Canas pointed out that “an important part of the

¹⁶ Growth reached an annual average of 8,3% between 1990 and 1997, but 10% of the poorer population received only 1,3% of autonomous income, while the richer population received 41,6% (López-Martínez, 1999: 167, 175). In the late nineties, several specialists agree on the fact that “the economic success of the dynamic sectors have generated a drastic expansion of the expectations in the poorer social groups” (Meneses-Fuentes, 1998:252).

¹⁷ There are weaknesses at the institutional level due to the presence of factual powers; at representative level, due to the tensions between the political actors and the society; at the cultural level, due to the absence of basic consensus; of cohesion, unity and societal direction, due to the cracking of the state power. There is absence of debate and what is produced are circumstantial agreements with the opposition which are not widely agreed upon. (Garretón, 1999:59, 65).

¹⁸ The Centros de Madres (Mothers Association) “seem to have lost their past prominence,” the Neighborhood Association -the “small municipality”- “became the main actor and organizational referent in the poor urban neighborhood and rural locations, though “it did not have feedback channels towards the Municipality nor did it participate in its decisions” (Rayo-de la Maza, 1998).

¹⁹ A survey called “Chileans and Democracy” 1991-1994 conducted by the Participa Corporation showed that the goal of a more equitable society is the most frequent objective of the democracy, and falls from 44.2% to 16.2%, which indicates that there is disillusion. This does not mean that the concept of democracy is assimilated on the basis of political values but on economic and social aspects, placing the expectations on that democracy. (López-Martínez, 1999: 165, 168, 182).

reflection in which the political actors are caught up is related with the manner of positioning ideologically before the limitations or advantages eventually offered by the market” (1998: 89); Ahumada stated that “for a good regional-local government” it was necessary “to create political, social and spatial stabilizers that may correct the action of the market” (1998: 114, 115). Vial claimed that, despite its achievements, the market-based economy “was not enough to obtain improvements in the equity” and that the public policies could not be neutral in that respect (1998: 200, 201). For other authors, in front of “the huge diversity and extent of the [social] tasks,” “far from decreasing, the Chilean State should be strengthened, gaining in technical capacity and political legitimacy” (Meneses-Fuentes, 1998: 252). This state was criticized by its “centrality” in the constitution of collective subjects (Rayo-de la Maza, 1998: 465). In 1998, the PNUD set forth the idea that the country suffered a discomfort and questioned the *Concertación* model for the transition to democracy.

Culture, State and Society

The historic memory develops as *emblematic*, trying to accommodate the perceptions of reality into the aforesaid transformations, some resisting them by looking at the past, legitimizing such actions or looking for justice while others are practically located in an oblivion production (Stern, 2009: 149, 150). Salazar, for a specific study in Rancagua, claims that social memory in popular communities was fragmented, which hampered the formation of social movements and the use of public space (2002: 106, 107). The community identity continued to be more deeply transformed by the press. The private property of the media system (El Mercurio SAP and COPESA) was defined by the end of the CMR, thus reducing the pluralism of information, which was deepened upon the reduction of the international contribution for the alternative media (*Análisis*, *APSI*, *Cauce*, and *Hoy* magazines, and *Fortín Mapocho* and *La Época* newspapers) as well as the failure to intervene by the government, which did not assume its proper communicational policy. (Gumucio-Parrini, 2009: 303-308). The actors who did not belong to the elites were made invisible because the editorial lines excluded the organizations of the civil society, which were censored by omission, and the information was ideologically uniformed. When the *people meter* was introduced in the television in 1992, it allowed that the advertisements followed the preferences of the TV audiences reinforcing their orientation to the entertainment,

