Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events

Edited by **Maximiliano E. Korstanje**, **Razaq Raj** and **Kevin Griffin**

CABI RELIGIOUS TOURISM AND PILGRIMAGE SERIES

CABI

Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events

CABI Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Series

General Editors:

Dr Razaq Raj, Leeds Business School, Leeds Beckett University, UK
Dr Kevin Griffin, School of Hospitality Management and Tourism, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland

This series examines the practical applications, models and illustrations of religious tourism and pilgrimage management from a variety of international perspectives. Pilgrimage is not only a widespread and important practice in Islam, Judaism and Christianity, but also in other major religious traditions such as Buddhism, Hinduism and Sikhism.

The series explores the emergence and trajectories of religious tourism and pilgrimage. Inclusive of all denominations, religions, faiths and spiritual practices, it covers evaluations of religious tourism and pilgrimage, management guides, economic reports and sets of represented actions and behaviours within various cultural, management and marketing contexts. A key strength of the series is the presentation of current and diverse empirical research insights on aspects of religious tourism and pilgrimage, juxtaposing this with state-of-the-art reflections on the emerging theoretical foundations of the subject matter.

The series illustrates the principles related to religion, pilgrimage and the management of tourist sites. It aims to provide a useful resource for researchers and students of the subject, and increase understanding of this vital aspect of tourism studies.

Titles available

Pilgrimage and Tourism to Holy Cities: Ideological and Management Perspectives
Edited by Maria Leppäkari and Kevin Griffin

Conflicts, Religion and Culture in Tourism
Edited by Razaq Raj and Kevin Griffin

The Many Voices of Pilgrimage and Reconciliation
Edited by Ian S. McIntosh and Lesley D. Harman

Local Identities and Transnational Cults within Europe
Edited by Fiorella Giacalone and Kevin Griffin

Religious Pilgrimage Routes and Trails: Sustainable Development and Management
Edited by Anna Trono and Daniel Olsen

Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events
Edited by Maximiliano E. Korstanje, Kevin Griffin and Razaq Raj

Titles in preparation

Religious Tourism in Asia
Edited by Shin Yasuda, Razaq Raj and Kevin Griffin

Islamic Tourism: Management of Travel Destinations
Edited by Ahmad Jamal, Kevin Griffin and Razaq Raj

Managing Religious Tourism
Edited by Maureen Griffiths and Peter Wiltshier

Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events

Edited by

Maximiliano E. Korstanje

University of Palermo, Argentina

Razaq Raj

Leeds Beckett University, UK

and

Kevin Griffin

Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland

CABI

CABI is a trading name of CAB International

CABI
Nosworthy Way
Wallingford
Oxfordshire OX10 8DE
UK

Tel: +44 (0)1491 832111
Fax: +44 (0)1491 833508
E-mail: info@cabi.org
Website: www.cabi.org

CABI
745 Atlantic Avenue
8th Floor
Boston, MA 02111
USA

Tel: +1 (617)682-9015
E-mail: cabi-nao@cabi.org

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library, London, UK.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Korstanje, Maximiliano, editor.
Title: Risk and safety challenges for religious tourism and events / edited by Maximiliano E Korstanje, Kevin A Griffin and Razaq Raj.
Description: Oxfordshire, UK : CABI, [2018] | Series: CABI religious tourism and pilgrimage series | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017054580 (print) | LCCN 2018013655 (ebook) | ISBN 9781786392299 (pdf) | ISBN 9781786392305 (ePub) | ISBN 9781786392282 (hardback : alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Tourism--Religious aspects.
Classification: LCC G156.5.R44 (ebook) | LCC G156.5.R44 R56 2018 (print) | DDC 363.32/3--dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017054580

ISBN: 978 1 78639 228 2 (hardback)
978 1 78639 229 9 (e-book)
978 1 78639 230 5 (e-pub)

Commissioning editor: Claire Parfitt
Associate editor: Alexandra Lainsbury
Production editor: Ali Brown

Typeset by SPi, Pondicherry, India
Printed and bound in the UK by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Contents

Contributors

Yasin Bilim completed his bachelor degree in the Tourism Management Department, Tourism and Hotel Management School, Erciyes University, Turkey. He has MA and PhD degrees in the area of Tourism Management. He has published nationally and internationally on tourism marketing, religious tourism and research methods. He is currently working in Turkey in Necmettin Erbakan University, in the Faculty of Tourism, in the Tourism Management Department. E-mail: ybilim@yahoo.com

Aynur Gülenç Birsen completed her bachelor degree from the English Teaching department in Atatürk University, Turkey. She has an MA degree in the field of Management from Sütçü İmam University, Institute of Social Sciences. She worked in different secondary and high schools as an English teacher and a lecturer in Sütçü İmam University and Necmettin Erbakan University. She has been doing her doctorate degree in Tourism Management at Necmettin Erbakan University, Faculty of Tourism, and working as a lecturer in the same university in the Tourism Management Department, Konya, Turkey, since 2013. E-mail: abirsen@konya.edu.tr

George Cassar is Associate Professor at the University of Malta. He has authored or edited numerous publications in the areas of History, Education, Social Studies, Sociology, Tourism, Heritage and Culture. He is the editor of the journals *Sacra Militia*, *Arkivju*, and *The Educator*. He has been active in EU projects for many years and has extensive experience in the management of such projects. He holds the awards 'Ġieħ il-Mosta' from the Mosta Local Council, the 'Grazzi Badge' from the Scouts Association of Malta, and the 'Commendatore pro Merito Melitensi' from the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. E-mail: george.cassar@um.edu.mt

Ayesha Chowdhury is a doctoral researcher in International Terrorism. Ayesha's research involves looking at terrorism studies from a legal perspective. She is currently working as a Graduate Teaching Assistant in the Law School, Leeds Beckett University. She is also qualified as a barrister (Lincoln's Inn) (non-practising). E-mail: Ayesha.Chowdhury@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Alan Clarke works at the University of Pannonia in Veszprém, Hungary. His work is focused on cultural and heritage tourism, with a recent emphasis on stakeholder analysis and sustainable development in religious tourism. He is also the Co-Director of the Balaton Research Institute (BATUKI), which is promoting research in communities around the Balaton. He has published widely in tourism policy, cultural tourism, hospitality, community festivals and events. From next year he will be Editor-in-Chief of the *Routledge International Journal of Spa and Wellness*. E-mail: alanhungary@hotmail.com

Carlos Fernandes is Associate Professor in Tourism Studies at the Polytechnic Institute of Viana do Castelo, Portugal. He obtained his BA degree at Syracuse University, his MA at Rutgers University

and his PhD at Bournemouth University (UK). His interests include tourism destination management, tourism innovation and tourism as a development strategy for rural areas. In recent years, he has conducted research and/or consultancy within various special interest areas including: events management, cultural and creative tourism, gastronomy, and religious tourism and pilgrimage. He is a member of the editorial board of various tourism-related scientific journals and Books Editor of the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*. E-mail: cfernandes@estg.ipvc.pt

Danielle Griffin obtained her BSc (Hons) in Event Management at Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) in 2010. After many years working in the industry she has returned to academic life to obtain her Master's in Event Management at DIT. She has a keen interest in risk management and religious tourism, with particular focus on crowd safety at religious events and pilgrimages. E-mail: c05040060@mydit.ie

Kevin Griffin is a lecturer in tourism at the Dublin Institute of Technology where he teaches students from undergraduate to PhD level. His research interests are broad, but primarily encompass a range of tourism themes such as heritage, culture, social tourism, the pedagogy of fieldwork and, in particular, religious tourism and pilgrimage. He is co-founder of the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*. His main recent publications include: *Cultural Tourism* (2013, edited with Raj and Morpeth); *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective (2nd edn)* (2015, edited with Raj); *Conflicts, Challenges, Religion and Culture* (2017, edited with Raj). E-mail: kevin.griffin@dit.ie

Maximiliano E. Korstanje is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Palermo, Argentina. He was appointed Fellow at CERS University of Leeds in 2015 and the University of La Habana, Cuba in 2016. He serves as Editor-in-Chief of the *International Journal of Cyber-warfare and Terrorism* (IGI Global), Regional Editor for Latin America in the *International Journal for Human Rights* (Inderscience), Editor for South America in the *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* (Emerald) and advisory board member of *Tourism Review International* (Cognizant Communication). His recent books include *The Rise of Thana Capitalism and Tourism* (Routledge) and *Terrorism in a Global Village* (Nova Science). E-mail: mkorst@palermo.edu

Dane Munro is a lecturer at the Institute for Tourism, Travel and Culture (ITTC), University of Malta. He is regarded as the local expert on religious tourism and pilgrimage. He is also a tourism practitioner, working as a cultural interpreter and guide. E-mail: dane.munro.00@um.edu.mt

Cyril Peter is passionate about hospitality and creating rewarding experiences for guests. While this explains his love for preparing and serving his natural Sri Lankan food to others, it also crosses over to the desire to provide security to those in his care. With a history in the hospitality industry it has become an enduring desire to ensure the industry is as prepared as possible in the face of rising acts of terrorism. His Master's explored this initially, and subsequent research articles and conference papers have continued the same theme in more depth and with more specialities. E-mail: cyril.peter@weltec.ac.nz

Jahanzeeb Qurashi is a doctoral researcher (Tourism & Hospitality) at the University of Central Lancashire. He obtained his BA and MA degrees from University of Birmingham, his MBA from the University of Chester and his Postgraduate Certificate from the University of Central Lancashire. His interests include Commodification of Religious Tourism, varying experiences of pilgrims/tourists in religious tourism, destination management, contemporary hospitality, event management, SMART media technologies' role in tourism, and heritage tourism. He is a member of the Scientific Committee of the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, and also of the Institute for Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage. E-mail: JQurashi@uclan.ac.uk

Yadukrishna P.R. (Yadukrishna Puthanparambil Radhakrishnan) is a postgraduate research student in the School of Hospitality Management and Tourism, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland. His research interests focus on religious tourism; Hindu religious tourism; and cultural and religious motivations, behaviours and expectations in tourism. He holds a bachelor's degree in Commerce from St Joseph's College, Calicut, India, and on graduating he worked in the tourism industry for a period of three years before travelling to Ireland to undertake his postgraduate

studies, where he earned an MSc in Tourism Management from DIT. He now undertakes further postgraduate studies on religious tourism, with an emphasis on pilgrimages in his home state of Kerala. E-mail: d14122953@student.dit.ie

Razaq Raj is an internationally renowned academic with over 17 years' higher education experience of teaching and research in the UK, Malta, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, China and South Korea. He is Principal Lecturer for Research and Enterprise and Visiting Professor at the Kedge Business School, France and University of Vitez, Bosnia. He has substantial external examining and curriculum development experience of both undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in business management, events and tourism. He is founding co-editor of the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* and Series Editor for CABI's Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Series (with Kevin Griffin). E-mail: r.raj@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Hugues Seraphin is a Senior Lecturer in Event and Tourism Management Studies at The University of Winchester. His research focuses on post-colonial, post-conflict and post-disaster destinations. He joined the University of Winchester Business School in 2012 and has been teaching for some 15 years. He started his career as a lecturer in French at Golden Hillock School, Birmingham, UK, and then taught Travel and Tourism at Kingston College, London. He was also a visiting lecturer at Normandy Business School, Sup de Co Larochelle, ESC Pau, IEFT/IDRAC and Université de Perpignan Via Domitia (all in France). E-mail: hugues.seraphin@winchester.ac.uk

Goretti Silva holds a degree and a PhD in Tourism (2012). She is associate professor in Tourism Studies at the Polytechnic Institute of Viana do Castelo, Portugal. She participated in R&D international and national projects. Research interests and publications encompass several tourism themes such as entrepreneurship, culture, events, rural and accessible tourism, but also religious tourism and pilgrimage. Recently she has started her own business in the tourism sector. E-mail: goretti@estg.ipvc.pt

Geoffrey R. Skoll is Associate Professor Emeritus of Criminal Justice at Buffalo State College, USA. He has published countless papers and books with focus in fear and terrorism. Today he is one of the leading experts in the sociology of terrorism and criminology in the world. His books include Globalization of American Culture (Palgrave Macmillan), The Dialectics of Social Thoughts (Palgrave Macmillan) and Social Theory of Fear (Palgrave Macmillan). E-mail: skollgr@buffalostate.edu skollgr@buffalostate.edu

Bernadette Theodore has been a Senior Lecturer at the UK Centre for Event Management for over 10 years. A specialist in state and civic events, international VIP protocol and VIP security, Bernadette served Her Excellency Dame Pearlette Louisy, the Head of State of Saint Lucia, for over 10 years as her Aide de Camp at the Office of the Governor General in St Lucia. Her interests lie within the areas of health and safety, risk management and security, state and civic protocol, VIP security at events, cultural protocols and their impact on event delivery, and health and safety in liminal spaces. She has recently co-authored a book chapter on 'Rave culture: free party or protest'. E-mail: b.theodore@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Martín Gómez-Ullate is a researcher-professor at the University of Extremadura. Holds a PhD in Social Anthropology and has lectured in public universities and research centers in Portugal, France, Mexico and Spain. Has developed research in different fields and lines as identity, social representations and intercultural relationships, cultural heritage, qualitative methodology and shared musical heritage and cultural tourism. He is coordinating the Strategic Partnership (KA203) in Erasmus and Cultour. Innovation and capacity building in cultural tourism, entrepreneurship for European Cultural Routes. E-mail: mgu@unex.es

1 Risk and Safety Challenges Facing Religious Tourism – An Introduction

Razaq Raj[1,*], Kevin Griffin[2] and Maximiliano E. Korstanje[3]
[1]*Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK,* [2]*Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin;*
[3]*University of Palermo, Buenos Aires*

This book is about an increasing awareness of the risks and safety challenges facing religious events/festivals on a global scale. The turn of the century has brought disturbing news ranging from natural disasters to lethal viruses, and the rise of radical terrorist cells that target main tourist destinations worldwide (Floyd *et al.*, 2004; Ritchie, 2004; Gössling and Hall, 2006; Korstanje and Olsen, 2011; Laws and Prideaux, 2005; Chowdhury *et al.*, 2017). While policy makers devote their endeavours to laying the foundations for safer destinations, new risks, unimagined, have emerged (Tarlow, 2014; Raj and Griffin, 2015) resulting in the media suggesting that the world has become a more dangerous place than ever before.

Contrary world-views exist, with unresolved discrepancies between, for example, culturalists, who define risks as social constructs that depend upon culture and time (Douglas and Wildavsky, 1983; Slovic, 1993, 2016), and probabilists, who have fleshed out all-encompassing models to predict future risk emergences (Kaplan and Garrick, 1981; Kuran and Sunstein, 1999; Sunstein, 2005). In parallel, academics not only struggle to impose their own definitions of risk, but also disagree regarding the best courses of action to take to achieve more efficient risk-mitigation programmes (Faulkner, 2001). The editors of this volume think that this is the main reason why a risk management theory that combines the profundity of academic discussion with practical programmes is necessary. Although risk studies and risk perception theory have more than 40 years of tradition within the fields of psychology and sociology, before 11 September 2001 there were few tourism analysts or scholars turning their attention to the processes of risk, safety or securitization (Korstanje, 2009).

Over recent decades, tourism-related research has matured, making considerable advances in expanding the current understanding of risk as well as its intersection with leisure activities (Mansfeld, 2006; Saha and Yap, 2014). Because of limited time and space, it is very difficult to unfold a wider debate that would include the vast range of theories and studies revolving around risk perception, but they can be framed in three well-known families of study:

Risk associated with individual or collective demographic assets

Studies and research findings included in this family centre around the study of risk and risk perception according to the demographic assets of tourists. The chief goal of these works is

*Address for correspondence: r.raj@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

discovering a direct correlation between demographics and risk perception. Variables such as age, political affiliation, religion, genre, purchasing power or ethnicity correlate directly with risk perception. Quantitative research is found in these works (Lepp and Gibson, 2003; Floyd *et al.*, 2004; Fuchs and Reichel, 2004).

Risk associated with personality traits

There is an alternative wave of theories that focus on cognitive-behavioural patterns or personalities of subjects in order to predict stable patterns of reaction against risk. Almost all studies in this family emphasize levels of anxiety and uncertainty-tolerance as key factors that explain risk perception. Those with higher tolerance to uncertainty perceive fewer risks than others. Quantitative and qualitative methods are used in these studies (Plog, 2001; Kozak *et al.*, 2007; Quintal *et al.*, 2010).

Risk as a disciplinary mechanism of control

Based on a critical (Marxist) perspective, these studies identify risk as a discourse that is created and imposed by the global financial elite in order to undermine the workforce's resistance. Through the articulation of a discourse of fear, academics within this family argue that fear and risk should be studied as political institutions that are oriented towards discipline of the lower classes. In these approaches, historiographies and qualitative methods are often preferred (Bianchi, 2006; Korstanje and Tarlow, 2012; Raj *et al.*, 2013; Bianchi and Stephenson, 2014; Tzanelli, 2016).

With their strengths and weaknesses, each family not only pays heed to particular aspects of risk but also develops different explanations that need further attention, helping policy makers to strengthen their protocols of safety and security. Further, though risk perception theory has reached its zenith in recent years, security as a topic of investigation in tourism, hospitality, leisure and event management has only advanced at a snail's pace (Skoll and Korstanje, 2014).

The present book, which is intended to fill the gap, explores key learning points from a range of contemporary case studies of religious and pilgrimage activity related to ancient, sacred and emerging tourist destinations, and new forms of pilgrimage, faith systems and quasi-religious activities. Hence, travellers in general are facing many challenges in the form of terrorism and risk, and this book focuses, in particular, on the risk and safety challenges being faced by faith-based travellers.

Human stampedes during religious festivals are identified as a major hazard that occurs during mass-gathering events in Saudi Arabia, India, Bangladesh and other part of the world. Annual religious festivals and events are commemorated with mass gatherings that can last hours or days; the annual Hajj festival in Saudi Arabia and Hindu festivals in India are examples. Mass-gathering events and festivals require a particular type and level of disaster management plan on the part of stakeholders. Management to mitigate crowd disasters at mass-gathering events and festivals has not been fully researched, and this volume will critically examine some of the key issues, aiming to provide suggestions for future event organizers, emergency and hospital services, and local authorities/governments.

This book aims to bridge the ever-widening gap between specialists within religious, tourism, management, education, risk assessment, and health and safety areas on the one hand, and event organizers on the other. The authors provide practical applications, models and illustrations of religious tourism and pilgrimage management from a variety of international perspectives. They introduce theories and models in an accessible way and include many case studies.

The book is a timely reassessment of the connection between risk and safety issues for religious tourism and pilgrimage, as well as those for secular spaces and events. The principle behind the volume is to demonstrate the intrinsic elements and events that have a crucial role to play within the pilgrimage management process and explore key learning points from a range of contemporary case studies of religious and pilgrimage activity related to ancient, sacred and emerging tourist destinations; and new forms of pilgrimage, faith systems and quasi-religious activities. Risk, vulnerability and long-term planning are important aspects in any planning/

development process for large-scale gatherings, and disaster management is now a vital element in the planning of global and large-scale events.

Risk management is an essential requirement for sacred sites, places of worship and religious events in a climate where it has become essential for businesses to address the safety and security of their activities. In the current climate, it is important to protect pilgrims from any harm and ensure visitors can use a product/service with minimum risk. Risk assessment concerns the long-term ability of the organization to carry out its daily business and remain competitive.

The issue of risk assessment has been recognized by authorities who have been making changes in the religious tourism sector during the last decade – in particular, event organizers and managers are dealing with challenges such as hate crime, human stampedes, international terrorism, food safety, health issues and natural disasters.

Risk and safety have become more important issues for the tourism industry due to political situations around the world. This has changed the notion of safety for visitors to religious sites also, due to a number of disasters that have struck the religious tourism industry, including international terrorism and human stampede. Therefore, issues in relation to health, safety and risk have become prominent. This is especially the case where the religious tourist plays an important role in the economy of a country, such as in Egypt, Italy, India, Israel, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, all of which contain major sacred sites. These countries perform well in terms of religious tourism, most of them being fully aware of the significance played by religious tourism as a key vehicle for development.

It is evident that multidisciplinary approaches need to be adopted to deal with the growing risks to safety and security facing the religious tourism industry, which must meet international standards outlined in health and safety protocols adopted by the events and festivals industry. Therefore, it is paramount that organizers address the concerns of worshippers/travellers by adopting risk assessment methods that are proofed by international health and safety acts. For example, the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974, introduced in the UK, states that if a company has five or more employees, a health and safety policy must be in operation, with a clear health and safety certificate displayed for all employees. Therefore, employers need to develop a health and safety policy and undertake a full risk assessment of the working environment for all employees, volunteers and visitors. This is vital to ensure that key risk and safety hazards are assessed and controlled, and to minimize the potential for injury to staff. Religious events vary in size, nature and type, but irrespective of scale, religious events need to ensure that risk and safety assessments are undertaken in the same manner.

In years to come, tourism scholars should cooperate in the creation of an all-encompassing model to understand risks and mitigate disasters, and this is deeply ingrained in contemporary society. Once potential risks have been assessed, the next step should be to improve the climate of trust, which is vital for the functioning of tourism in general, and religious tourism and pilgrimage in particular.

Overview of the Chapters

In Chapter 2 Alan Clarke reflects on religion, ideology and terrorism, highlighting that now, in the late 2010s, we live at a particular conjuncture that brings together terrorism and tourism and places them in a context where religion is a defining parameter. Clarke deals with many concepts in relation to ideologies, panic and risk. In his conclusion he highlights that the dominant, simple and uncomplicated narrative expounded by the media focuses on the terrorist and acts of terrorism, negatively linking them to religion, and ignores the many positive acts undertaken in the name of religion and faith. Because there is an absence of a humanistic perspective, the dominant viewpoint is one that focuses on an all-pervasive perception of danger.

In Chapter 3 Razaq Raj and Kevin Griffin demonstrate the principles of risk assessment, how health and safety management works in practice, and the significant risks involved in managing religious events. Religious events are becoming increasingly popular with people from many religious congregations undertaking pilgrimages. These pilgrimages are mostly made up of people (devotees) who are committed to their faith. The chapter presents, in the first instance, the principles of risk assessment and outlines a

number of statutory legislations that apply in different countries. The authors argue that it is vital to understand, manage and control crowd movements, and there is a necessity to provide facilities that meet the requirements of participants. There is also a high risk of accidents occurring during the construction and development stages of religious sites. They further discuss the importance of contingency planning and of developing an emergency plan in relation to large-scale religious festivals. The security for such festivals needs to be reinforced and meet international standards. Therefore, festival and event organizers must put measures in place to mitigate any safety and security dangers they face, and need to ensure that such contingency plans are in place for the duration of the event. The most important tool that religious festival organizers need to employ is a risk assessment plan. Risks needs to be identified and measures taken to avoid disasters.

Chapter 4, by Ayesha Chowdhury and Razaq Raj, highlights the importance of security at religious festivals and how this now needs to take into account the new threat of terrorism. International terrorism and hate crime affect the tourist's mindset in a number of ways and these differ from the effect of ordinary crime. The chapter discusses the conceptual differences between crime, hate crime and terrorism. In addition, it evaluates how the risks faced by travellers, due to recent terrorist acts, have impacted the tourism industry in the worst way possible. Finally, the chapter illustrates that terrorism is an extraordinary type of a crime that needs extraordinary legal protection. Prior to the 1990s, terrorist acts were considered to be criminal acts and were dealt with by the criminal law. Once prosecuted by the state, the suspected terrorists were taken into custody and jurisdiction was claimed over their conduct. This approach was justified at that time as the threat from terrorism was not as severe as it is today. States have now changed their strategies for combating terrorism markedly.

In Chapter 5 Maximiliano Korstanje reviews the evolution of terrorism in relation to tourism and security, focusing on the new tactics of modern terrorism. The act of hijacking aircraft or kidnapping celebrities sets the standard for more virulent acts of intimidation such as suicide bombings and public decapitations. These tactics of extortion are aimed at undermining the trust between citizens and their institutions, even the state and authorities, in order to instil claims that otherwise would be rejected. To some extent, each generation is becoming more sensitive to and influenced by certain discourses that have been forged by terrorist attacks. The author states that planned attacks at tourist destinations are not only in pursuit of political goals but also jeopardize the well-functioning religious tourism industry as well. Tourist destinations are sensitive to negative news, risks, and anything that affects their attractiveness. Psychologically speaking, terrorists look to kill tourists simply because they can maximize their goals. The act of assassinating tourists is not only a rapid and more efficient way of producing political instability but it also receives global attention and achieves publicity for the terrorists at no cost to themselves.

Yasin Bilim and Aynur Gülenc Birsen, in Chapter 6, examine and question the general view of tourism as an activity for pleasure and hedonic consumption. They provide an insight into how definitions have recently expanded the scope of tourism to encompass the needs of health, work, religion and different orientations beyond vacation and pleasure. The chapter presents a discussion of the relationship between tourism and aspects of compulsory consumption based on consumer decision-making. This compulsory nature is related to risk perception. Aspects of both health and religion are critical factors in relation to such processes of consumption. The focus here is on medical tourism, which has recently emerged as a special kind of niche tourism. Contrary to hedonic tourism, such travel for health reasons is often compulsory and not very enjoyable. However, such travel is increasing. The preference for undertaking international travel for issues related to health does not seem plausible, but there are important reasons for medical tourism to come to the fore; in the main, it is because people have demands that are not met at home, for a variety of reasons.

Chapter 7, by Jahanzeeb Qurashi, considers the high volume of pilgrims from across the globe performing the complex ritual of the Hajj. This high volume of pilgrims makes this mega-event potentially dangerous due to prolific vehicular/pedestrian movement, and also homogeneous and

heterogeneous crowd behaviour. It has been observed that crowd behaviour in non-routine situations, which often involves heightened emotions (e.g. exhilaration, anxiety, fear, religious passion, aggression) can have major consequences for mega-movements such as the Hajj, which can turn events to chaos. This chapter outlines the Hajj ritual movements, with a focus on Amblers, Jamarat, and pedestrian and vehicular traffic movements. This will highlight the internal flows and challenges of Hajj movements from both a religious perspective and from the perspective of vehicle service management. Moreover, the chapter presents a commentary on how the psychological and physical facets of crowd behaviour impact on the mega-movements of the Hajj. Religious movements and rites mainly follow religious decrees. Each pilgrim wishes to keep to these guidelines as strictly as possible; however, the management of such activity depends on a complex relationship between religious adherence and the constant pressures of a changing external environment.

In Chapter 8, Carlos Fernandes, Goretti Silva and Martín Gómez-Ullate examine the relationship between safety issues and pilgrimage routes. The chapter discusses how safety and security has become vital for the tourism industry as it needs to understand the main factors influencing the perception of safety, the key security and safety problems nowadays, and how safety issues influence the tourist's choice of holiday destination. The chapter looks at a framework that embraces three fundamental aspects: the need to understand the concept of pilgrimage and spiritual fulfilment of traditional religious pilgrims; the changing motivations, needs and behaviour of religious pilgrims as well as those of the secular pilgrim; and the identification of factors associated with ensuring that such physical and spiritual journeys take place in the context of a safe and secure environment. The chapter further discusses the idea that physical security is no longer the sole consideration when assessing the safety of a tourist destination; other factors, such as political security, hygiene, biosecurity and environmental security, are important. Information and education for pilgrims may play a very important role in minimizing these various risks.

Chapter 9 by Bernadette Theodore discusses and examines the health and safety issues that continue to be paramount within current event management. Fatal incidents that resonate within the broader event context include the Hillsborough disaster in the UK and incidents such as at the Hajj pilgrimage in 2015. Both resulted in loss of life. Had more effective crowd and risk management been pursued, casualties could have been minimized. Additionally, had more effective planning and management strategies been employed, hazards that resulted in the deaths of innocent participants would have been removed. Theodore provides a practical and logical approach to key areas that require risk assessment within the religious event space. Further, the chapter identifies general risk factors and provides samples of risk documentation that can be used. The safety of attendees at religious events is promoted through the use of effective and comprehensive risk assessment practices.

In Chapter 10 Maximiliano Korstanje, Geoffrey Skoll and Hugues Seraphin examine and discuss colonization as a process, which, rooted in past centuries, supported the need to discipline non-European others. They discuss how such activity links closely to modern terrorism, which is inextricably intertwined with travel. They further discuss two interesting points of convergence. First, the development of circuits orchestrated to regulate travel, and how goods exchange facilitated empires to manage peripheral economies. This is particularly evident in ancient civilizations such as Sumerian, Babylonian and Roman, but is also applicable to modern cultures such as those of Britain and America. Secondly, the one-sided dialogue between empires and their colonies, which is fundamentally grounded in 'a paternalist view of other', mimicking the relationship between parent and child. As a result of such a process, ethnocentrism, in both directions, is the oxymoron of colonial submission. Finally, the chapter presents the argument, of interest to cultural analysts and scholars, which suggests that colonialism has triplicated in recent years. In the field of tourism, scholars have been engaged with this idea, bringing the old centre–periphery theory to the fore, thus highlighting some theoretical underpinnings for our thoughts on crises and risk in tourism.

Chapter 11, by Danielle Griffin, Yadukrishna Puthanparambil Radhakrishnan and Kevin Griffin, discusses and analyses the Hindu festival

Kumbh Melia as a motivating factor for major religious tourism and pilgrimage. This event has developed from the Hindu belief that during a battle that lasted 12 demigod days, or 12 human years, the nectar of immortality was dropped into the River Ganga at four places, causing them to be eternally sanctified as places of cleansing and purity. Spiritual attainment at these sites does not come without corporeal risk, and a group of scientists and doctors from Harvard University, along with their students, have researched the event extensively, paying particular attention to the pilgrims from across India, what infectious diseases they have carried and from where. Thus, there is the issue of adding to the pollution of the Ganga when they bathe as part of the religious ritual of Kumbh Mela. The ritual poses many other potential risk management issues, including the use of ritual fire, crowd management, sanitary issues, environmental impacts, infectious diseases, public safety, and various water hazards.

Maximiliano Korstanje, in Chapter 12, critically discusses the role of religious tourism/festivals as one of the most important growth pillars for underdeveloped economies, as they attract thousands, even millions, of visitors/participants each year. He argues that religious tourism not only plays a crucial role by revitalizing the social trust of a community, dissipating fears and renovating its communion with gods, but also offers a fertile ground for terrorism. Celebrations and festivals represent an encounter between humans and gods – a type of sacred meeting where one gives thanks for protection. In many cultures, the cycle of rejuvenation is often accompanied by dancing, music, and food and drink, often attracting large crowds. Contrary to popular parlance, any disruption to the performance of these rites may wreak havoc in the social imaginary. Rites of passage, whatever their nature, confer upon society a veil of protection of life, economy and fortune. Disruption of this pattern can have a profound impact.

Chapter 13, by Cyril Peter, analyses and examines how the hospitality and tourism industries must work towards creating and ingraining a security-conscious culture where a duty of care towards tourists exists. Many countries depend on tourism and hospitality as a source of revenue and so they cannot afford to ignore possible threats to destroy it. Once a destination has been affected by terrorism, it is very difficult for it to recover fully. Also, surrounding destinations, even if they are in another country, will also suffer since no-one wants their holiday ruined by delays and cancellations. Religious tourism, which is one of the earliest forms of structured tourism, is about visiting holy cities and sites, either individually or in groups. Faith-based tourism involves every major religion and takes place all year round. Mecca, Jerusalem and Rome are just a few of the more popular destinations. The author argues that a location that is forward-thinking and prepared to go the distance to ensure guests' safety and security will be the preferred destination for many. Providing the price differential is not too great, guests will pay extra to ensure their safety.

Chapter 14, by George Cassar and Dane Munro, examines the Maltese *festa*, a religious celebration honouring the patron saint of each town and village of the Maltese islands Malta and Gozo. It is a mixture of the spiritual and the secular. The authors highlight that local feasts are typically announced and celebrated with a display of fireworks; sometimes with animal races; always with band parades; and, invariably, with devout processions featuring the statue of the patron saint being celebrated. Fireworks in Malta are the domain of the dilettanti *tan-nar* (firework enthusiasts), a group of zealous individuals (mostly men) who create fireworks out of a passion or obsession. Malta is one of a few places where ground fireworks are set off with people standing just a few metres away. This, clearly, poses dangers. The chapter discusses, critically, such practices.

References

Bianchi, R. (2006) Tourism and the globalisation of fear: analysing the politics of risk and (in)security in global travel. *Tourism and Hospitality Research 7* (1), 64–74.

Bianchi, R. and Stephenson, M. (2014) *Tourism and Citizenship: Rights, Freedoms and Responsibilities in the Global Order* (vol. 11). Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

Chowdhury, A., Raj, R., Griffin, K. and Clarke, A. (2017) Terrorism, tourism and religious travellers. In: *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 5(1). Available at: http://arrow.dit.ie/ijrtp/vol5/iss1/3 (accessed 18 December 2017).

Douglas, M. and Wildavsky, A. (1983) *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technological and Environmental Dangers*. University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

Faulkner, B. (2001) Towards a framework for tourism disaster management. *Tourism Management 22* (2), 135–147.

Floyd, M.F., Gibson, H., Pennington-Gray, L. and Thapa, B. (2004) The effect of risk perceptions on intentions to travel in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 15(2–3), 19–38.

Fuchs, G. and Reichel, A. (2004) Cultural differences in tourist destination risk perception: an exploratory study. *Tourism (Zagreb)*, 52(1), 21–37.

Gössling, S. and Hall, C.M. (2006) Uncertainties in predicting tourist flows under scenarios of climate change. *Climatic Change* 79(3–4), 163–173.

Kaplan, S. and Garrick, B.J. (1981) On the quantitative definition of risk. *Risk Analysis* 1(1), 11–27.

Korstanje, M. (2009) Re-visiting risk perception theory in the context of travel. *E-Review of Tourism Research 7* (4), 68–81.

Korstanje, M.E. and Olsen, D.H. (2011) The discourse of risk in horror movies post 9/11: hospitality and hostility in perspective. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology* 1(3–4), 304–317.

Korstanje, M.E. and Tarlow, P. (2012) Being lost: tourism, risk and vulnerability in the post-'9/11' entertainment industry. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 10(1), 22–33.

Kozak, M., Crotts, J.C. and Law, R. (2007) The impact of the perception of risk on international travellers. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 9(4), 233–242.

Kuran, T. and Sunstein, C.R. (1999) Availability cascades and risk regulation. *Stanford Law Review*, 683–768.

Laws, E. and Prideaux, B. (2005) *Tourism Crises: Management Responses and Theoretical Insight*. Routledge, London.

Lepp, A. and Gibson, H. (2003) Tourist roles, perceived risk and international tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30(3), 606–624.

Mansfeld, Y. (2006) The role of security information in tourism crisis management: the missing link. In: Mansfeld, Y. and Pizam, A. (eds) *Tourism, Security and Safety: From Theory to Practice*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 271–290.

Plog, S. (2001) Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity: an update of a Cornell Quarterly classic. *The Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly* 42(3), 13–24.

Quintal, V.A., Lee, J.A. and Soutar, G.N. (2010) Risk, uncertainty and the theory of planned behavior: a tourism example. *Tourism Management* 31(6), 797–805.

Raj, R., Griffin, K., & Morpeth, N.D. (Eds.). (2013) Cultural tourism. Wallingford, CABI.

Raj, R., & Griffin, K.A. (Eds.). (2015) Religious tourism and pilgrimage management: An international perspective. Wallingford, CABI.

Reisinger, Y. and Mavondo, F. (2005) Travel anxiety and intentions to travel internationally: implications of travel risk perception. *Journal of Travel Research* 43(3), 212–225.

Ritchie, B.W. (2004) Chaos, crises and disasters: a strategic approach to crisis management in the tourism industry. *Tourism Management* 25(6), 669–683.

Saha, S. and Yap, G. (2014) The moderation effects of political instability and terrorism on tourism development: a cross-country panel analysis. *Journal of Travel Research* 53(4), 509–521.

Skoll, G.R. and Korstanje, M.E. (2014) Terrorism, homeland safety and event management. *International Journal of Hospitality and Event Management* 1(1), 95–110.

Slovic, P. (1993) Perceived risk, trust, and democracy. *Risk Analysis* 13(6), 675–682.

Slovic, P. (2016) *The Perception of Risk*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

Sunstein, C.R. (2005) *Laws of Fear: Beyond the Precautionary Principle* (vol. 6). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Tarlow, P. (2014) *Tourism Security: Strategies for Effectively Managing Travel Risk and Safety*. Elsevier, Oxford, UK.

Tzanelli, R. (2016) *Thanatourism and Cinematic Representations of Risk: Screening the End of Tourism* (vol. 176). Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

2 Religion, Ideology and Terrorism

Alan Clarke*
University of Pannonia, Veszprém, Hungary

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to reflect on some of the complexities of dealing with risk in contemporary societies. It may have been an accident when the British prime minister addressed an audience on 25 April 2017 to reassure them that Britain was going to be at the forefront of the fight against terrorism, but in fact declared that the country and her government were determined to be at the forefront of the war against tourism! Speaking during a general election campaign visit to Wales, Theresa May explained how she wanted 'to strike deals across the world for trading, for exporting British goods and services', but then added, 'We want to lead the world in preventing tourism.' It is likely that she had intended to refer to 'terrorism', given that she followed these words with comments about modern slavery and national security. Although this apparent mistake was quickly corrected, some of us did find a moment or two for doubting whether there was more behind this than a mere Freudian slip. Terrorism comes in many forms and with many faces. There was also a beginning of an idea – that maybe there was a connection between the two subjects, and this chapter elaborates on those reflections.

We can begin to make sense of this by adopting a form of conjunctural analysis. As identified in Hall *et al.*'s writings, most notably the 1978 tour de force, *Policing the Crisis*, and summarized in Gregg (2006), conjuncture can be seen as a period during which the different social, political, economic and ideological contradictions that are at work in society come together to give it a specific and distinctive shape. The postwar period, for example, can be viewed as a particular conjuncture, where the politics were dominated by the welfare state, public ownership and wealth redistribution through taxation; the neoliberal, market forces era unleashed by Thatcher and Reagan was another.

We live in a particular conjuncture in the late 2010s that not only brings together terrorism and tourism but also sets them in a context where religion is set as a defining parameter. Elsewhere, we have attempted to explore the relationships between religion and terrorism by looking at the connections between terrorism motivated by religious beliefs and terrorism that takes place at religious sites. There is a need to probe and attempt to develop an understanding of this behaviour, which is beyond our understanding. Often the dominant element comes from the focus on the foreign, the 'other', rather than the religious.

A conjuncture, in these terms, can be long or short, as it should not be defined by time or by

*Address for correspondence: alanhungary@hotmail.com

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

simple things like a change of regime – though these have their own effects. History moves from one conjuncture to another rather than being an evolutionary flow. What drives it forward is usually described as a crisis, when the contradictions that are always at play in any historical moment are condensed or, as Althusser said, 'fuse in a ruptural unity' (Althusser, 1962). Crises are moments of potential change, but the nature of their resolution is not given.