displacing the interest from the print media (Bastias, 2013: 303-312). A non-neutral space of knowledge and re-cognition was generated, because the language was that of the show business (Cortés, 1998: 607, 608), the average mental age of the receivers being reduced to 12 years, because “everything is infantilized” (1998: 693). For its part, the computerization with knowledge that was no longer stable, imposed not only the mercantile guidelines of behavior but also global perspectives of entertainment, and with that, forms of perception of the reality and mental and cognitive discipline that are functional to the market (Bauman, 2007: 125-166; Vidal, 2005: 43-87). On top of this was the fact that the university had lost cultural importance (Merino, 1998: 694). Inevitably, the former spaces of insecurity affected the transcendent elements because there was a “relative crisis of the universal religions institutionalized in the Church” in addition to the “contradictions of the modernizing process,” generating “contexts of unmet human needs by the logic of the market and the surrounding pragmatism.” There appeared Evangelical neo-fundamentalisms, Charismatic movements, popular Catholicism, fundamentalisms, etc. that “carry values and processes that contribute to secularization but, at the same time, bring symbolic elements that contribute to the re-enchantment of the world.” However, as the State lacked a non-confessional policy due to its tendency to favor religions that had been majoritarian, “the uncertainty produced by the lack of religious and civil leadership” was expanded and “the support of emotional religious currents” as well as “the revaluation of the spiritual unattached to any kind of social commitment and far from the pastoral strategies of the Churches that intend to insert Christianity in the social, political and cultural modernity.” In view of this situation, “serious questioning emerges to the possibility of re-articulating societal and sense projects ethically inspired” (Parker, 1998: 670-674). This was deepened because, “despite the rejection of the market criteria as ethical guidelines, they are interiorized as practical guidelines for the daily life” (Lechner, 2002: 252). This is a decisive fact.

For its part, the civil society suffered a transformation. During the CMR it could turn to politically diverse and representative organizations with a great symbolic capital (the Chilean Commission for Human Rights, the Vicariate of Solidarity, FASIC, CODEPU, etc.) and almost 500 NGOs, which were debilitated by the political parties before 1990, by not allocating resources, draining its human capital for the government, pressing for its directive control, bureaucratizing its functions or generating the loss of its sense. This undermining “might explain the growing apathy of the post-dictatorial Chilean society” and the declining of social movements (Bastias, 2013: 281-297, 312-

334), the community uprooting that was generated. Also, the family, the central unit of the micro-society for the search of security, was affected. Before the decade of the eighties, approximately, the normal extreme economic inequality existing in Latin America did not take the internal conflict and the violence into its societies because there was a “low ethnic and religious polarization, strong primary ties around the family and friendship,” an “intense religious feeling and a sense of belonging to the Nation,” and “high expectations of social mobility based on one’s own effort” (Tironi, 2011: 8). Therefore, it was normal that, in the light of the violence and poverty suffered under the CMR, especially in the outskirts of the cities, these solidarities were activated. Later, however, the family saw that its possibility to continue to play that role, because since the decade of the nineties it had had to face problems (the weakening of discourse of patriarchal authority and the maternal image) for which it did not have the cognitive, material and sociability resources to cope with them. The origin of this situation was the modernization generated by the CMR and the governments of the *Concertación*, the deregulation of the public system by means of the market and the social demobilization that had produced an individualization that resulted in the privatization of the personal risks and success, which was reinforced due to the fact that the institutions had more freedom to invent action offers for the people, being reduced to formal aspects. As “in societies like ours, lacking strong civil societies and citizen cultures, on the other side of the unregulated State there is not an individual but a family” - because there was no development of the individuation culture, the citizenship and the public” that corresponds with said deregulation- there is an increase of the social demand to the family,” which cannot process problems such as the education, the drugs, the structural unemployment, the crime, the lack of health, the social welfare²⁰, the order and the sense of community, the biographical projects, the purpose of the work -”where there was participation in the public construction of the idea of social integration”- the sources of the socialization and purpose -displaced from the work to the consumption- traditionally regulated by the State, the private companies, the trade unions, etc., which was aggravated because intimacy was over-subjectivized in the

²⁰ Even though there was undoubted progress in the new economic policy, the redistributive results are poor (Martner, 2009:160 160-163; 181-189). In the nineties, Teresa Valdés claimed that “the destruction of the networks and the systems of social protection, together with the demands of survival, resulted in more precarious living conditions for numerous families, making invisible the benefits that growth and democracy may bring them” (1998: 515).