Adopting conjunctural analysis necessitates a multidisciplinary perspective as it forces analysts to look at many different aspects in order to see what the balance of social forces is and how it might be possible to intervene, or have a better idea of how to intervene, effectively. We need effective, deep analysis to determine whether this crisis is about a real shift in the balance of social forces or, where it is not, what interventions can lead to a more radical rupture. However, first we have to analyse ruthlessly what sort of crisis it is.

Ideologies

This section will introduce a multidisciplinary perspective on the notion of 'ideology', following van Dijk (1998). The cognitive definition of ideology is given in terms of the social cognitions that are shared by the members of a group or groups affected by the ideological definitions. The social dimension explains what kind of groups, relations between groups, and institutions are involved in the development and reproduction of ideologies. The discursive constructions of ideologies demonstrate how ideologies influence our daily texts and talk, how we understand ideological discourse and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society. Discourse plays a fundamental role in the daily expression and reproduction of ideologies; it is possible to see the ways ideologies influence the various levels of discursive constructions – from intonation, syntax and images to the many aspects of meaning, such as topics, coherence, presuppositions, metaphors and argumentation, among many more.

In Engels' interpretation of Marx (Eagleton, 1991), ideologies were forms of 'false consciousness', which is popular but misguided beliefs inculcated by the ruling class in order to legitimate the status quo and to conceal the exploitation of the working classes. This negative concept of ideology, as systems of self-serving ideas of dominant groups, has been prevalent in the social sciences, where it was traditionally used in opposition to true scientific knowledge. This negativity has also become the central element in the commonsense and political uses of the term, namely as a system of false, misguided or misleading beliefs. For instance, growing up in the Cold War we were never encouraged to see capitalism or free market liberalism as an ideology because ideology was typically associated with communism. Readings of ideologies further underpin linear polarizations between us and them: we have true knowledge, they have ideologies. As systems of ideas of social groups and movements, ideologies not only make sense in order to understand the world (from the point of view of the group), but also are a basis for the social practices of group members. Ideologies thus emerge from group conflict and struggle and pitch us against them.

Among the crucial social constructions influenced by ideologies are language use and discourse, which in turn also influence how we acquire, learn or change ideologies. As Althusser (1962) noted, we acquire most of our ideological ideas from the Ideological State Apparatuses. This includes reading and listening to other group members, beginning with our parents and peers. Later we 'learn' ideologies by watching television, reading textbooks at school, looking at advertising, newspapers and novels, or participating in everyday conversations with friends and colleagues, among a multitude of other forms of talk and text. Some discourse genres, such as those of catechism, party rallies, indoctrination and political propaganda, have the explicit aim of 'teaching' ideologies to group members and newcomers.

In order to deepen our understanding of terrorism in this conjuncture, it is necessary to unpack the discursive dimensions of ideologies. The construction uses ideologies and also hides ideologies in putting forward a particular view. Given the current situation in Europe and North America, where xenophobic ideologies against immigrants and minorities have grown rapidly, it is tempting to see the Muslims as responsible for everything and we come to find the truth in Islamaphobia and its rhetorics.

Ideologies and discourses are concepts that cannot be studied adequately in one discipline: the account will reduce this large number of potential disciplines to three main clusters suggested by van Dijk: Discourse, Cognition and Society. Language use, text, talk, verbal interaction and communication will be studied under the broad label of 'discourse'. Cognition covers the mental aspects of ideologies: such as their nature as ideas or beliefs, their relations with opinions and knowledge, and their status as socially shared representations. Society recognizes the social, political, cultural and historical aspects of ideologies, their group-based nature, and their role in the reproduction of, or resistance against, dominance. This is an analytical distinction, as there are significant overlaps in the world of practice – discourse and the sharing of ideas are part of society. However, because the concepts, theories and methods of analysis are rather distinct for these three areas of inquiry, it is useful to be able to analyse them separately.

Contemporary cognitive and social psychology distinguish between many types of 'beliefs'. Beliefs may be personal versus social, specific versus general, concrete versus abstract, simple versus complex, rather fleeting or more permanent, about ourselves or about others, about the physical or the social world, and so on. We can differentiate between knowledge and opinions, or between knowledge and attitudes, depending on whether the beliefs have an evaluative element or not. And we may have beliefs such as norms and values that are the basis of such evaluations in opinions and attitudes. Ideologies often have such an evaluative dimension. Ideologies consist of shared, social beliefs, and not personal opinions. They are often about important social and political issues, namely those issues that are relevant for a group and its existence, rather than about trivial everyday things like the colour of our car or the make of our computer.

Psychologists often associate different beliefs with different types of memory, or with different systems of cognition. The distinction between short-term memory (STM) and long-term memory (LTM) is well known. Ideological beliefs are usually 'located' in LTM. When beliefs are more personal and based on experiences, they are often called 'episodic'. Together, these episodic beliefs define what is usually called 'episodic memory'. This memory is personal, autobiographical and subjective, as it registers our personal experiences. This is the kind of 'memory' we speak about in everyday life. Episodic memory is the location of the things we 'remember'. Since episodic memories are about individual people, 'self' plays a central role in them. Thus we have episodic memories of what we think about the presidents of the USA. After some years we are likely to remember a unique and exotic vacation, but not that we bought croissants at the bakery that morning. Since ideologies are basic and socially shared, we would not typically look for them in episodic memory, which is personal, subjective and consists of specific experiences, but this does not mean that ideologies do not influence our personal beliefs.

We not only have personal beliefs about personal experiences, but also share more general beliefs with others, such as other members of the same group, or even with most others in a whole society or culture. Our sociocultural knowledge is perhaps the most crucial example of such shared beliefs: we would be unable to understand each other, nor speak with or interact with others, without sharing a large amount of knowledge about all aspects of the world and our daily lives. From cradle to grave, people thus acquire an enormous amount of knowledge, beginning with their language(s) and the principles of interaction appropriate to the people and groups with which they interact, the objects around them and the institutions of their societies; and later, often through various forms of media or educational discourse, about the rest of the world. We shall assume that these socially shared beliefs form what may be called 'social memory', and that sociocultural knowledge is a central system of mental representations in social memory.

Knowledge is what 'we' think is true, and we have reasons (criteria) to believe it is true. Of course, other people may think that what we think we 'know' is merely beliefs, opinions, prejudice, fantasies or, indeed, ideologies. The notion of knowledge is relative, and dependent on the beliefs of our group, society or culture. What was knowledge in the Middle Ages may be described as superstition today; and, conversely, some originally controversial opinions of scholars later turned out to become widely accepted scientific 'fact', that is, knowledge that has passed the scientific criteria of truthfulness and become accepted in everyday life.

Although what is knowledge, or mere 'belief', may vary for different groups or cultures, or even within the same group or culture, people usually make a distinction between knowledge and belief, between fact and opinion. There is an enormous body of knowledges that no-one ever disputes, and that is accepted by almost all members of a culture. As Gramsci observed, these knowledges can be called the sociocultural common sense of a group (Crehan, 2016). These are the kinds of beliefs people presuppose to be known in their everyday interaction and discourse, and need not be expressed, unless introducing them to those who do not yet know them, such as children or immigrants from other cultures. Discourses presuppose vast amounts of such beliefs in order to be comprehensible.

Alternatively, we may also hold beliefs of which we are not sure, that are controversial, about which we have different views and which, in general, can therefore not be presupposed and tacitly be assumed to be true. These beliefs may be personal, and hence represent our personal opinions associated with our episodic beliefs. However, these beliefs may also be socially shared by groups of people, as is the case with our attitudes to, say, abortion, immigration or nuclear energy. These are the beliefs that typically need to be asserted, contended and defended, even when interacting with members of other groups. Of course, within the group, typical group opinions and attitudes may also be taken for granted, and therefore no longer asserted or defended. Since these group opinions are social, following Gramsci, they can be linked with social memory, in a similar way as with knowledge.

In this analysis, it will be argued that ideologies are the basis of the social memory shared by groups. Though, unlike commonsense knowledge, ideologies cannot be presupposed to be accepted by everyone. On the contrary, as is the case for attitudes, ideologies typically give rise to differences of opinion, to conflict and struggle. Yet the same 'ideological group' may be defined precisely by the fact that its members share more or less the same ideology, as is the case for socialists, feminists or antiracists as groups. There are, of course, subgroups with variants of the general ideology, and individual members of a group may again have individual opinions on certain issues. We called ideologies 'basic systems' of beliefs because other, more specific, beliefs may depend on them or be organized by them. Thus, a racist ideology may organize many prejudices or racist attitudes, e.g. about immigration, about the intellectual capacities of minorities, about the role of immigrants in the labour market, or on the relation between immigration and terrorism. These different attitudes, about different areas of society, may be organized by some basic beliefs about the negative properties of the 'others'. Ideologies form the basic social representations of the beliefs shared by a group, and function precisely as the framework that defines the overall coherence of these beliefs. Thus, ideologies allow new social opinions to be easily acquired and distributed in a group when the group and its members are confronted with new events and situations, as was the case for large-scale immigration during the last decades in Europe.

Among the mental representations typically associated with our social memory, we finally should mention the norms and values that organize our actions and evaluations. They define what is good and what is bad, permitted or prohibited, and the fundamental aims to be striven for by individuals, groups and societies. Thus, freedom, independence and autonomy may be values for groups, whereas intelligence, beauty or patience are typically values for people. Given the close relationships between ideologies and evaluative beliefs such as attitudes, it is not surprising that there is also a connection between ideologies and values. Indeed, both are fundamental for social memory. However, whereas ideologies are typical for groups, and may determine group conflict and struggle, values have an even more general, more basic, cultural function, and, in principle, are valid for most competent members of the same culture. Indeed, whatever our ideology, few of us are against freedom or equality, and those who are place themselves explicitly beyond the boundaries of the socially acceptable. In this way, the system of sociocultural norms and values is part of what we have called the common sense. They are beliefs that are not usually disputed within the same culture. However, although norms and values may be very general, and culturally accepted, they may be applied in different areas and in ways that are controversial.

When that happens we witness the 'translation' of values into components of ideological

beliefs. Thus we may all be in favour of freedom, but the freedom of the market will be defended in a liberal ideology, the freedom of the press in the professional ideology of journalists, and the freedom from discrimination in a feminist or antiracist ideology. Similarly, equality is a value that will be prominent in most oppositional ideologies, such as those of socialism, feminism and antiracism. Individualism and personal responsibility are again prominent in conservative and liberal ideologies. In other words, it is the specific, group-related and interest-defined interpretation of values that form the building blocks of ideological beliefs.

Ideological Formats

This provides a framework for a theory of ideology in which ideology is defined as a form of social cognition, and, more specifically, as the basic beliefs that underlie the social representations of a social group. However, this is far from adequate when we really want to understand the nature and functions of ideologies in society. Indeed, we have not even asked the crucial question as to what ideologies look like. We provisionally described them in terms of '(systems of) basic social beliefs', but we do not yet know what such beliefs, as mental representations, look like; how they are mutually related into 'systems', how they interact, and so on. We need to examine the structure of beliefs in the same way as we need, later, to examine the structures of discourse.

Unfortunately, despite the vast number of studies on ideology, we have very few ideas about the ways ideologies should be represented in memory. As clusters of beliefs in social memory they might be represented in the same formal terms as other beliefs, for instance as propositions. However, propositions provide merely a convenient format; they make it easier to speak or write about beliefs in some natural language. However, they are not exactly an ideal format to represent mental representations. We might also represent them as a network of conceptual nodes or in other formats that bear some resemblance to the neural network of the brain. Although it is certainly not arbitrary how they are organized, we shall not further consider this question of format. Propositions are units of meaning, traditionally defined as those meanings that express a 'complete thought', or in philosophy as something that can be true or false. Propositions are typically expressed in simple clauses, such as 'women and men are equal' or 'Harry and Sally are friends'. In the same philosophical tradition, propositions are usually said to be composed of a predicate and one or more arguments. Such a simple proposition may then further be modified in various ways, for instance by modalities ('it is possible that', 'it is known that'). Propositions as units of meaning are typically expressed as a clause, and assume that the general beliefs of ideologies can be represented by propositions such as 'Men and women should have equal rights' or 'All citizens have the right to elect their representatives.'

Whatever their format, ideological beliefs are, most probably, not organized in an arbitrary way; that is, if ideologies underlie the social beliefs of a group, then the identity and identification of group members must follow a more or less fixed pattern of basic categories, together with flexible rules of application. Ideologies are, by definition, general and abstract. They need to be, because they should apply in a large variety of everyday situations. Thus racist ideologies embody how We think about Them in general, and individual group members may (or may not, depending on the circumstances) 'apply' these general opinions in concrete situations, and hence in concrete discourses. In other words, there may be a wide gap between the abstract, general ideologies on the one hand and how people produce and understand discourse or engage in other social practices on the other.

More often than not, abstract ideologies only indirectly appear in text and talk. This means that we need 'intermediary' representations between ideologies and discourse. Thus we already have seen that attitudes, whilst also being forms of social cognition, may embody ideological propositions as applied to specific social domains. For instance, we may 'apply' racist ideology in the area of the labour market, in education or in the area of reproduction and sexuality. It is in this way that we may have racist attitudes about crime.

Group ideologies may affect knowledge, although this may seem contradictory, because knowledge has traditionally been defined as being free from ideology. Ideological knowledge is often seen as a contradiction in terms, and was

often seen as some form of 'ideological belief'. Thus if some psychologists hold that blacks are less intelligent than whites, they might see this as knowledge obtained by what they see as scientific evidence, but others may well see this as racist and based on biased argumentation and misguided application of scientific method. More generally, then, we shall accept that knowledge may be affected by ideology, because those who hold such beliefs think these beliefs are true by their standards, and hence consider them to be knowledge and not ideological beliefs. There are many examples where we would say that group knowledge is dependent on group ideology, and such dependence may be evaluated more or less positively or negatively. What was once considered by scholars to be scientific knowledge about women or blacks, now often will be seen (also by scientists) as biased, prejudiced beliefs or stereotypes. On the other hand, knowledge may also be controlled by more positive ideological principles. Thus, much of the knowledge we have about pollution is formulated under the influence of ecological ideologies. This will probably be the case for many forms of critical knowledge that oppose traditional views. Thus, it is also beyond doubt that the feminist movement, and hence feminist ideologies, are at the basis of many of the insights that today are widely accepted as characterizing gender relations in society. Thus, much insight into domination and inequality will, at least initially, be based on ideologies of resistance, and only later be accepted by other groups and by society at large. Commonsense beliefs are non-ideological within a given society or culture, precisely because there is no controversy about these beliefs, no opposition, no struggle, no us/them groups, no conflict of interest, no conflicting views of the world. Indeed, a table is a table for all social groups in our culture, and its properties or functions are hardly a matter for discussion. What we now accept to be non-ideological commonsense beliefs in our own society or culture may later, or from the point of view of another culture, become ideological beliefs. This is typically the case, for example, for Christianity, which was generally accepted as 'true belief' 500 years ago by most members of European societies, but which now is associated with the ideological beliefs of just one group of people.

The subject of ideology is a controversial one, and it is arguable that at least some part of this controversy derives from disagreement as to the definition of the word ideology. One can, however, discern both a strict and a loose way of using it. In the loose sense of the word, ideology may mean any kind of action-oriented theory or any attempt to approach politics in the light of a system of ideas. Ideology in the stricter sense stays fairly close to Destutt de Tracy's (2010 [1825]) original conception and may be identified by five characteristics:

- it contains an explanatory theory of a more or less comprehensive kind about human experience and the external world;
- it sets out a programme, in generalized and abstract terms, of social and political organization;
- it conceives the realization of this programme as entailing a struggle;
- it seeks not merely to persuade but to recruit loyal adherents, demanding what is sometimes called commitment;
- it addresses a wide public but may tend to confer some special role of leadership on intellectuals.

In the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (http://www.britannica.com/topic/…) we find religion defined as:

> [H]uman beings' relation to that which they regard as holy, sacred, absolute, spiritual, divine, or worthy of especial reverence. It is also commonly regarded as consisting of the way people deal with ultimate concerns about their lives and their fate after death. In many traditions, this relation and these concerns are expressed in terms of one's relationship with or attitude toward gods or spirits; in more humanistic or naturalistic forms of religion, they are expressed in terms of one's relationship with or attitudes toward the broader human community or the natural world.

Thinking of religion in these terms means some rethinking about the similarities and differences between the way ideologies and religions work. In Islamaphobia we see a religion redefined and recast not as a unifying principle but as one that splits peoples of faith into two (or more) hostile camps. The religious faith becomes a driver of terrorism that threatens us and our sense of society. As we see the Muslim terrorist operating around the world, we are drawn into a moral panic. It may come down to the ideological

rather than the religious, but here we are being shown images that take the religion out of the construction and reveal only the risk in the situation. Our sense, or senses, of risk comes from our perception of the dangers stemming from danger or uncertainty. In this context, those perceptions are informed, at least partially, by the discourses at play in and around Islamaphobia.

We know that some people with religious beliefs are willing to attack us. Here 'us' may refer to faith communities if the targets of the terrorists are religious sites and gatherings of religious people. However, the 'us' extends beyond this as the religious terrorists are shown to be willing to attack other locations with no apparent religious significance. Here the religious terrorism places us at risk, not because of our religious beliefs but because we are constructed ideologically as 'them' or the 'other'. The 'other', so the narrative goes, is not 'us', and therefore is fair game. In the world presented through Islamaphobia, we not only see all Muslims as potential terrorists, but we are told 'they' see all non-Muslims as legitimate targets for their terrorist actions.

We have seen many attempts at managing these risks, from Donald Trump's travel bans to erecting concrete blockades outside significant places or along certain routes. These strategies of containment and promises of safety are seen to make sense in our world but do not address the issues of radicalization in certain communities. The reality of these risks is that the threat is always there and can be brought into action anywhere, and therefore everywhere, as we increasingly run scared, not only from any real sense of risk but also out of a sense of moral panic surrounding and, in some ways, supporting that sense of risk.

Calling something a moral panic does not imply that this something does not exist or never happened. It is not that our reactions are merely based on fantasy, hysteria, delusion or illusion, or a simple matter of us being duped by the powerful. There are two related assumptions that require further attention – that the attribution of the moral panic label means that the 'thing"s extent and significance has been exaggerated (a) in itself (compared with other more reliable, valid and objective sources); and/or (b) compared with other, more serious, problems. This labelling derives from a wilful refusal by liberals, radicals and leftists to take public anxieties seriously. Instead, they are furthering a politically correct agenda: to downgrade traditional values and moral concerns.

Carry on Panicking

The objects of normal moral panics may appear rather predictable; so, too, are the discursive constructs used to represent them. The objects of moral panics are new (lying dormant, perhaps, but hard to recognize; deceptively ordinary and routine, but invisibly creeping up on the moral horizon), but also old (camouflaged versions of traditional and well-known evils). They are damaging in themselves, but also merely warning signs of the real, much deeper and more prevalent condition. They are transparent (anyone can see what is happening), but also opaque – accredited experts must explain the perils hidden behind the superficially harmless (showing how the radicalization of a religion can lead to terror).

Cohen's book *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (2011) was initially informed by the sixties' fusion of labelling theory, cultural politics and critical sociology. Now we can go straight into the literature on social constructionism and claims-making to explain what is happening when this rather special mode of reaction takes place, either being strengthened by or absorbed by the construction processes.

At their point of origin in the sixties, concepts like 'moral panic' and 'deviancy amplification' were symbiotically linked to certain assumptions about the mass media. Vital causal links were taken for granted – notably that the mass media are the primary source of the public's knowledge about deviance and social problems. The media appear in any or all of three roles in moral panic dramas:

Setting the agenda – selecting those deviant or socially problematic events deemed as newsworthy, then using finer filters to select which of these events are candidates for moral panic;
Transmitting the images – transmitting the claims of claims-makers, by sharpening up or dumbing down the rhetoric of moral panics; or
Breaking the silence – making the claims have hardly touched the thin idea of media-induced deviancy amplification.

This is not causation in the constructionist sense – moral panics 'cause' folk devils by labelling more actions and people – but causation in the positivist sense and without the inverted commas. This psychology still uses concepts such as triggering off, contagion and suggestibility. Later cognitive models are far more plausible. For those who define and those who are defined, sensitization becomes a matter of cognitive framing and moral thresholds. Rather than a stimulus (media message) and response (audience behaviour), we look for the points at which moral awareness is raised ('defining deviance up') or lowered ('defining deviance down').

In the contemporary discourses, we are finding that attention shifts away from offence, offender and the criminal justice process and moves towards a victim-centred cosmology. If the offender's background, motivation and context become standardized, they are easier to demonize, as we see with Muslims and their constructions within Islamaphobia. This contrast between dangerous predators and vulnerable innocents allows the media to construct what Reiner (2001) terms 'virtual vigilantism'. This can be seen throughout the new realities of 'tabloid justice' and in the victim culture encouraged by talk shows such as *Jerry Springer*. These Durkheimian boundary-setting ceremonies continue to be staged by the mass media. But they have become desperate, incoherent and self-referential. This is because they run against shifts in media representation of crime and justice since the late sixties: the moral integrity of the police and other authorities is tarnished; criminality is less an assault on sacred and consensual values than a pragmatic matter of harm to individual victims. Above all, crime may be presented as part of the wider discourse of risk. This means that moral panic narratives have to defend a 'more complex and brittle' social order, a less deferential culture.

Risk

Some of the social space once occupied by moral panics has been filled by more incoherent social anxieties, insecurities and fears. These are fed by specific constructions of risks: the growth of new 'techno-anxieties' (nuclear, chemical, biological, toxic and ecological risk), disease hazards, food panics, safety scares about travelling on trains or planes, and fears about international terrorism. In Beck's (1992) well-known formulation of the 'risk society', the generation of risks is combined with elaborated levels of risk management plus disputes about how this management is achieved. The construction of risk refers not just to the raw information about dangerous or risky things, but also to the ways of assessing, classifying and reacting to them. Our conjuncture has developed methods of predicting risk (including psychological profiling, actuarial tables, security assessments), which have themselves become part of the social construction of risk. As with many constructs, these approaches are capable of contributing different analyses.

Where such discursive contestations are found, we can observe the pattern of discourses in play moving from description to the evaluative criteria, and to the authority, reliability and accuracy of the claims-maker. The original 'thing' takes a moral turn: an examination of the character and moral integrity of the claims-makers. Reflections on risk are now absorbed into a wider culture of insecurity, victimization and fear. Both the technical question of risk analysis and the wider culture of risk-talk, have influenced the domains of recognizing terrorism and terrorists. Another view (Cohen, 2011) sees the theorists and managers of the criminal justice system employing the rhetoric of risk, while the public and mass media continue with their traditional moral tales.

Neither view does justice to the now stylized (almost self-parodying) screams of tabloid panics nor the real anger, resentment, outrage and fear of the crowd banging the sides of the security van outside the place of trial of a terrorist. The global scope of the risk society, its self-reflective quality and its pervasiveness create a new backdrop for standard moral panics. Perceptions of heightened risk evoke images of panic; and in populist discourses about such issues as fear of crime, the concepts of risk and panic are naturally connected.

Clever statistics about how low the risk is of becoming a victim are no more consoling than a message from a doctor that you are in a low-risk category for the disease from which you are suffering. More interesting than 'applying' risk theory to the study of moral panics is to remember

that most claims about relative risk, safety or danger depend on political morality. As Douglas (1992) argued originally, substantial disagreements over 'what is risky, how risky it is and what to do about it' are irreconcilable in purely objective terms. Moreover, the perception and acceptance of risk is intimately tied to the question of who is perceived to be responsible for causing the hazard or damage to whom. This allocation of blame is intrinsic to moral panics and operates to further separate the villains, in this case the terrorists, from the rest of us.

Our perceptions of risk are based on our rationality, which tells us what we know and what it means to feel at risk. We make judgements about where we are safe and which places are dangerous. We work on constructing our own thresholds of danger, and what is characterized as dangerous needs to be constructed internally and externally as we are bombarded with images of terrorist atrocities. If we stop to hear what terrorists are saying, we have to listen to ideas that are very difficult for us. Terrorism denies our rationality and it suggests an alternative rationality to challenge and replace our common-, taken-for-granted sense of social order. If we are offered alternative views, a different sense of good and evil, do we have to hear them and consider an alternative rationality? What the discourses in the moral panics do is to safeguard our original rationality as the only right one.

We live in a world where the images with which we are presented are more real than a complex, lived reality, or different realities, that may be proposed by those outside our own sense of rationality. We are defining alternative versions of rationality and rationales. Gramsci proposed the concept of 'hegemony' to analyse societies where overt regulation is not always necessary to maintain a consensus, because the members effectively police themselves. However, the boundaries are policed both formally and informally, as we know that beyond the consensus there lies the unthinkable. Those things that some people who are not us do, reinforce, when we hear about or see them, our sense of what is right for us. Gramsci argued that all communities live for most of the time within the acceptable, but he was concerned as to where we set the thresholds of tolerance. We tolerate a little soft drug-taking but not hard drug-taking. We tolerate some levels of abuse but we know where to draw the line. Those decisions are where we are setting our thresholds of tolerance.

But with imagination we also dream of what is risky and dangerous and folk devils simplify this process. As the devil grows, we become less tolerant. By taking all Muslims to be potential terrorists, Islamaphobia stops us from being able to make a nuanced decision about where to set the thresholds of tolerance. As a famous ogre once tried to explain, 'ogres have layers' (Shrek). The idea was that not all ogres are as bad as human society made them out to be and, moreover, there might be a better response to ogres than flaming torches and pitchforks. Being a Muslim in this conjuncture may well feel like that.

Conclusion

Terrorists challenge more than property and lives; terrorist logics question and redefine our very society. We come to know them through their actions or, more likely, reports of their actions. It is difficult to undertake detailed interviews with successful suicide bombers, and few of us would listen. Few have met a terrorist or would recognize one. Now we do not have to; the media have done this for all of us or at least all those of us who do not question the stories given to us. We accept the narratives of Islamaphobia and these constructions are reinforced by the absences in the narratives. Where are the stories of good Muslims? If we gave greater attention to the acts of kindness and charity that Muslims have contributed in the wake of terrorist attacks and other atrocities, such as surrounding the Grenfell Tower fire in London in 2017, we would have to complicate the message and make people think.

Instead we live in a conjuncture of increasing division and heightened perceptions of risk. Therefore risk is where there are terrorists; terrorism is everywhere, and therefore risk is everywhere and anywhere. A more complex understanding of the social forces at play in the crisis and a more tolerant humanistic understanding of diversity might work as effectively as barriers and walls to reduce the perception of the risk with which we live.

References

Althusser, L. (1962) Contradiction and overdetermination. Reprinted in: Althusser, L. (1969). Verso, London.
Althusser, L. (1969) *For Marx*. Verso, London.
Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Sage, London.
Cohen, S. (2011) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
Crehan, K. (2016) *Gramsci's Common Sense: Inequality and Its Narratives*. Duke University Press, Boston, Massachusetts.
Destutt de Tracy, A.L.L. (2010[1825]) *Elemens D'Ideologie: Ideologie Proprement Dire.* Kessinger Publishers, Whitefish, Montana.
Douglas, M. (1992) *Risk and Blame: Essays in Cultural Theory*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
Eagleton, T. (1991) *Ideology*. Verso, London.
Gregg, M. (2006) The politics of conjuncture: Stuart Hall, articulation and the commitment to specificity. In: Gregg, M. *Cultural Studies – Affective Voices*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK.
Hall, S., Cricher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. and Roberts, B. (1978) *Policing the Crisis*. Macmillan, London.
Reiner, R. (2001) The rise of virtual vigilantism: crime reporting since World War II. *Criminal Justice Matters* 43(1), 2–4.
van Dijk, T.A. (1998) *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Sage, London.

3 Risk Assessment and Disaster Management for Religious Events

Razaq Raj[1,*] and Kevin Griffin[2]
[1]*Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK;* [2]*Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin, Ireland*

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to develop an understanding of the principles of risk assessment, how health and safety management works in practice, and the significant risks involved in managing religious events. Religious events are becoming increasingly popular with people attending religious pilgrimages. These pilgrimages are mostly made up of people (devotees) who are committed to their faith. This chapter presents, in the first instance, the principles of risk assessment and the number of statutory legislations that apply in different countries. The focus of the chapter is crowd management associated with religious festivals. The importance of contingency planning and of developing an emergency plan in relation to large-scale religious festivals are discussed. The security for such festivals needs to be reinforced and meet international standards. Therefore, festival and event organizers must put measures in place to mitigate any safety and security dangers they face, and need to ensure that such contingency plans are in place for the duration of the event.

Crowd Movement

One of the main concerns in religious festivals is crowd movement. Crowd movement is a vital aspect to be controlled and managed. Facilities need to be provided that meet the requirements of participants and pilgrimage attendees. The hazards presented by crowd movement can vary from one festival to another. Therefore, it is essential for religious festival organizers to carry out an assessment of the risks arising from crowd movement and behaviour, as the participants arrive, move around the site and leave. Figure 3.1 outlines the common risks faced by attendees.

These risks require organizers to consider the safety of attendees, and management and staff need to be well prepared to manage these risks. Religious festival sites need preventative measures to be in place, and staff need to be visible and easily accessible. The venue must have easy exits and there should be a plan in place to avoid over-concentration of people in one place. Security staff need to be able to take action quickly in the event of an emergency. For example, organizers need to put up barriers to reduce the flow of people wanting to enter the site.

*Address for correspondence: r.raj@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

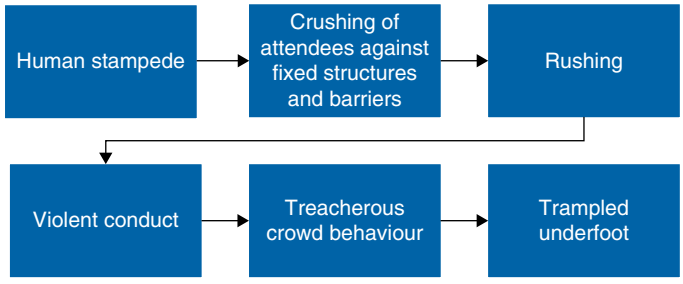

Fig. 3.1. Crowd movement risks.

Staff need to prevent people crushing into fixed structures and barriers. Raj *et al.* (2013) argue that risk management should be considered an essential part of the festival, allowing the possibility of analysing different crowds and of adapting procedures according to the intention of the crowd. Berlonghi (1995) classified different categories of crowd, saying that we can compare a crowd spirit to the mentality of individuals; there are some crowds that want to express themselves and others that are just spectators. And when a crowd wants to exit a venue, there is the risk that some people could get trampled.

Health and Safety

Over the last few decades, risk and safety issues have come to the fore at religious festivals due to the large number of tourists visiting religious sites. There are various different steps that can be undertaken in order to assess risks and minimize accidents. Effective public liability insurance should be in place at each venue being visited by the religious pilgrimage. Public liability insurance 'covers the cost of claims made by members of the public for incidents that occur in connection with your business activities' (Association of British Insurers, 2014).

It is imperative for the wellbeing of all attendees that venues are kept clean and tidy at all times. Water should be available to the public as there is a risk of visitors becoming dehydrated. The Health and Safety Executive Principles and the Licencing Act Objectives should also be followed to ensure a safe environment for all. There will be a large number of foreign visitors descending upon religious sites so it is important that all visitors understand the risks of illness and the diseases that can be contracted within the country being visited. These risks can be minimized by educating visitors about them.

There is also a high risk of accidents occurring within the workplace, especially in the construction stages of the religious sites. For example, in 2015, a construction crane collapsed during high winds inside the holy mosque of Makkah, Saudi Arabia, killing at least 100 people and injuring more than 200. Pilgrims from all around the world descend on the holy city of Makkah, Islam's holiest city, for the annual Hajj pilgrimage. Approximately 2 million pilgrims attend the Hajj each year. Figure 3.2 shows the number of cranes close to holy Kabbah; one of these collapsed during the 2015 festival.

The construction was carried out by the Saudi Arabian Binladin Group. Over the last 20 years, it has been heavily involved in mosque expansion. It is important that the Saudi Arabian government ensures that health and safety is taken seriously by the construction company to safeguard pilgrims.

It is essential that Health and Safety in the Workplace 1974 legislation (www.Legislation.gov.uk) is followed to ensure the safety of workers and pilgrims during the festival. Late completion of building work could compromise safety as it will allow less time for risk assessment and other safety procedures.

To help eliminate any risks at the religious sites, extensive risk assessment should take place within each site. This will help to minimize issues such as violence, accidents, injury, illness and illegal activity. Highly comprehensive evacuation drills should take place and festivals organizers need to take into account the risk from epidemics that are on the rise around the world.

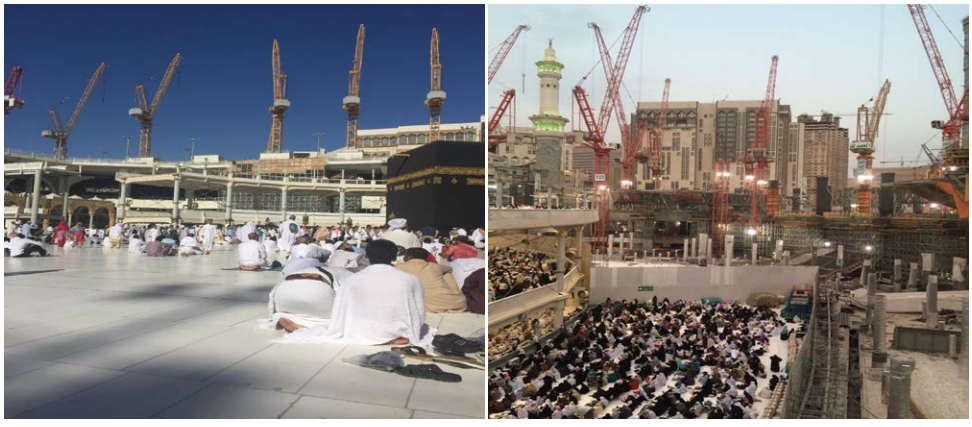

Fig. 3.2. Cranes at the 2015 Hajj festival, one of which collapsed. (Source: Razaq Raj)

Epidemic

An epidemic is the rapid increase of a disease. It can spread in a number of ways. Several types of epidemics are:

- contamination of drinking water;
- Dengue fever, a disease transmitted by mosquitoes;
- virus contamination from outside visitors.

The host country and city must be prepared to deal with a crisis quickly.

- Healthcare systems in the country and host city should be prepared to accommodate mass gatherings of visitors/pilgrims.
- Languages and customs could hinder the emergency services.
- Hygienic measures cannot be fully applied.

The consequences of outbreaks are:

Human. Depending on the severity, events may be cancelled; stadiums and venues may be closed and refunds given. There may be panic and insecurity. Deaths may result.

Economic. Hospitals may become overwhelmed. Temporary hospitals and/or support from the international community may be required. Health costs may increase dramatically.

Policy. Nationally, coordination and communication will be managed by the host country. They will be held responsible for any mismanagement of the crisis.

Internationally, the credibility of the event is at stake. Participating countries will be very concerned about the management of this crisis. The sustainability of the event is in question.

Weather Conditions

Poor weather conditions can cause the suspension of the religious festival, substantial property damage, and even deaths of participants.

Human. Visitors' health may be affected by climatic problems. Panic may result among the population.

Economic. Very high repair costs may be incurred, especially in the case of a flood. Weather risks should be provided in advance, although this factor is unpredictable.

Policy. Although the government is not responsible for climate, its handling of a crisis will be much observed. The government must be aware of such risks and assess the soundness of its infrastructure. Help from the international community may be needed.

Environment. The impact of such an event can be dramatic in terms of ecology, particularly in 'neo-urbanized' areas where there may be poor absorption of the soil in the case of flooding.

Fires

With a lot of religious festivals, fire is a risk that cannot be ignored. This could have serious implications. People may panic. The whole event

may need to be reorganized. This could have a huge impact on the economy of the country (in rebuilding of infrastructure, health costs etc.). The impact on the environment cannot be ignored either.

Technical Problems

These could include power cuts or the collapse of a stand. There must be control over each step of the building and regular checks made on the infrastructure, even during the event. There may be the need to evacuate the venue and stop the event.

Event organizers should carry out tests every day before the public arrive to know if there will be sufficient electricity. It may be necessary to move to another location, but this may be difficult, so it may be necessary to postpone the event altogether.

Terrorist Attacks

Since 11 September 2001, all events require more security to protect people. The probability of terrorist attack has increased dramatically since that date. ISIS represents an ongoing threat all over the world, and security measures are more and more important.

While organizers try to anticipate problems, the state can be ready to act. For instance, when a terrorist attack occurs in an occidental country, other countries can implement an anti-terrorism plan, with increased numbers of police and more security measures in general. Organizers should implement measures during the event such as body scans, bag searches and vehicle searches. In case of any doubt, police must be alerted. But these measures must be implemented both before entering the stadium/arena and again once inside the area.

Finally, in the event of a problem (bomb scare, for instance) there should be the ability to evacuate people very quickly without causing a stampede.

The Contingency Plan

Contingency planning is essential for large-scale religious festivals and they need to develop an emergency plan. The security for large festivals needs to meet international standards. Therefore, religious festival organizers need to put measures in place to ensure the security of the event. The event organizers need to ensure that a contingency plan is in place to meet any danger faced during the festival period.

The most important tool the religious festival organizers need is a risk assessment plan. The risks need to be identified and stringent measures should be taken to avoid any disaster. Figure 3.3 shows the most common risk factors that can occur during the religious event. The organizers need to identify risks and develop a contingency plan. Table 3.1 lists the risks, which can be classified from the most to the least likely to happen.

For each risk, measures will need to be implemented to avoid their occurrence.

Crowd crushing

The maximum capacity of each religious site needs to be respected. It will be the job of the security guards to make sure crowd crushing is avoided. The crowd will be monitored (cameras and security guards) so that risky behaviour can be identified. More security guards will be sent to these areas to prevent disasters occurring. In the case of crowd crushing, the security guards will have to act fast to prevent injury. Medical support will need to be available to act swiftly and minister to any injured persons.

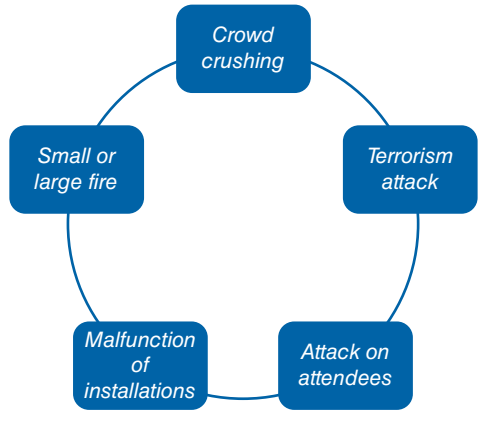

Fig. 3.3. Common risk factors for religious events.

Table 3.1. Event risk assessment matrix.