public debate, which did not have shared codes to generate coherent perceptions and because there was a retraction of the sociability, which added to the undermining of the public thing and the increase of the interpersonal distrust. There was an absence of “futures” and a blocking of the collective memories that pushed to live a presentism, which avoids the articulation of a social time linked to the actions. The images of the family future are therefore debilitated, such as the idea of social mobility or that education may be a mechanism for that. So, the construction of identities is weakened and, with that, the possibility to perceive being actors in the future (Güel, 2002: 283-296). By 2010, the Chilean society was “heterogeneous and fragmented,” and “in many aspects is still bewildered in the light of an increase in the expectations of wellbeing, especially the new generations and facing the processes of change it is going through.” (Martner, 2009: 191).

THE SECOND GREAT TERROR

The terror is gradually consolidated based on two emotional fractures of great magnitude that did not necessarily develop in a straight-line basis. The first one was generated after September, 11, 1973; the second one, after 1990. Terror is a type of fear, and the fear experimented in the CMR has a traumatic origin, where the control or invalidation of the object, experience or information that causes it -the CMR- remained for a long term, producing uncertainty and pain, and became natural, which resulted -according to the context where you lived- in a transformation of variable degrees of the political identity existing before suffering such fear. It was systematically produced from the State, although in order to develop, it operated together with other triggering or functional elements to this effect, not necessarily derived from the State. It encompassed all the society, even the civil and military elites. Its structures were the State repressive violence in its different forms and the material misery. As for the perception of the temporal reality, it looked back to the past -in relation to the experiences of the liberal democracy being violated- and towards the present -when looking for physical survival. The CMR, when placing the individual between *deimos* and *phobos* through a flexible production of fear, allowed the subsequent development of elements that were functional to the neoliberal terror.

The neoliberal terror, already suffered by the end of the nineties in the initial stages of its maturity, had a framework based on structural violence derived from the political and economic institutional system in its recent

development, which did not reach a traumatic effect because of its relative gradual irruption from the CMR, which was maintained in less authoritarian democratic contexts since 1990, despite the fact that the perceptive contrast of the democratic desire, which saw that the democracy in the early nineties was a new type of authoritarianism, of course different from that of the CMR, generated a new *process of desensitization* and consolidated new *denegative pacts* and *nonsense ideologies* possibly since the mid-nineties, which would be permeated by the contexts of the global civilization, originating social and individual developments very close to what Lipovestky called *personalization process*, Bauman called *liquid fear* (2007) and Korstanje called *terror society* (111-124: 2015).

In the neoliberal terror it is not possible to invalidate or control what produces uncertainty and pain, because the areas producing insecurity are not clearly perceived and their relationship with fear because there is no production of a sociopolitical, cultural and religious sense at the local and global level, and also because those areas that are really perceived are difficult to modify, as the spaces of citizenship are limited for that purpose. As the previous elements that strengthened the existence of previous areas of security centered on community experiences have been systematically destroyed or undermined, a social uprooting or desolation has been produced resulting in the weakening of the *Us*. This is the essence of the apolitical practice of the neoliberal system without the military power, a space of realization that is built in isolation, individually, mainly depending of mercantile actions and rationalities that give shape to the work, the education, etc. Therefore, this second *Great Terror*, more silent and less noticeable, looks to the immediate present-future, as far as the temporal perception of reality is concerned, prevailing the need of security that is experienced, a fact that establishes the strategy, which makes it more similar to the risk -a subdivision of time limit chances and, therefore, isolate indetermination- than to the fear, because in its excessive eagerness for technical prevision, it establishes the experience as *ex post* knowledge. (Vidal, 2005: 43-86).

The existing terror is deeper than that of the CMR, because it exists as an emotional reflection, produced by a sort of thoughtless cognitive automatism, originated in the existence of a long-term *derivative fear* whose objective is the socioeconomic realization in differentiated rates and thicknesses and which becomes a guide, making insecure a relational perspective based on the subject without the Other, focused on an extrospective culture (sports, show-business, brands of products, tour destinations, culinary art, etc.). The *deimos* only apparently does not climb up to *phobos*. Not being anchored to a subject

agreed upon by the community, it allows the individual to escape from the past being launched into the immediate future, in a constant personal flight that is not contained by the environment and is not perceived as such, consolidating an unstable identity. From the sociopolitical aspect, every tension, problem or crisis is either solved from above, without enlightened sovereignty or it remains in level capable to generate a risk manageable *phobos* that keeps the social instability at acceptable levels and, therefore, it allows its control.