Hazard	To whom?	Severity and likelihood	Control measures	Severity and likelihood
Drugs	– Tourists – Tourists will bring new clients	3 × 5 = 15	– Control at the entry – Police and dogs – Communication about known criminals	3 × 3 = 9
Terrorist attack	– Sacred religious sites on the 'terrorist map' with a lot of people attending – It is symbolic	5 × 2 = 10	– Communication between the nations' security groups – Police and security guards – cameras	5 × 1 = 5
Pickpocket and robbery	– Tourists(alarming rate of urban crime) – Enormous crowds at the site with a lot of cash	2 × 5 = 10	– Security guards trained for this issue – Communication to tourists about the problem and how to avoid – Information on known criminals – Cameras	2 × 3 = 6
Fires or infrastructural issues	– Infrastructural work can collapse – Fires can be started intentionally or with people smoking for instance	5 × 2 = 10	– A lot of exits clearly signed – Smoking areas only – Security guards – Maintenance check of the infrastructure – Agreement with firemen – Medical team	4 × 1 = 4
Crowd issues (crowd movements with people being pushed and fights etc.)	– Public (millions of people circulating all day in a closed area) – Crowd profiling	4 × 4 = 16	– Security guards – Control at the entry for dangerous objects – Clear areas to walk and to sit – Distance between the public and the stage – Medical team	3 × 3 = 9
Infrastructure to welcome anyone: disabled people (fall on stairs) Young children (get lost in the crowd) Old people (heat)	– Public (international event that welcomes everyone, especially families)	3 × 5 = 15	– Elevators, and areas dedicated to wheelchairs – Medical team – A stand and public address system to contact parents looking for their children – Acclimatization – Water distribution	2 × 3 = 6

Severity scale
1 = trivial injury; 2 = moderate injury; 3 = moderate injury requiring hospital treatment; 4 = serious injury or death; 5 = multiple deaths/serious injuries
Likelihood scale
1 = very unlikely to occur; 2 = unlikely, but possible; 3 = might happen sometime; 4 = probably will happen; 5 = certainly will happen

Small or large fire

Bags need to be checked at the entrance to stop anyone bringing firearms or flammable products inside the buildings. Security guards need to be placed around the site to prevent people entering without authorization. The crowd needs to be monitored and suspicious behaviour identified. In the case of a terrorist attack or a fire, the site needs to be evacuated quickly via the emergency exits. In the case of a minor fire, evacuation may not be necessary but security guards and firemen still need to act quickly and extinguishers need to be in place around the religious site.

Attacks on attendees

Bags need to be checked at the entrance to prevent people bringing dangerous objects into the religious site. The crowd needs to be monitored closely and suspicious behaviour identified.

Malfunction of installations

All installations to be used by attendees will need to be double-checked and tested before the event. In case of injury, the medical services, firemen and police will need to be ready to act. All emergency exits need to be signposted and illuminated with luminous signs to facilitate evacuation should it be necessary.

Risk Assessment

A risk assessment plan is a systematic method of looking at work activities, considering what could go wrong, and deciding on suitable control measures to prevent loss, damage or injury in the workplace. The assessment should include the controls required to eliminate, reduce or minimize risks.

Risk assessment is a vital part of the event industry. The risk assessment is a systematic method that helps the organizer meet health and safety standards in the business environment. A risk assessment looks at every activity being carried out on the religious site, takes into account what could go wrong and develops suitable control measures to prevent loss, damage or injury. Risk management is a key element within every organization and is an area that management cannot avoid. Risk is present in every place of worship, and the type of risk depends on the nature of the religious site. Management needs to develop serious risk management processes to protect the site or the place of worship. Berg (2010, p. 81) states that:

> In order to apply risk management effectively, it is vital that a risk management culture be developed. The risk management culture supports the overall vision, mission and objectives of an organization. Limits and boundaries are established and communicated concerning what are acceptable risk practices and outcomes.

The risk assessment is developed to protect employees, visitors, volunteers and the general public who attend the place of worship from harm or damage caused by natural disaster or self-generated risk. Therefore it is important for the organizers to create a product/service with a minimum level of risk to themselves and others. Risk assessment is a fundamental requirement for businesses, places of worship, sacred sites and tourist areas to analyse in order to reduce risk and comply with health and safety law. Raj *et al.* (2013, p. 176) state that it is essential for businesses to develop risk assessment:

> The five steps to risk assessment as presented by the (HSE) should become the cornerstone of any organisation/event internally and externally. Due to an increase in the litigation culture within the UK over recent years, due diligence on behalf of the organisation to protect employees is considered paramount for many organisations.

Therefore it is important for religious festival organizers to produce and present a risk assessment before the event takes place in order to protect all parties involved in the religious festival. Some religious sites have not completed a risk assessment. The identification of hazards and risks at religious sites or places of worship should be made prior to the commencement of any activities and should focus on the risks faced by visitors and employees. Raj *et al.* (2013, p. 176) further state that:

> Upon identifying the activity or task, it is necessary to look at ways of limiting exposure,

> removing, controlling or transferring risk. In some documents you may also find a risk rating, which gives further information about the likelihood of the risk accruing and the impact of the risks to person(s) in the immediate vicinity.

In the business world it is vital to consider the five steps of risk assessment stated by the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) and establish clear and effective measures to address risks associated with religious festivals. The following five steps are necessary:

- identification of hazards;
- determination of who is at risk;
- evaluation of risk and determination of whether existing precautions are adequate or whether more should be done;
- recording the findings – demonstrating that proper checks were made, obvious and significant hazards were dealt with and suitable precautions were implemented;
- review of the assessment process and revision of it if necessary.

Risk assessment at places of worship

In the 21st century, health and safety is an essential part of everyday life in places of worship. The dangers present in places of worship have increased over the last decade; organizers need to establish clear health and safety policies. This affects all places of worship from the smallest to the largest site. The organizers are responsible for the public's safety. In order to best address any risks, the organizing team of the religious festival needs to measure the risks beforehand and put measures in place to reduce the severity and likelihood of any accident or disaster happening during the festival. The risk assessment is needed for organizers to comply with health and safety standards. Okereke (2015) further illustrates the importance of carrying out risk assessment at religious places of worship:

> Places of worship should formulate a comprehensive emergency (fire, terrorism/active shooter, health-related natural disasters) and evacuation plans, lockdown procedures and scrutinize the aforementioned procedures routinely in response to plausible natural or man-made misadventure.

Organizers of festivals, events, places of worship or religious sites need to understand that risk assessment is an active process, which needs periodic review. Management should identify risks on a daily basis and regularly scrutinize risks using the Event Risk Assessment Matrix. By doing so, they may identify new risks and their impact. Table 3.1 is an example of a completed event risk assessment matrix.

Event risk assessment matrix

The matrix in Table 3.1 shows, in a simple way, how measures need to be put in place by the organizers to reduce risk at sacred sites or places of worship.

Summary

This chapter critically evaluated the principles of risk assessment, assessing the potential effects of, or harm from a hazard that may occur during the religious event. Considering the level of risk, organizers can prioritize tasks to ensure exclusion or minimization of the risk. In addition, the chapter outlined many of the legal requirements organizers need to consider to make safety of attendees a top priority. The chapter further discussed crowd management, which is vital, and preventative measures need to be in place. Staff need to be visible and easily accessible. The venue must have easy exits, and there should be a plan in place to avoid over-concentration of people in one place. Security staff need to be able to take action quickly in the event of an emergency. The festival organizers need to understand how health and safety management works in practice, and the significant risks involved in managing religious events. Therefore, it is important to implement a systems approach when preparing for managing crowd movement, taking into account not only the festival's risks but also the potential influential actors in the wider context. Finally, the chapter evaluated the role of contingency planning in large-scale religious festivals and analysed an emergency plan. It offered an event risk assessment matrix to deal with potential disasters. The security for large festivals needs to meet international standards. Religious festival organizers need to put measures in place to ensure security and that they have a contingency plan to meet any danger faced during the festival period.

References

Association of British Insurers (2014) https://www.abi.org.uk/products-and-issues/products/business-insurance/liability-insurance/public-liability-insurance/ (accessed 3 March 2017).

Berg, H.P. (2010) Risk management: procedures, methods and experiences. Gnedenko Forum. *Reliability: Theory & Applications* 1, 79–95.

Berlonghi, A.E. (1995) Understanding and planning for different spectator crowds. *Journal of Safety Science* 18, 239–247.

Collapsed crane. Photo available at: https://i.guim.co.uk/img/media/46a73891b3d50c0aa8e8b5c4d50607e2b2d8e5d6/0_0_1149_1533/master/1149.jpg?w=780&q=20&auto=format&usm=12&fit=max&dpr=2&s=865336b21ae6ddc4f5af4ad687a5ebda (accessed 3 March 2017).

Okereke, D. (2015) 21 Security, safety best practices for places of worship (churches, mosques etc.). Available at: https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/21-security-safety-best-practices-places-worship-churches-don-okereke (accessed 3 November 2017).

Raj, R., Walters, P. and Rashid, T. (2013) *Events Management: Principles and Practice* (2nd edn). Sage Publishing, London.

4 Risk of Terrorism and Crime on the Tourism Industry

Ayesha Chowdhury and Razaq Raj*
Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK

Introduction

Tourism is a fragile industry that is highly vulnerable to the impact of the ongoing threat of crime in general. International terrorism is just another form of relentless crime. Waldron (2010) defined terrorism as a 'form of coercion'. However, he acknowledges the important differences between ordinary coercion and terrorist intimidation. The effects of terrorist intimidation are more far-reaching than ordinary crimes of coercion. More people fear for their personal safety, and the state diminishes civil liberties to deal with the fear in the name of national security. The concept of security has now been changed in the light of the new threat called terrorism. In order to deal with the threat, extraordinary measures outside the criminal justice system are being introduced as appropriate responses.

International terrorism and hate crime affects the tourist mindset in a number of ways that differ from that connected with ordinary crime. This chapter will discuss the conceptual differences between crime, hate crime and terrorism. In addition, it evaluates the risks faced by travellers due to the recent phenomenon of terrorism, which has impacted the tourism industry greatly. Finally, the chapter illustrates that terrorism is an extraordinary type of crime that needs extraordinary legal protection.

Difference between Ordinary Crime and Terrorism

Prior to the 1990s, terrorist acts were considered criminal acts and dealt with by criminal law. Therefore, once prosecuted by the state, the suspected terrorists were taken into custody and jurisdiction was claimed over their conduct. This approach was justified at the time as the threat coming from terrorism was not as severe as it is today. States were not required to change their strategies to combat terrorism. The principal aim of criminal law is 'to condemn, to punish, to provide retribution for specific past conduct, and to deter future bad conduct' (Slobogin, 2005).

While world leaders, under extreme pressure to ensure national security, were keen to have competent counterterrorism measures in place, diversion from a traditional criminal law approach, with little consideration for the protection of human rights of individuals, sparked debates about the need to return to a criminal justice model to prosecute terrorists with appropriate safeguards against the state abusing its power. However, many leading states have now

*Address for correspondence: r.raj@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events. M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

legislated for detention without trial, which is often considered to be a counterterrorism measure on the edge/cusp of acceptability under the International Standard of Human Rights.

The way suspected terrorists are treated is different from ordinary criminals under the criminal justice model. Although the criminal law model provides greater privileges to the suspected terrorists, such as stricter evidentiary rules to justify the detention of suspected terrorists, it is often criticized for its focus being retrospective rather than prospective (Hakimi, 2008). This, apparently, does not serve the purpose of preventative detention as preventative detention aims to prevent a future occurrence rather than waiting for something to happen. This section illustrates the difference between an ordinary criminal and a suspected terrorist being detained. As terrorism is a special kind of crime, it needs special measures to deal with it.

The criminal model, in effect, permits detention in two circumstances: (1) where the person has been charged with a criminal offence and is awaiting a criminal adjudication; and (2) where the person is being punished after a criminal conviction (United States v. Awadallah, 349 F.3d 42 (2d Cir. 2003)).

The most acceptable justification to implement extraordinary measures that divert from the criminal justice model is the gravity of terrorism-related crimes. While the criminal model respects individuals, it may at times be considered too sympathetic to potential terrorists.

Preventative detention is ceasing the liberty of suspected individuals temporarily in order to prevent them from committing any serious crime. In a time of rising threats of terrorism, using preventative detention is vital in order to combat international terrorism. Preventative detention is also known as executive/administrative detention and has different forms and models.

Extraordinary measures, like preventative detention, are aimed at. As de Londras (2013) puts it: 'Rather than evidence gathering, states are intelligence gathering; rather than prosecuting, states are prejudging; rather than innocent before proven guilty, suspects are dangerous unless proven otherwise.' These are the reasons why preventative detention is indeed an extraordinary measure diverging from the criminal norm of detention followed by prosecution. Not all preventative cases will lead to prosecution, but preventative measures prevent a suspect from committing future terrorist activity. This gives rise to the debate as to whether a criminal model of detention is more appropriate than an extraordinary measure like preventative detention. While there are strong arguments to prosecute the suspected terrorists to safeguard their rights, there are arguments against, namely that harm inflicted by terrorism is so grave that it ought to be dealt with by some special regime.

Relationship between Hate Crime and Terrorism

The term 'terrorism' is problematic as there is no globally agreed single definition. However, the United Nations Security Council (S/RES/1566 (2004)) has defined terrorism as:

> criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.

In the UK, terrorism is legally defined as:

> The use or threat of action where the use of threat is designed to influence the government or an international governmental organisation, or intimidate the public or a section of the public, and the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, racial or ideological cause.
>
> (Terrorism Act 2000, Section 1.1)

The term 'hate crime' is commonly used to refer to unlawful, violent, destructive or threatening conduct in which the perpetrator is motivated by prejudice toward the victim's putative social group (Green *et al.*, 2001). Hate crime entered into British law with the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. The Criminal Justice Act 2003 expanded the definition to include sexual orientation, disability and transgender identity, which was originally limited to discrimination on the grounds of race and religion. The UK government's definition of a hate crime, as defined in their strategy for tackling hate crime (published in July 2016) is as follows: 'Any crime that is motivated by

hostility on the grounds of race, religion, sexual orientation, disability or transgender identity can be classed as a hate crime.' Figure 4.1 highlights how crime, hate crime and terrorism are interrelated factors.

The relationship, or difference, between terrorism and hate crime is still undetermined. Some scholars are calling them close cousins (Krueger and Malečková, 2002; Mills *et al.*, 2015) while others are labelling them distant relatives (Deloughery *et al.*, 2012). Both hate crime and terrorism have the common elements of violence, anger, hatred and grievance. As per the above definitions of hate crime and terrorism, terrorist perpetrators advance a political, social, racial, ideological or religious motive for their actions. Likewise, hate crime expresses a number of sociopolitical objectives by targeting individuals based on their perceived group membership (Mills *et al.*, 2015).

Religion could be a factor related to both of them. Both of these crimes have the purpose of sending a message of power and dominance rather than personal motives, although some scholars have identified some striking differences. Mills *et al.* (2015) described terrorism as an 'upward crime' that involves a perpetrator with a social standing that is lower than that of the targeted group. By contrast, hate crime is disproportionately a 'downward crime', which involves perpetrators belonging to the majority or a powerful group in society and victims belonging to a minority group. Table 4.1 looks at the relationship between the two types of crime.

Herek *et al.* (2002) classify hate crime and hate speech as a form of terrorism. The logic given behind this assertion is that both hate crime and hate speech are different manifestations of the same underlying phenomenon and designed to intimidate an out-group. Similarly, Shimamoto (2003) has found that hate crime and terrorism definitions both focus on classifying civilian populations, or subgroups, as victims.

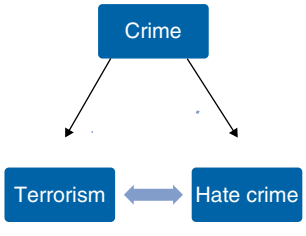

Fig. 4.1. Relationship between crime, terrorism and hate crime.

Krueger and Malečková (2002) acknowledge that hate crime and terrorism are parallel behaviours with similar determinants. The actions of the hate crime or terrorism perpetrators are determined by the group identity of the perpetrator. Based on such assertions, Krueger and Malečková (2002) conclude that hate crimes and terrorism are 'close cousins', that the effect of both is 'to wreak terror on a greater number of people than those directly affected by [the] violence'.

Despite the similarities between hate crime and terrorism discussed above, hate crime involves less risk to the offender than does terrorism. While most terrorist attacks require some level of planning and resources, hate crime is usually committed on the spur of the moment (Mills *et al.*, 2015). Terrorist acts require a higher level of planning, and in most cases they are remotely or directly associated with organized, established groups.

Hate crime offenders are often young offenders with criminal records, frequently under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of the incident (Dunbar, 2003), and having no strong political affiliations, ideological commitments or association with formal organizations (Willems *et al.*, 1993).

The majority of anti-Muslim hate crimes are not reported to police, either because of a lack of confidence in the police or because victims are unaware of a police interest, which makes it difficult to assess or quantify the scale of the problem. Hate crimes, similarly, are often not reported, are under-investigated and not prosecuted (Freilich and Chermak, 2013). By contrast, terrorist attacks attract more attention from media, government and law enforcement bodies than do hate crimes. From the above discussion it is evident that hate crimes can be an effective route for pursuing ideology without the high costs of planning, the risk of being convicted or the need to forfeit the perpetrator's own life as a suicide attacker.

With regard to the relationship between hate crime and terrorism, Deloughery *et al.* (2012) made two very important findings: first, there is no evidence to suggest that hate crimes are a precursor to future terrorism; and second, hate

Table 4.1. Relationship between terrorism and hate crime.

Close cousins	Distant relatives
• Both hate crimes and terrorism definitions focus on classifying civilian populations or subgroups as victims. • Both hate crimes and terrorism have the common elements of violence, anger, hatred and grievance. • Both hate crimes and terrorism express a number of sociopolitical objectives by targeting individuals based on their perceived group membership. • The victims are selected because of his or her group identity, not because of his or her individual behaviour. • Hate crime is a form of terrorism as hate crime is basically different manifestations of the same underlying phenomenon as terrorism. • Religion could be a factor related to both of them. • Both of these crimes have the purpose of sending a message of power and dominance rather than personal motives. • Both hate crimes and terrorism are parallel behaviours with similar determinants. • The effect of both crimes is to wreak terror on a greater number of people than those directly affected by violence.	• Terrorism is an 'upward crime', hate crime is disproportionately a 'downward crime'. • Hate crimes carry a much smaller risk for the offender than terrorism. • While most terrorist attacks require some level of planning and resources, hate crimes are usually committed on the spur of the moment. • Terrorist acts require a higher level of planning and in most cases are remotely or directly associated with organized established terrorist groups as opposed to hate crimes. • Hate crime offenders are often found to be young offenders with criminal records and frequently found under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of the incident, with no strong political affiliations or ideological commitments or association with formal organizations. Terrorists do not always match the above description. • Hate crimes are mostly unreported, under-investigated and under-prosecuted. In contrast, terrorist attacks obtain more through the media, government, and law enforcement attention. • The tendency to sacrifice life as suicide attackers is also higher in terrorists than hate crime offenders. • The sentencing of hate crime offenders is also found to be more moderate as the gravity of harm is greater in terrorism-related crimes.

crimes are often perpetrated in response to terrorist acts. They reject the idea that 'hate crimes against minority groups constitute a "poor man's terrorist attack" or a form of radicalization that signifies an escalation to terrorism'. However, the authors agree with them that there is a strong relationship between past terror attacks and future hate crimes. Developing from their findings, Figure 4.2 highlights the close relationship between hate crime and past terror attacks.

In the aftermath of 9/11, the dramatic increase in hate crimes directed against Muslims is an example of how some hate crimes may constitute expressions of retaliation. According to the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2001), increased levels of anti-Islamic hostility were also recorded in the UK immediately preceding 9/11, and these increased dramatically after the attack. There was also a sharp increase in the number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by police following the EU Referendum in the UK in June 2016. The number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police in July 2016 was 41% higher than in July 2015 (report-it.org.uk, 2015/2016).

Hanes and Machin (2014) have reported a sizeable increase in hate crimes against Asians and Arabs of the order of 25–30% immediately in the wake of the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks. They also found that while, subsequently, the increase did not stay as high as the initial impact, in both cases it persisted and was still significantly higher sometime after the events. Therefore, one may conclude that a rise in hate crime may not be a prologue to terror attacks, but they could be an after-reaction to an attack by way of retaliation.

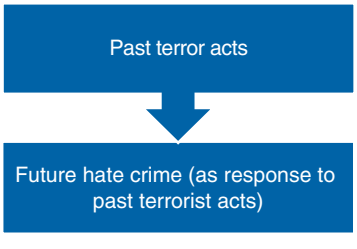

Fig. 4.2. Hate crime as a response to past terror attacks. (Source: Santana-Gallego *et al*., 2016)

Misconceptions in Classification of Hate Crime, Ordinary Crime and Terrorism

One of the chief facets of hate crime is that it is rooted in perception. This introduces an element of subjectivity, with the victim determining whether it is a hate crime or not. People may detect a hate-crime motivation in what may be just an everyday crime or incident (www.civitas.org.uk). As an example of such a misperception, an incident took place during the weekend following the EU Referendum in the UK. The front door of a Spanish restaurant, Donde's, was smashed. It was assumed to be xenophobic or motivated by the referendum result, and it went viral on social media with the headline: 'Spanish and Turkish restaurants in Lewisham had their windows smashed over the weekend. Very widespread reports coming in now' (www.metro.co.uk, 28 June 2016). However, it was later reported in the local press that the incident was actually a burglary (www.eastlondonlines.co.uk, 28 June 2016).

This misperception can be seen also in some reporting of terrorist incidents. The *Daily Telegraph* reported, on 11 April 2017, that:

> Islamist terrorists came within a hair's breadth of massacring one of Europe's top football teams when they detonated three bombs close to a team bus, German authorities have revealed. The three devices which exploded next to Borussia Dortmund's coach were studded with metal shrapnel and pins, one of which pierced a window and embedded itself in a head rest.

Most of the lead newspaper headlines read in a similar way: 'Borussia Dortmund explosions: Islamist suspect arrested over bus bombs as prosecutors investigate "terrorist link"' (*Daily Telegraph*). However, on 21 April 2017 it was reported by the *Financial Times* that the investigators quickly focused on three letters claiming responsibility discovered at the scene. Their wording suggested a connection to radical Islam but scholars of Islam who examined them shed doubt on their authenticity. After investigation it was found the attack seemed not to be terrorist-related but related instead to money laundering. An attack could therefore be classed as either a terrorist attack, an ordinary crime or a hate crime.

Both hate crime and terrorism are acknowledged differently in different countries. Both

hate crime and terrorism aim at sending a message to the community to further an ideological cause rather than seeking to attack a particular person. The element of hatred towards a social subgroup, which is what distinguishes hate crime from ordinary crime, connects more with terrorism-related crimes. At times it becomes difficult to distinguish between the three. Similarly, hate crimes are often mistaken for terrorism. These complex relationships between crime, terrorism and hate crime make it difficult to assess the impact on tourism, or any sector, and this is analysed in the next section.

Effects of Crime, Terrorism and Hate Crime on Tourism

Today, a key factor that affects the thinking and behaviour of tourists is the risk of crime. Tourists take note of this when choosing a destination for their holidays. Cities that have a high rate of crime, terrorism and hate crime suffered from a decline in tourism, which has had a major impact on employment and the local economy. According to *UNWTO*:

> Tourism is one of the most viable and sustainable economic development options and the main source of foreign exchange earnings in many developing and Least Developed Countries (LDCs). Today, international tourism accounts for as much as 6% of all exports in the 49 LDCs.
> (*UNWTO News*, May 2017)

It is indisputable that the fear and effect of crime and terrorism can have a major impact on tourism. It has been seen in countries such as Egypt, Pakistan, Israel, Kenya and Lebanon. For tourists, safety is of the utmost importance. Baker (2014) has identified seven different types of risks that tourists consider when choosing a destination: financial, social, psychological, physical, functional, situational and travel. When making a travel plan, tourists usually consider the above-mentioned risk factors. Crime, terrorism and hate crime affect these risk factors and that has an influence on the attractiveness of a travel destination.

The Global Terrorism Index, produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace, provides a comprehensive summary of the key global trends and patterns in terrorism over the last 16 years, covering the period from the beginning of 2000 to the end of 2015. This report finds that deaths from terrorism in 2015 were 29,376, which is a high number, although it decreased by 10% in 2015, the first decrease since 2010. There are 274 known terrorist groups in the world, out of which four groups were responsible for 74 per cent of all deaths from terrorism. These groups are: ISIL, Boko Haram, Taliban and Al-Qaeda. According to the latest Global Terrorism Index report, tourism's contribution to GDP is twice as large in countries with no terrorist attacks compared with countries where attacks have happened.

Santana-Gallego *et al.* (2016) examined the effect of terrorism, crime and corruption on tourist arrivals for 171 countries for the period 1995–2013 and found that terrorism and crime both affect tourist arrivals. They also found that a 1% increase in the ratio of terrorist attacks per 10,000 inhabitants reduces tourist arrivals by 2.3%. On the other hand, a 1% increase in the number of homicides per 10,000 inhabitants reduces tourism flows by 0.06%. From this research it is evident that terrorism has a much greater effect on tourism than does ordinary crime. Table 4.2 shows the effect of terrorism and crime on tourism.

O'Neill and Fitz (1996) found that travellers are willing to substitute insecure images with secure ones once a situation has simmered down. This finding is probably true for the recent wave of terrorism also. Most of the terrorism-prone countries are seen as less preferred destinations than the relatively secure countries. Not only is the country affected where a terrorist attack is highly likely, according to Baker (2014): 'Some tourists who perceive terrorism risk in one country tend to presume

Table 4.2. Effect of terrorism and crime on tourism.

Effect of terrorism on tourism	Effect of crime on tourism
1% increase in the ratio of terrorist attacks per 10,000 inhabitants reduces tourist arrivals by 2.3%.	1% increase in the number of homicides per 10,000 inhabitants reduces tourism flows by 0.06%.

the entire region to be risky and attribute risk of terrorism to neighbouring countries which are not directly affected by terrorism.' Thus all tourism suffers in such places, except for tourism in destinations that cannot be easily substituted, such as countries with a large number of world heritage sites that attract large numbers of tourists every year (Santana-Gallego *et al.*, 2016). If the purpose of the visit is for mere personal enjoyment, tourists might substitute their choice or change their travel plans following a terrorist incident or threat of an incident; however, the working paper found different results when it came to business trips between countries with a strong economic relationship, as they cannot be easily substituted.

It has been found that crime has a significantly negative effect on tourism in developed countries but no significant effect in developing countries. This can be explained by the fact that tourists can assume and expect a high crime rate in certain countries. Therefore, they are prepared and more tolerant of it in those countries than they would be in others.

On a different note, there is empirical research that suggests that crime rates are often higher in tourist areas (Pizam, 1982; Kelly, 1993) and tourists may be particularly susceptible to crime, especially if they behave in a risky way (Brunt *et al.*, 2000).

Tourist destinations are more lucrative for criminals, as tourists carry expensive items with a high market value (cash, cameras, electronic devices). Also, tourists are not going to wait until any investigation is complete; so the risk of the criminal getting arrested, prosecuted and convicted is low. In contrast, terrorists are attacking tourist spots to communicate a different message; they are not after monetary gain – rather their intention is to damage the country's international image and send a message of dominance to that country. Terrorists often target tourists to hamper international relations between countries and to prove their supremacy over the security forces. Therefore, the effect of crime and the effect of terrorism on tourism differ significantly, the effect of terrorism being greater than that of crime in general.

The overall impact of terrorism on travellers is twofold: the concern about potential terrorist incidents; and the harassment caused by stringent anti-terrorism laws and security measures for travellers (Raj *et al.*, 2017).

Effect of Hate Crime on Tourism

According to Al-Arabia, the tourism industry could be affected by news of rising Islamophobia and hate crime in the UK (Flaganon, 2015). If the hatred towards Muslims turns into actual acts of violence and the victimization of Muslims is found to be a direct result of hatred towards Muslims, Islamophobia can be classified as a form of religious and racial hate crime.

The UK and the USA, for example, have always been popular destinations for Muslims. According to the Global Muslim Travel Index (GMTI), Muslim travellers comprised 10% of the global travel market in 2014, spending $145 billion. In the same year, the US welcomed 2.6 million Muslim travellers, who accounted for 3.7% of arrivals. In October 2016, the Salam Standard agency suggested that the US was the biggest beneficiary of the global Muslim travel spend (Greenwood, 2016). Stephenson and Ali (2010) have stated that negative portrayals in the media, and common perceptions about Muslims, are responsible for compromising their safety and security in the West. As a result, anti-Muslim sentiment undermines the cultural duties and religious obligations that influence Muslim populations to travel. According to the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006):

> Across the Member States, a number of different social, national, ethnic and religious groups are at risk of being directly or indirectly discriminated against . . . In addition, religious minorities, particularly Muslims and Jews, are subject to discriminatory treatment and/or Islamophobia or anti-Semitic insults.

Such behaviour makes countries like the USA and the UK very unattractive as holiday destinations for Muslims.

The USA eventually managed to recover from the tourism losses following the 9/11 attacks in 2001 and the American coalition invasion of Iraq in 2003. However, the recent attempts at a travel ban may have longer-term impacts in terms of deterring Muslim (and other) travellers from visiting. Moreover, any individual originally from the 'ban' prescribed countries, currently living in America, will be very reluctant to travel overseas for pilgrimage, or any other form of travel, for fear of not being allowed to return. Raj *et al.* (2017) observe that the

countries prone to hate crime are seen as less preferable travel destinations.

Tourists, especially leisure tourists, want to travel to places where they feel welcomed. They may perceive risks associated with destination countries based on internet and media images. Such information can be misleading and false, which may lead them to imagine risks where there are none, or only minor risks. The UK Foreign Office advises against visiting all or parts of nearly 60 countries. Most of the countries listed are terrorism-prone countries where underlying terrorist threats have been detected and the probability of a terrorist attack is likely. From the above discussion, it can be said that high crime rates cause a country to be less attractive as a travel destination. If a country is known to have directed hatred towards an ethnic group, race, religion or sexual group, a member of that group will prefer not to visit that country.

Summary

This chapter discussed the concept of risk facing tourists. When it comes to terrorism and hate crime, these affect the tourist's mindset in a number of ways that differ from ordinary crime. Before 9/11, terrorism acts were considered as criminal acts dealt with by criminal law; therefore, once prosecuted by the state, the suspected terrorists were taken into custody and jurisdiction was claimed over their conduct. In addition, some countries treat crime and terrorism differently because they do not see a link between hate crime and terrorism. The main aim of terrorism is sending a message to the wider community to further an ideological cause, rather than merely attacking individuals.

The chapter further discussed the effect of crime, terrorism and hate crime on tourism. Cities that have a high rate of crime, terrorism and hate crime suffered from declines in tourism. Some countries suffered a major decline in tourism due to perceived risks based on internet and media images. Finally, it is often extremely difficult to distinguish between the three types and the crime is viewed differently in different countries. At present, terrorism is seen as the worst evil of three types. These complex relationships between crime, terrorism and hate crime make it difficult to assess the impact on tourism, or any other sector.

References

Baker, D.M.A. (2014) The effects of terrorism on the travel and tourism industry. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 2(1), 9.

Brunt, P., Mawby, R. and Hambly, Z. (2000) Tourist victimisation and the fear of crime on holiday. *Tourism Management* 21(4), 417–424.

Chowdhury, A., Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (2017) Terrorism, tourism and religious travellers. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 5(1), 3.

De Londras. F. (2013) Prevention, detention, and extraordinariness. In: Ní Aoláin, F. and Gross, O. (eds) *Guantanamo and Beyond: Exceptional Courts and Military Commissions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 117–136.

Deloughery, K., King, R.D. and Asal, V. (2012) Close cousins or distant relatives? The relationship between terrorism and hate crime. *Crime & Delinquency* 58(5), 663–688.

Dunbar, E. (2003) Symbolic, relational, and ideological signifiers of bias-motivated offenders: toward a strategy of assessment. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 73(2), 203.

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2001) Available at http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ar2002_p1-en.pdf (accessed 6 May 2017).

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006) Available at: http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/11-ar07p2_en.pdf (accessed 6 May 2017).

Freilich, J.D., Chermak, S.M. and Caspi, D. (2009) Critical events in the life trajectories of domestic extremist white supremacist groups. *Criminology & Public Policy* 8(3), 497–530.

Freilich, J.D., Chermak, S.M. (2013) Hate crimes: Problem-oriented guides for police (Problem-Specific Guides Series, No. 72). Office of Community Oriented Policing Service. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice

Githens-Mazer, J. and Lambert, R. (2010) *Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Hate Crime: A London Case Study*. University of Exeter, European Muslim Research Centre, Exeter, UK.

Green, D.P., McFalls, L.H. and Smith, J.K. (2001) Hate crime: an emergent research agenda. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27(1), 479–504.

Greenwood, G. (2016) US biggest beneficiary of global Muslim travel spend. Traveldailymedia.com Available at: http://www.traveldailymedia.com/242380/us-biggestbeneficiary-of-global-muslim-travel-spend/ (accessed 6 May 2017).
Hakimi, M. (2008) International standards for detaining terrorism suspects: moving beyond the armed conflict–criminal divide. *Yale Journal of International Law* 33.
Hanes, E. and Machin, S. (2014) Hate crime in the wake of terror attacks: evidence from 7/7 and 9/11. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 30(3), 247–267.
Herek, G.M., Cogan, J.C. and Gillis, J.R. (2002) Victim experiences in hate crimes based on sexual orientation. *Journal of Social Issues* 58(2), 319–339.
Kelly, I. (1993) Tourist destination crime rates: an examination of Cairns and the Gold Coast, Australia. *Journal of Tourism Studies* 4(2), 2–11.
Krueger, A.B. and Malečková, J. (2002) The economics and the education of suicide bombers. *The New Republic* 24, 27–34.
Master Card and Crescent Rating (2016) *2016 Global Muslim Travel Index (GMTI).* Available at: https://newsroom.mastercard.com/asia-pacific/files/2016/03/Report-MasterCard-CrescentRating-Global-Muslim-Travel-Index-2016.pdf (accessed 25 April 2017).
Mills, C.E., Freilich, J.D. and Chermak, S.M. (2015) Extreme hatred revisiting the hate crime and terrorism relationship to determine whether they are 'close cousins' or 'distant relatives'. *Crime & Delinquency* 63(10), 1191–1223.
O'Neill, M.A. and Fitz, F. (1996) Northern Ireland tourism: What chance now? *Tourism Management* 17(3), 161–163.
Pizam, A. (1982) Tourism and crime: Is there a relationship? *Journal of Travel Research* 20(3), 7–10.
Raj, R. Walters, P. and Rashid, T., 3rd edition, (2017) Events Management, Principles and Practice, SAGE Publishing, UK.
Santana-Gallego, M., Rossella-Nadal, J. and Fourie, J. (2016) The effects of terrorism, crime and corruption on tourism. ERSA working paper. Available at: http://www.econrsa.org/system/files/publications/working_papers/working_paper_595.pdf (accessed 7 May 2017).
Shimamoto, E. (2003) Rethinking hate crime in the age of terror. *University of Missouri-Kansas City Law Review* 72, 829–843.
Slobogin, C. (2005) The civilization of the criminal law. *Vanderbilt Law Review* 58, 121–168.
Stephenson, M.L. and Ali, N. (2010) Tourism and Islamophobia. In: Scott, N. and Jafari, J. (eds) *Tourism in the Muslim World*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Bingley, UK, pp. 235–251. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/S2042-1443(2010)0000002018 (accessed 6 May 2017).
UNWTO News, May 2017. Available at: www.UNWTO.org (accessed 6 June 2017).
Waldron, J. (2010) *Torture, Terror, and Trade-offs: Philosophy for the White House*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. UK.
Willems, H., Wurtz, S. and Eckert, R. (1993) *Fremdenfeindliche Gewalt: Eine Analyse von Taterstrukturen und Eskalationsprozessen* (*Xenophobic Violence: An Analysis of Data Structures and Escalation Processes*). Federal Ministry for Women and Youth, Bonn, Germany.

Websites

http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/analysis/2015/03/11/Rising-Islamophobia-threat-to-UK-tourism-investment-.html (accessed 6 May 2017).
http://report-it.org.uk/files/hate-crime-1516-hosb1116.pdf (accessed 4 May 2017).
http://www.civitas.org.uk/content/files/hatecrimethefactsbehindtheheadlines.pdf (accessed on 4 May 2017).
http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf (accessed 3 April 2017).
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/543679/Action_Against_Hate_-_UK_Government_s_Plan_to_Tackle_Hate_Crime_2016.pdf (accessed 4 May 2017).
http://metro.co.uk/2016/06/28/spanish-and-turkish-restaurants-in-lewisham-have-had-their-windows-smashed- (accessed 4 May 2017).
http://www.eastlondonlines.co.uk/2016/06/man-shouts-go-back-to-your-country-to-taxi-driver-in-east-london/ (accessed 4 May 2017).
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/12/borussia-dortmund-bus-bombing-police-probe-islamist-letter-referring/ (accessed 4 May 2017).
https://www.ft.com/content/85301508-268c-11e7-8691-d5f7e0cd0a16 (accessed 4 May 2017).
https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice (accessed 6 May 2017).

5 Tourism Security: The Evolution of Theory

Maximiliano E. Korstanje*
University of Palermo, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Introduction

In recent decades terrorism has adopted more cruel and sophisticated methods. In earlier decades, attacks were perpetrated against police chiefs, politicians or celebrities, but now 'global' tourists, journalists and travellers are the targets of international terrorism. This raises serious concerns amongst policy makers with regard to the evolution of terrorism and its effects on the tourism industry (Moten, 2010). This chapter examines the changes in academic literature on tourism security in relation to three major events: the Luxor massacre (Egypt, 1997), 9/11 (New York, 2001) and the Paris bombings (2015). To some extent, academics in tourism struggle to find an answer as to how these destinations can recover fully after these attacks. The Luxor massacre, where Al-Gama'a al-Ismaiyya cell killed 62 people (mostly tourists) on 17 November 1997, not only shocked international public opinion but also placed tourism on the agenda of security experts. Doubtless, this event reflected what had been written on tourism security from the 1990s up until 9/11. This second major episode woke up America from the slumber they were in. On this occasion, civilian technologies in mobility and transport were used as weapons against the main bulwarks of America. The mass media portrayed the figure of Osama Bin Laden as well as Al-Qaeda as those responsible for the onslaught. One felt, from this moment on, that no-one was safe.

With the benefits of hindsight, 9/11 exerted a strong influence in published papers, which were focused on terrorism, until the dark episode in Paris. This attack reminded us of the dangers of hospitality, as well as placing ISIS in the tapestry. Unlike 9/11, Paris reminds us how dangerous the law of hospitality may be. For some, Europe should carefully revise its rational discourse on hospitality, the hosting of exiles from Middle Eastern humanitarian disasters. At the time, Europe opened its doors to thousands of migrants (horrified by the case of Aylan, a Syrian boy found dead on the beach on the coast of Turkey) and IS jihadists announced the infiltration of some of their members within waves of refugees. International newspapers covered the news that French police suspected the participation of some Syrian-born refugees in the bloody massacre in Paris. One might speculate that terrorism affects the sense of hospitality as it was formulated in ancient Europe. The three above-mentioned events display the desire of terrorists to harm leisure spots as a form of extortion. This poses the question: Why are tourists now the target of terrorism?