The basic element of terror that operated to understand the suffering under the CMR was the experimentation of pain (Timmermann, 2015: 311, 312) which, together with what was properly factual inferred by political repression, would also be generated by the perception of the failure to realize the enlightened sovereignty that until 1967-1973 had been expanding significantly. As of 1995, it was difficult to maintain it because the sociopolitical state repression was absent under those parameters and there was a deterioration of the previous production of sense, which tends to an integration sustained by the liberal democracy. Then, is the suffering of pain the central point of the neoliberal terror? The introduction of guidelines of economic calculation as the base of every-day behavior and the production of sense leads us to perceive the socio-economic aspect that is supposed to be satisfied by the State, as a perception of the meaning of democracy and not to the concretion of actions connected with the values of enlightened sovereignty. This would explain that the majority of the people in the surveys would declare that they are happy in a system like this one (Pincheira, 2016: 217-251), which provokes an inevitable question: can a person feel socio-politically realized within this collective absence of citizenship if, at the same time, he/she only satisfies socio-economic aspects in the present and immediate future? If the answer is affirmative, it would mean that the existing uncertainties are necessarily more related with expectations related to the unemployment, reduction of salaries, high inflation, stagnation of the economy, etc. and not to political aspects, such as, for example, the amendment of the Constitution of 1980. As there is no political participation to control these uncertainties, it is made evident that, in this case, the existing dissatisfaction turns into rather than out of the individual, thus reflecting a demobilization and an intimate political disillusionment. This privatization of the sociopolitical fear and pain, or this emptying of the social conflict that is perceived, makes the perception of the existing terror more difficult as well as its own conceptual rationalization, if what is intended here is to apply the proposed concept of terror for the CMR. But terror continues to be an experience of extreme pain, sustained by the suffering of one or several

uncertainties that install an ontological destabilization. Since 1995-2000 this does not seem to be experienced politically, because the standard of material living imposes a state of perception of happiness that does not allow to observe with experiential urgency the sociopolitical aspects that are affected as for the impossibility to control the elements that generate uncertainty, in terms of enlightened democracy. The pain is therefore centered on the effects that the economic developments of the present-future²¹ produce on the personal life. This is in contradiction with the concept of fear, which requires to be considered as such, the necessary existence of an uncertainty situated in the present-past, not in the future. In other words, the concept of terror based on the risk (Korstanje, 2011) -functional to the uncertainty of the economic type being suffered-, which operates towards the future, would no longer be an experience of fear, unless it is added that the risk is a type of fear also based on the perception of past experiences of insecurity, whether real or imaginary, which are projected to the present-future for their solution. It should be added that, unlike the concrete insecurity of fear -where the danger is external and attributed to the environment- the fear based on the risk is more ambiguous, with less concrete limitations in its perception and more difficult to control in the immediacy because, temporarily, the insecurity to be suffered is attempted to be reversed by means of a decision whose consequences will operate when the effects of this suffering are supposed to appear in the future. Paradoxically, it is there where the bigger, more profound uncertainties lie, in the light of which the neoliberal individual is completely deprived of an emotional sense of community to face them. Undoubtedly, these perspectives identify the terror as a totalitarianism, not necessarily depending on a State or a specific ideology, as was once put by Arendt.

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²¹ Consider the difficulties that the pension fund system (AFP) is causing to thousands of senior adults (excluding the Armed Forces) and project this situation to the reality of the near future, in which this sector of the population will be a majority (Quiroga, 2009: 367-382).

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AUTHOR'S CONTACT INFORMATION

Professor Maximiliano E. Korstanje
University of Palermo, Argentina
Visiting Research Fellow at CERS University of Leeds UK
International Society for Philosophers, UK
Buenos Aires, Argentina
Email: mkorst@palermo.edu

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