*Address for correspondence: mkorst@palermo.edu

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

This chapter discusses not only the evolution of tourism literature on terrorism and security but also focuses on the new tactics of modern terrorism. The act of hijacking planes or kidnapping celebrities sets the pace for more virulent acts of intimidation, such as suicide bombings and public decapitations. These tactics of extortion are aimed at undermining the trust between citizens and their institutions, even the state and its authorities. To some extent, each generation was more sensitive to and influenced by certain discourses that were forged by terrorist attacks. From Luxor to Paris, tourism scholars have adapted their discourse according to the needs of the industry as well as contexts. In the future, applied research should centre its analysis on the process of desensitization produced by the over-exposure to media coverage. No less true is that terrorism found in tourism a fertile ground to perpetrate attacks, continuing their campaign of terror. This happens because of two main reasons. On one hand, tourism consumption alludes to friendly atmospheres where obtrusive methods of surveillance are not welcomed. On another, ISIS and Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi have declared a jihad against tourism and modern consumption, which are supposedly contrary to the sacred law of Islam. In parallel, tourism scholars, policy makers and practitioners are concerned by the advance of terrorism. Each generation of academics regarded terrorism in different ways, forging a much deeper collective discourse, which this chapter will attempt to unravel. In this vein, it is possible to understand how the collective imaginary is formed by the observations of academics. The present chapter discusses the limitations and evolution of the literature on tourism security.

The Cruelty of Terrorism

The cruelty of terrorists is shown by how attacks are planned and perpetrated. The violence is exerted against laypeople, civilians as global tourists, journalists, businessmen or non-governmental organization officers. This particularly affects the sensibility of Western public opinion. When news of the brutality of terrorism is disseminated around the globe, audiences succumb to fear (Dowling, 1986; Altheide, 1987, 2007; Eid, 2014). In this respect, terrorism sits within the field of political violence, but not all forms of violence are terrorist (Flynn, 2012; Ignatieff, 2013). As Luke Howie (2012) puts it, terrorism is not tilted at destroying an entire civilization, as public opinion surmises, but it administers a whole portion of terror in order for their claims to be unconditionally accepted. Although, to some extent, states struggle against subversive cells to keep the social order, many human rights violations surface. This has been discussed by Korstanje, who considers that terrorism should be deemed a dialectic of hate between separatist dissidents and the nation-state (Korstanje, 2015). The process of radicalization of candidates has been brilliantly examined by McCauley and Moskalenko (2008) and by Moskalenko and McCauley (2009). The key factor in the formation of the terrorist is the instilling of a negative image of the world, reinforced by a physical isolation in small groups. These micro-interactions are fuelled by emotional factors; potential candidates are not only in a quest for self-esteem enhancement but are also recruited following the advice of relatives, peers or friends. This reminds us of the importance of group processes in the formation and training of terrorists (Wilson *et al.*, 2013).

Against this backdrop, Korstanje *et al.* (2015) argue that, historically, tourism and terrorism have been inextricably intertwined from the onset of industrialization. The process of unionization, which pressed capital owners to confer working benefits, resulted in technological breakthroughs and enhancements of workers. Not only did mass tourism ensue as an efficient mechanism for reducing social conflict in industrial societies, but also the main cultural value of terrorism, extortion, was adopted by capitalism. Far from being a religious problem of incompatibility, terrorism is enmeshed in the politics of the West (Korstanje *et al.*, 2015).

Last but not least, the attacks planned at tourist destinations not only pursue political goals but also jeopardize the smooth functioning of industry. Tourist destinations are sensitive to negative news, risk or any other factor that may affect their attractiveness. The abstract nature of service industries opens the door to increased cognitive dissonance since the product is not consumed in any way other than through travelling (Richter and Waugh, 1986; Sönmez and Graefe, 1998; Hall, 2002; Prideaux *et al.*, 2003; Floyd *et al.*, 2004; Reichel *et al.*, 2007; Cohen,

2014; Tarlow, 2016). No less true is that the passing of time would play a positive role in changing the bad image of a destination. This suggests that tourism has a resilient dynamic that merits further exploration (Korstanje and Clayton, 2012; Akhmat *et al*., 2014). Although tourists remain unfamiliar with the territory visited, thereby becoming easy targets for criminals or terrorists, it is also true that the credibility of the state is seriously undermined whenever it is unable to offer hospitality. The sacred laws of hospitality give officialdom the impression of being in communion with the gods. In many non-Western cultures, there is the widespread belief that disasters are caused by their anger whenever hospitality has not been granted (Korstanje and Olsen, 2011; Korstanje and Tarlow, 2012). This poses a pungent question: Why do terrorists kill tourists?

Psychologically speaking, terrorists look to kill tourists simply because they maximize their goals at low risk to themselves. The act of killing tourists is not only rapid and an efficient method of producing political instability, but they also get free publicity for their crimes. Besides, communities and audiences experience extreme panic because attacks remind us that all citizens are potential targets of terrorism (Enders and Sandler, 2011); politicians are no longer the sole target.

Next we debate to what extent the specialized literature has been updated according to the shifts in international terrorism. In doing so, three authoritative voices – Sevil Sönmez, Abraham Pizam and Peter Tarlow – are placed under the critical lens. Each of these has been influenced by a major event that influenced what they wrote.

The Intersection of Tourism and Terrorism

Luxor

On 17 November 1997, in Deir el-bahari, one of the most famous tourist attractions, beside the river Nile (Luxor, Egypt), a contingent of 58 international tourists and four policemen were brutally killed by an Islamic group known as Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya. The massacre shocked the world and pushed many tourism-related researchers to take terrorism as their object of study, including Sevil Sönmez, who published 'Tourism, terrorism, and political instability' in *Annals of Tourism Research*. Predicting that terrorism will be one of the biggest problems faced by the West in the coming decades, she defines terrorism as:

> Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against civilians and unarmed military personnel by sub national groups . . . usually intended to influence an audience, and international terrorism as involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.
>
> (Sönmez, 1998, p. 417)

At a closer look, terrorism should be discussed from a political point of view, considering that not only discontent but also structural poverty play a crucial role in developing anti-American sentiment. For Sönmez, nation-states should intervene in hotspots or undemocratic countries that represent potential threats to tourism. Countries where basic needs are not met are fertile ground for developing hatred and terrorist activity. In this respect, terrorism expresses a much deeper psychological frustration that leads to harming the rights of others. Besides violence, terrorists are aiming to instil fear so that their claims may be accepted unconditionally by the state. The best way to prevent terrorism is by strengthening civil institutions in underdeveloped countries.

For Sönmez, the role of experts in forecasting where the next attack will take place is vital in the struggle against terrorism. Once terrorism becomes institutionalized, it will change the methods of war, subverting the rights of citizens in a 'dirty war' where enemies are not easily identified. Writing in the context of the Cold War, she identifies Marxist-Leninist ideologies as the main reason behind Islamic fundamentalism. The benign state should promote democracy, which is the best form of government, in poor countries in order to deter the advance of radicalism. What part does tourism play in this process?

From Egypt to Northern Ireland and Mexico, Sönmez adds, terrorism gains tactical advantage from the atmosphere of liberty and tolerance that is encouraged by tourism:

> Terrorism against one's own citizens may in fact go unquestioned by a media controlled by the

> hostile government. The reason is simple and obvious and has been demonstrated by numerous incidents: when nationals of other countries become involved, new coverage is guaranteed. This way, terrorists know they will secure media attention while curtailing their government's ability to censor new content. When tourists are kidnapped or killed, the situation is instantaneously dramatized by the media, which also helps the political conflict between terrorists and the establishment reach a global scale. Terrorists achieve the exposure they crave and the media increases its circulations and/or ratings.
>
> (Sönmez, 1998, pp. 424–425)

In Sönmez's account, tourism represents the most important aspect of capitalism, but it may also be considered a resource for promoting peace. Without tourism, democracy has no chance of survival. If underdeveloped nations adopt tourism as a main priority, opportunity for terrorism declines. But tourists and local stakeholders who encourage tourism may encounter linguistic and religious barriers. Hedonistic values relating to sex or drugs, for example, are forbidden by Islam and other religions/cultures. Positioning democracy as the main cultural value in non-Western countries is vital in the war against terrorism.

Scholars influenced by Luxor were prone to think that terrorism could be understood as a communication short circuit provoked by lack of democracy and tolerance. Sönmez contributes substantially to the study of terrorism, drawing attention to psychological frustrations and anti-tourist sentiment.

World Trade Center

Professor and Dean of the University of Central Florida, Abe Pizam, has become regarded as a leading scholar of terrorism and security issues in the field of tourism. In contrast to Sönmez, however, he addresses the problem from a broader perspective. Even before 9/11, the SARS outbreak and various natural disasters caused tremors in the industry. Applied research was oriented to more efficient programmes to make destinations safer in uncertain times (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996; Bianchi, 2007; Bianchi and Stephenson, 2014).

We need to protect tourists from many risks ranging from terrorism to natural disasters. Tourists' security is threatened by four key factors: local crime; terrorism; warfare and conflict; and political instability. The efficiency of the security forces in keeping the peace in a destination is of paramount importance in any programme of risk maintenance. Every risk echoes in the social imaginary. Acts that harm tourists are the worst advert a destination can have. Some radical terrorist groups look to destabilize the state through targeting tourists (Mansfeld and Pizam, 2006). Though Sönmez and Pizam converge in some aspects, Pizam believes that tourism alone is not sufficient to deter terrorism worldwide. While the efficacy of the state to foster tourism depends on many aspects, the climate of security comes from how fast violence is contained. The point is that without a clear diagnosis the cure is far off. Pizam contends that while local crime and terrorism share a common resentment of tourism, terrorism is a product of peripheral nations. With the events of 9/11 the US witnessed how terrorism can easily be imported (Korstanje, 2015). In an editorial note, Pizam draws the attention to the limits of democracy and the theory of development, which, historically, failed to export the ideals of liberty to the Middle East. As a result, terrorism is correlated to economic crises with the resulting frustration being expressed towards a third party. For Pizam, 9/11 derived from an anti-American sentiment that was directed towards the USA. Unlike Sönmez, Pizam does not believe the USA should intervene politically in autonomous countries, but it may help to sanitize some economies through tourism (Pizam *et al.*, 1997; Pizam, 2002). The most effective war against terror should be the fostering of programmes to reduce poverty in the developing world. The gap between rich and poor should be narrowed in order to stifle the seeds of terrorism (Fuchs and Pizam, 2011).

An additional problem surfaces in that not all nations have standardized levels of security; often police find it hard to protect tourists because they are unfamiliar with their motivations and behaviour. This suggests that police should not only be trained to prevent crime against tourists but also that the authorities should understand the importance of tourism to society at large (Pizam *et al.*, 1997). Finally, Pizam's

legacy is the assertion that it is necessary to understand the tourist mind and the psychology of expectation in order for violence to be diluted. The perception of risk, a field consolidated in psychology, was discussed widely in tourism research after 9/11; investigations revealed what tourists felt, and their cognitive decision-making processes. If the tourist makes the decision not to travel to the Middle East because it is dangerous, any effort to make the destination safer is marginal. In contrast, once the destination has been selected, negative news rarely affects the decision to travel (Holcomb and Pizam, 2006).

ISIS Attacks on Tourism

As stated, the Luxor massacre, like 9/11, caused a state of fear and consternation that shaped the face of tourism security as well as the specialized literature. The end of Al-Qaeda and the rise of ISIS has opened the door to a new ethical dichotomy. Are tourism and hospitality increasing as a reaction to security and safety concerns? This question still remains unanswered since al-Baghdadi, a couple of years back, ordered a jihad against all leisure and tourism venues, which reflect moral decline. After the case of Aylan, the Syrian boy found dead on the beach on the coast of Turkey, Western public opinion pressed France and Germany to open their borders to exiles and migrants escaping the advance of Islamic State (IS) in the Middle East. Unfortunately, IS declared that some of their jihadists had secretly infiltrated the wave of refugees. No sooner had this been said, one of the perpetrators of the dark night of Paris, an attack that killed 137 civilians, was found to be an ISIS jihadist who had entered France as a Syrian refugee. This type of terrorism is more serious than any other version because anyone may be a suspect.

ISIS aims to create panic in Western society through bombings or shootings at entertainment venues where surveillance is more relaxed. This suggests a dichotomy that is hard to grasp for Rabi Peter Tarlow, who remains concerned by questions of tourism security. His knowledge of biblical texts, combined with sociological literature, leads him to explore the connection between terrorism and religion. In Tarlow's view, terrorism has nothing to do with religious life or cultural incompatibilities between Christianity and Islam (Tarlow, 2012). As the main threat to the West, terrorism must be eradicated. In doing so, rational planning allows a swift identification of risks that threaten the system (Amorin *et al.*, 2012). In some cities, the decline of tourism is accompanied by unemployment, poverty and economic stagnation. This represents a vicious circle that breeds resentment. Terrorists attack states hosting tourists, which creates a bad image of that country, which in turn affects its economy. Stagnation instils resentment, which breeds hatred-filled discourse. Tarlow acknowledges that one of the limitations of risk perception is the often biased nature of human perceptions, which do not always see events in the same way. This means that while public opinion overestimates some risks, other more dangerous ones are ignored or underestimated. Tarlow toys with the idea that terrorism does not result from stock market crises or psychological resentment. Though poverty should be eradicated, it does not correlate directly to terrorism – many poor tourist destinations are open and friendly towards tourists – rather, acts of aggression against tourists are explained by a lack of compromise with the 'other' or its suffering. Because tourists are commoditized to gain attention, terrorists do not hesitate to kill them. Here the 'other' is seized upon in order for terrorists to achieve their goals (Tarlow, 2011). Neither ideology nor religion resonates in the decision to kidnap tourists for a ransom. These tactics enable ISIS to amass exorbitant wealth and material resources. The reasons why terrorism is far from being a religious phenomenon lead Tarlow to exert a radical critique against ISIS but without underestimating the political manipulation of states, who sometimes enhance their capacity to negotiate with worker unions or even violate basic human rights.

If we have learned a lesson, Tarlow adds, it is that 9/11 has changed our lives as well as the borderlands of main urban areas. Unless we understand what is happening, ethnocentrism will exclude the possibility to connect with 'otherness'. America was obsessed with its right to intervene directly in states, undermining international jurisprudence. The US, in exporting its culture around the world, caused the other to suffer substantial change. Americans are more fearful/suspicious of aliens today than in earlier generations (Korstanje and Tarlow, 2012). The concept of civility has been altered

by populist and undemocratic forms of politics, which invaded the Middle East and also the USA. In the name of 'War on Terror', the West claimed moral supremacy over other cultures. This raises an interesting point that merits discussion (Korstanje and Tarlow, 2012). In his recent book, *Tourism Security*, Tarlow asserts that tourism, originally well disposed towards multiculturalism, is now tending towards ethnocentrism. Tourism flourished on the back of technological advancements accompanied by the rise of literature that narrated life in faraway lands.

Nowadays, terrorism is forcing states to close their borders to protect their security. But without hospitality, tourism is at risk of extinction. This is because travel corresponds to trust and tolerance. In his book, Tarlow explores an old axiom of tourism that states, 'tourists avoid dangerous destinations' or places that have a bad reputation, which results in economic loss for the host countries. As Tarlow's argument indicates, tourist trips combine two contrasting trends: the search for new experience and security needs. Biblical and other mythological sources reveal that the sacred space of leisure is constructed on the basis of a positive precept that mandates humans to relax, but at the same time their vulnerability increases. Ancient poets and philosophers emphasized the fact that anything can happen at any time at a banquet or a public game. Modern risks and challenges in the tourism industry are what Tarlow asserts are the most significant aspects for debate. Now, we are subject to a set of globalized apocalyptic risks that range from natural disasters to terrorist attacks. The attacks on the World Trade Center represented a major event for the USA and the West. One of the ethical quandaries for tourism security is that criminals exploit tourists to maximize their profits, whereas terrorists use fear and panic to further their aims. In both cases, innocent tourists are exploited through their vulnerability and lack of familiarity with the country visited. Tarlow alerts experts and pundits to the risks and dangers of a zero-risk society. Finally, we must not lose sight of the controls that serve to make life better for citizens; otherwise, paranoia would set in and play into the hands of terrorists. The business of making a 100%-secure society is not democratic; rather, it feeds on populist discourse rooted in chauvinist discourses (Tarlow, 2014, 2016). As Luke Howie puts it, terrorists do not want a lot of people dead, they want a lot of people watching! (Howie, 2012). Another work that validates Tarlow's concerns is *Governing through Crime*, where author J. Simon (2007) clarifies that sometimes crime may be politically manipulated to further projects that otherwise would be ignored. The discourse of security sometimes is conducive to the status quo in a way that affects the interests of the majority.

Recently, Bauman and Lyon (2013) warn of the postmodern tendency to overvalue security at the expense of other cultural values. Society is facing a climate of securitization, but this also allows the adoption of surveillance as a sign of belonging. The layperson sits between two axioms. On one hand, it is important not to be abandoned or symbolically excluded from the net of consumers. Of course, this represents one of the most frightening aspects of being in relation to others in a postmodern society; social relations have been replaced by consumption. Buying insurance or surveillance technology implies being part of a select few who exert power over others. On the other hand, crime is growing while cities are densely populated. If globalization has made the world smaller, it has situated crime in the mass media's ability to cover some news and not others.

In retrospect, Howie (2012) explains that terrorism does not seek the obliteration of civilization, as the popular parlance would have it; rather it employs its resources to instil fear in order for governments to accept their claims. It is unfortunate that the fieldwork with terrorists is limited, since it is an illegal activity. However, social scientists can do their best to explore the effects of terrorism on daily life. In doing so, interesting results can be obtained. Our current habits and behaviours that cause us to be hospitable to strangers are being seriously eroded. One of the most frightening aspects of terrorism is that terrorists are just like us – they live like us; perhaps they are our neighbours.

Summary

One of the limitations of the terrorism literature as it has been developed in tourism fields seems to be that it is profit-oriented. In many cases, studies are centred on the material effects, while in others the voices of tourists are overestimated regarding other sources of information. These approaches ignore what tourists say, which is

sometimes influenced by their interests, prejudices and stereotypes, or even that they are unfamiliar with their behaviour. In spite of the number of publications focusing on terrorism, less is known on the interaction of terrorism and tourism. As this chapter has discussed, the evolution of terrorism literature has mutated according to the attacks planned by terrorists. Three major events can be distinguished as turning points that drew the attention of scholarship: Luxor unveiled the fact that in the next decades tourism will become a fertile ground for terrorist attacks in the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere. At first, bombings were located in poor countries on the periphery. This reality leads Sönmez and other colleagues to speculate that terrorism results from poverty or the lack of democratic institutions. With the shock of 9/11, the West realized not only the dangers of terrorism but also that countries were vulnerable in their homelands. This event marked the start of what George W. Bush dubbed the 'War on Terror'. Far from resolving the problem, US-led invasions to Afghanistan and Iraq aroused more virulent forms of violence, personified by ISIS. In this context, Abe Pizam and Peter Tarlow have written on the need to promote a professional culture aimed at protecting tourists. Experts should work hard to prevent terrorism, identifying rational indicators that make destinations safer. The recent sad events surrounding Charlie Hebdo and the attack in Paris in November 2015 illustrate the limitations of risk analysts in understanding the paradoxes of terrorism that place Western hospitality between a rock and a hard place. Although European hospitality developed the construction of an imperial cultural matrix that brought advances in health, economy and technology during the 19th and 20th centuries, no less true is that it rests on what Derrida called 'a restricted hospitality'; strangers are not accepted without any gift in return. This restricted policy leads to a type of hospitality that only tourists may access. The cynical discourse of ISIS, which aims to undermine social trust, places hospitality in jeopardy. The deeper fear instilled by terrorism not only affects our daily lives but also closes the borderlands to aliens and undesired guests.

References

Akhmat, G., Zaman, K., Shukui, T. and Sajjad, F. (2014) Exploring the root causes of terrorism in South Asia: everybody should be concerned. *Quality & Quantity* 48(6), 3065–3079.

Altheide, D.L. (1987) Format and symbols in TV coverage of terrorism in the United States and Great Britain. *International Studies Quarterly*, 161–176.

Altheide, D.L. (2007) The mass media and terrorism. *Discourse & Communication* 1(3), 287–308.

Amorin, E., Gandara, J.M., Tarlow, P. and Korstanje, M. (2012) Seguridad percibida en la ciudad de Curitiba. Un sondeo exploratorio en residentes locales y turistas. *Revista de análisis turístico* 14, 1–9.

Bauman, Z. and Lyon, D. (2013) *Liquid Surveilance*. Paidos, Buenos Aires.

Bianchi, R. (2007) Tourism and the globalization of fear: analyzing the politics of risk and (in)security in global travel. *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 7(1), 64–74.

Bianchi, R. and Stephenson, M. (2014) *Tourism and Citizenship: Rights, Freedoms and Responsibilities in the Global Order*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

Cohen, E.H. (2014) Tourism and terror: a case study: Israel 1948–2012. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 2(1), 13–26.

Dowling, R.E. (1986) Terrorism and the media: a rhetorical genre. *Journal of Communication* 36(1), 12–24.

Eid, M. (ed.) (2014) *Exchanging Terrorism Oxygen for Media Airwaves: The Age of Terroredia: The Age of Terroredia*. IGI Global, Hershey, Pennsylvania.

Enders, W. and Sandler, T. (2011) *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Floyd, M.F., Gibson, H., Pennington-Gray, L. and Thapa, B. (2004) The effect of risk perceptions on intentions to travel in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 15(2–3), 19–38.

Flynn, M. (2012) *Screening Torture: Media Representations of State Terror and Political Domination*. Columbia University Press, New York.

Fuchs, G. and Pizam, A. (2011) The importance of safety and security for tourism destinations. In: Wang, Y. and Pizam, A. (eds) *Tourism Destination Marketing and Management: Collaborative Strategies*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 300–310.

Hall, M. (2002) Travel safety, terrorism and the media: the significance of the issue attention cycle. *Current Issues in Tourism* 5(5), 458–466.
Holcomb, J. and Pizam, A. (2006) Do incidents of theft at tourist destinations have a negative effect on tourists' decisions to travel to affected destinations? In: Mansfeld, Y. and Pizam, A. (eds) *Tourism, Security and Safety: From Theory to Practice*. Routledge, London, pp. 105–124.
Howie, L. (2012) *Witnesses to Terror: Understanding the Meanings and Consequences of Terrorism*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK.
Ignatieff, M. (2013) *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
Korstanje, M.E (2015) *A Difficult World: Examining the Roots of Capitalism*. Nova Science Publishers, New York.
Korstanje, M.E. and Clayton, A. (2012) Tourism and terrorism: conflicts and commonalities. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 4(1), 8–25.
Korstanje, M.E. and Olsen, D.H. (2011) The discourse of risk in horror movies post 9/11: hospitality and hostility in perspective. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology* 1(3), 304–317.
Korstanje, M.E. and Tarlow, P. (2012) Being lost: tourism, risk and vulnerability in the post-'9/11'entertainment industry. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 10(1), 22–33.
Korstanje, M.E, Skoll, G. and Timmermann, F. (2015) Terrorism, tourism and worker unions: the disciplinary boundaries of fear. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 2(1), 1–12.
Mansfeld, Y. and Pizam, A. (eds) (2006) *Tourism, Security and Safety*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
McCauley, C. and Moskalenko, S. (2008) Mechanisms of political radicalization: pathways toward terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20(3), 415–433.
Moskalenko, S. and McCauley, C. (2009) Measuring political mobilization: the distinction between activism and radicalism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(2), 239–260.
Moten, A.R. (2010) Understanding terrorism: contested concept, conflicting perspectives and shattering consequences. *Intellectual Discourse* 18(1), 1–17.
Pizam, A. (2002) Tourism and terrorism. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 21(1), 1–3.
Pizam, A. and Mansfeld, Y. (1996) *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*. John Wiley & Sons, New York.
Pizam, A., Tarlow, P.E. and Bloom, J. (1997) Making tourists feel safe: Whose responsibility is it? *Journal of Travel Research* 36(1), 23–28.
Prideaux, B., Laws, E. and Faulkner, B. (2003) Events in Indonesia: exploring the limits to formal tourism trends: forecasting methods in complex crisis situations. *Tourism Management* 24(4), 475–487.
Reichel, A., Fuchs, G. and Uriely, N. (2007) Perceived risk and the non-instituonalized tourist role: the case of Israeli student ex backpackers. *Journal of Travel Research* 46, 217–226.
Richter, L.K. and Waugh, W.L. (1986) Terrorism and tourism as logical companions. *Tourism Management* 7(4), 230–238.
Saha, S. and Yap, G. (2014) The moderation effects of political instability and terrorism on tourism development: a cross-country panel analysis. *Journal of Travel Research* 53(4), 509–521.
Simon, J. (2007) *Governing through Crime: How the War on Crime Transformed American Democracy and Created a Culture of Fear*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
Sönmez, S.F. (1998) Tourism, terrorism, and political instability. *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(2), 416–456.
Sönmez, S.F. and Graefe, A.R. (1998) Influence of terrorism risk on foreign tourism decisions. *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(1), 112–144.
Tarlow, P. (2011) Tourism disaster management in an age of terrorism. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology.* Special issue on narratives of risk, security and disasters in tourism and hospitality (ed. Korstanje, M.) 1(3–4), 254–272.
Tarlow, P. (2012) Rosh Hashanah Day. *International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism and Hospitality* 3, 1–19.
Tarlow P. (2014) *Tourism Security*. Elsevier, Oxford, UK.
Tarlow, P. (2016) Tourism, terrorism, morality and marketing: a study of the role of reciprocity. In: Nedelea, A. *et al*. (eds) *Strategic Tools and Methods for Promoting Hospitality and Tourism Services*. IGI Global, Hershey, Pennsylvania, pp. 233–246.
Wilson, M., Bradford, E. and Lemanski, L. (2013) The role of group processes in terrorism. In: Wood, J. and Gannon, T. (eds) *Crime and Crime Reduction: The Importance of Group Processes*. Routledge, New York, pp. 99–117.

6 Religious Risk Perceptions for Medical Travellers

Yasin Bilim* and Aynur Gülenç Birsen
Necmettin Erbakan University, Konya, Turkey

Introduction

The general view of tourism sees travel as an activity for pleasure and hedonic consumption. Recent definitions have expanded the scope of tourism to other areas – health, work, religion among other orientations beyond mere pleasure. Namin (2013) emphasizes that tourism has many faces – social, behavioural, cultural, economic and environmental. These have recently begun to come to the fore. Although mainly focused around pleasure, tourism is becoming more and more inclusive of other needs – physical, sociocultural and psychological. It means that the nature of tourism consumption is changing and becoming more complex, embracing both hedonic and compulsory aspects. Touristic consumption is shifting from traditional mass tourism towards more specific types based around special or compulsory needs (Battour and Ismail, 2016; El-Gohary, 2016; Mohsin *et al.*, 2016).

Due to its various aspects, medical travel is a current growing trend requiring international travel for necessary medical treatments and/or surgical operations (Connell, 2006; Gill and Singh, 2011; Lunt *et al.*, 2011; Connell, 2013). Many medical tourism studies provide general information about the phenomenon; however, there are a few studies on more specific aspects than the technical aspects in medical tourism literature. One of these is the religious dimension of medical travel with its cultural, ethnic and linguistic aspects. According to some findings, religious issues are what primarily direct preferences in medical travel. Religion and culture influence health-seeking behaviour (Steffen *et al.*, 2003; Crooks *et al.*, 2010; Ormond and Sothern, 2012; Connell, 2013; Rahman and Zailani, 2016). Hoof and Pennings (2013) say that patients' travel decisions are not based on simple procedures like Google searches, reading blogs etc., because they are a personal and private matter, and countries are selected according to religious customs that accord with the traveller. The process is also related to ethical discussion, norms and values that may originate from various religious and cultural sources. And these religious and cross-cultural aspects of medical travel have still too little attention (Mainil *et al.*, 2013). When the literature and related discussions are examined, it is clearly seen that medical travel researchers have mostly a product-oriented perspective and that religious factors within the consumption have received little consideration (Bilim, 2015).

A common theme of medical (therapeutic) travel and religious consumption is that requirement/need takes precedence over pleasure.

*Address for correspondence: ybilim@yahoo.com

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

When we look at the scientific studies in both concepts, it seems that cost, time and expertise in the field are frequently emphasized in relation to medical travel; food, worship facilities, personnel and religious codes (clothes etc.) in religious tourism consumption. What is not emphasized much is the importance of cultures in consumption. Therefore, although beliefs are important in medical travel, they have not been highly emphasized in the literature (Boyle and Lee, 2008; Mainil *et al.*, 2013; Sarwar *et al.*, 2014; Kácha *et al.*, 2016; Rahman and Zailani, 2016; Esiyok *et al.*, 2017).

Medical Tourism

Medical tourism has recently been identified as a special kind of tourism niche market. Contrary to tourism for mere pleasure, the number of travellers for medical purposes is increasing. It is the case that medical travel is an international business and therefore an attractive area for countries in economic terms. Many countries are looking to attract tourists from different countries under the auspices of the state. Medical travel involves a wide range of associated services, not only health services but also transportation, insurance and accommodation (Bilim, 2015). According to the Medical Tourism Association 2016 report, 176 countries are spending on international medical services. The market facts are: market size = US$100 billion; 11 million medical tourists annually; up to 25% growth per year; 3–4% of the world's population travel internationally for medical treatment.

Medical tourism is generally described as: 'to go out on international travel to get health care services'; 'a tourism type in which international organizations for therapy are operated in tourism logic': or 'travels for health purposes with therapeutic or surgical content with international organizations due to its various advantages' (Bookman and Bookman, 2007; Connell, 2013; Özdemir and Konak, 2015; Tontuş, 2015). Although medical tourism is considered one of the sub-areas of health tourism, according to some approaches it is shown as a unique tourism type with definite boundaries (Özdemir and Konak, 2015). Connell (2006) identifies that due to its medical, surgical and hospital-related contents, medical travel needs to be evaluated separately from health tourism (Lunt *et al.*, 2011). On the other hand, medical travel does not only encapsulate surgery, acute illness or emergency operations, but also some personal treatments (cosmetic, plastic, aesthetic, alternative medicine), and these form part of medical tourism (Lunt *et al.*, 2011; Runnels and Carrera, 2012). The most popular types of treatments in international medical travel are shown below (Lunt *et al.*, 2011; Tengilimoğlu and Kahraman, 2013; Bilim, 2015):

- Cosmetic, plastic, aesthetic surgery
- Dentistry (general, restorative, cosmetic)
- Cardiovascular (angioplasty, CABG, transplants)
- Orthopedics (joint and spine; sports medicine)
- Cancer (often high-acuity or last resort)
- Reproductive (fertility, women's health)
- Weight loss (LAP-BAND®, gastric bypass)
- Scans, tests, health screenings and second opinions

Looking at the history of medical tourism it is seen that it is not a new trend at all; many Western and developed countries have long been places of treatment for foreigners. American and western European hospitals, for example, have been especially attractive for wealthy people in underdeveloped or developing countries. These patients have sought out high-quality treatment services that they could not find in their own country (Hallem and Barth, 2011). According to Gill and Singh (2011), this past mobility is the reverse of the current tendency in medical tourism. During the last two decades, the image that has emerged is one of 'reverse globalization', i.e. travel for treatment and medical purposes from developed countries to less developed ones (Connell, 2013; Tengilimoğlu and Kahraman, 2013). This trend is the main reason for the increase of speed in the development of medical tourism. Medical tourism represents a sound tourism strategy for developing countries to meet their economic growth targets. In 2017, it is estimated that 23 million patients from the US are expected to travel to different countries with an expenditure of US$79.5 billion. It is also stated that the rate of increase of the elderly population in developed countries, which is higher than that of developing countries, is another important factor in this trend (Tontuş, 2015).

International travel for healthcare or treatment does not seem plausible, but there are important reasons for medical tourism to come to the fore. People's needs are not being met for various reasons in their home countries. These may be listed as follows:

- Cost (people get treatment in a different country cheaper than in their own country).
- Long waiting times (waiting time for treatment in their home country is longer than in some other countries).
- Some countries specialize in certain treatments or operations.
- There is a desire to have advanced technological treatments, i.e. more successful outcomes.
- There may be legal or social issues (e.g. aesthetic or gender-change surgery may be prohibited in some countries).

The beginning of the decision-making process for medical tourists is not that different from that of regular tourists. The process starts with a need being identified. In choosing an ordinary tourism destination, the decision is more taste-based. However, for medical tourists, there are more variable factors to negotiate – choice of medical treatments; more variants (cultures and beliefs, moral issues, political outlook, legal processes). In addition, there are the more general tourism-related issues to be considered (Connell, 2006; Runnels and Carrera, 2012).

Religious Consumption and Factors in Medical Travel

Religion is a cultural phenomenon that concerns people's personalities, preferences and consumption habits. As emphasized in the literature, many aspects – choice of destination, choice of products, choice of tourist facilities – are subject to religious beliefs and perceptions (Hirshman, 1981; McDaniel and Burnett, 1990; Sood and Nasu, 1995; Poria *et al.*, 2003; El-Gohary, 2016). Nowadays, many tourists are making their touristic destination choices according to their religious beliefs and religious perceptions. As a current example, halal tourism, which has entered the tourism literature recently and is gaining much attention, is a concept based on religious rules (Chandra, 2014; Mohsin *et al.*, 2016). The number of studies examining the effect of religion in medicine has created a specific research area due to the importance of both concepts (Chamberlain and Hall, 2000; Taylor, 2006; Hoesli and Smith, 2011; Ehman, 2012).

According to Musa *et al.*'s (2012) research findings on different nationalities, medical travellers' motivation factors are value for money, excellent medical services, support services, cultural compatibility and religious factors, in that order of importance. So apart from medical practices, religious and cultural similarities are important factors for decision-making. Fetscherin and Stephano (2016) imply that medical tourists pay attention to similarities and differences

Table 6.1. Consumption dimensions.

Classic-type tourism consumption	Medical travel consumption
• Hedonic – pleasure-based • Using waste time and money • Different product expectations (accommodation, food/beverage, entertainment, etc.) • No prerequisite • Product-based consumption • Risk perception is not so high	• Treatment – therapy-based pleasure, not hedonic – compulsory needs • Money and time are important factors • Main expectation related to medical treatment – not much for tourism activities • Have some prerequisites (insurance, place, procedures, health conditions…) • Focus point is medical • There are serious risks on not only common risks but also health
Religious needs – consumption	
Important for all kinds of consumptions and affect the decisions; products are important but they must be appropriate for religious rules; this is an important procedure not only for consumption but for provider's side as well.	

between home and host country. Among these factors, cultural and religious matching, or cultural similarity, is the most important factor for medical tourists. Some researchers (Martin, 2010; Connell, 2013; Whittaker and Chee, 2015; Fetscherin and Stephano, 2016) also emphasize the importance of cultural similarity or familiarity in the decision-making processes related to medical travel. Whittaker and Chee (2015) say that culture and religion play an important role in choosing the right hospital for international patients. They add ethnicity differences to these factors. Boyle and Lee (2008) emphasize the importance of cultural and religious issues in health-related studies. They point out that the lack of religious sensitivity in healthcare services is a very significant factor causing problems in both business and human rights issues internationally.

Hoof and Pennings (2013) emphasize that the decision-making process for a patient in medical travel preparation is more difficult than for a normal tourist. Medical travel is more complex and complicated. Although Google searches, reading blogs, group comments and intermediary notifications are available, this type of travel has more specific content due to the expectations people have. For a religious patient it is inevitable that the most important point in this process is the religious aspects. The first issues discussed are the influence of ethics/moral disposition and culture in medical trips. These two points are also at the basis of religious beliefs and debates. In this regard, during the medical travel decision-making process, the effect of religion becomes an important factor. As well as the proximity and cost of the preferred destination, sensitive issues such as language and religious affinity in the cultural sense, food, medicine, materials and personnel are primary concerns (Crooks *et al.*, 2010; Moghimehfar and Nasr-Esfahani, 2011; Musa *et al.*, 2012; Connell, 2013, Mainil *et al.*, 2013, Sarwar *et al.*, 2014; Esiyok *et al.*, 2017).

When medical treatments and religion are examined in detail, it will be understood that there are technical obligations on the medical side and different restraints, prohibitions, rules and constraints on the religious side for international travel. What about the medical constraints or rules for various religions? Which of these affect medical travel? Daily religious practices requiring some special applications affect the decisions on any kinds of tourism. These may be: places of prayer in hotels, restaurants, airports etc.; washing areas (especially for Muslims); holy books or accessories available to tourists in private areas; and dress code (Bilim and Özer, 2017). On the other hand, some special requirements and applications in medical treatments are related to religious rules (Musa *et al.*, 2012).

Hoesli and Smith (2011), Ehman (2012) and Mainil *et al.* (2013) give examples from different religions. Some religions prohibit consuming certain foods. Well-known concepts are halal food for Muslims and Kosher diet for Jewish people, which must not include pork-based foods. According to Islam, alcohol and narcotics are also prohibited (except for some kind of alcohol-based handrubs or cleaning materials). Some Buddhist and Hindu groups are strictly vegetarian. During the pre- and post-medical treatment periods, providers have to have regard for these religious sensibilities. This is not only a religious issue, but it is also related to ethics.

Another restriction for religious patients is inactive ingredients derived from pork or beef, which are prohibited by several religions. There are more than 1000 medications containing these ingredients. For followers of Hinduism, the cow is a sacred animal and only products produced from a living cow are permitted for use. The use of bovine material in oral medication is considered offensive. As a specific example, insulin is usually bovine- or porcine-based. Porcine-based insulin is prohibited for Muslims and Jews. On the other hand, bovine-based insulin is restricted for Hindu patients. Additionally, some medical ingredients are also not acceptable – gelatin (for capsule casings) and stearic acid materials are generally animal-based, like bone, skin and connective tissue of pigs, cattle, poultry and fish.

Both culturally and religiously, some religions have rules about 'opposite sex' connections. Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism have differing perceptions. For Muslims, some opposite sex relations are not halal except in some emergency treatments. For example, a Muslim woman will not want to be seen by a male doctor for a gynaecological consultation. Similarly, Hindu patients may have strong culture-based concerns regarding treatment from someone of the opposite sex, especially for genital and urinary issues.

Religion can be a critical factor for some special medical practices:

- Organ donation and transplantation. Some conservative religious groups are sensitive on this (Muslims, Jehovah's Witnesses).
- Wearing religious jewellery or adornments. These materials have important religious and cultural meanings for many. During the treatment process, people should not have to remove these.
- Death procedures. In many religions, death procedures are critical and need special attention. Muslim and Jewish rules say that burial must be very soon. Hinduism says that death is a transition, so patients should be at home, not in hospital. Similarly, Muslim and Hindu teaching says that the corpse must be washed by family members of the same sex. For a Catholic patient, near to death, a Catholic priest should be in attendance.
- Some Jewish patients may strictly observe Sabbath rules (from sundown on Friday until sundown on Saturday). They may not work or use certain electrical tools during that period.
- For a religious person, in addition to religious rules on consumption, there are the spiritual features of a destination to consider in making a choice. Destination choice can be affected by the destination's religious identity. This relates to both medical treatment and spiritual gains.
- Although treatment is at the forefront of medical tourism, halal processes for Muslims are the issues to which consumers pay most attention. Islamic finance operations, such as insurance and banking services, must be to halal standards. Conservative Muslim patients want to know where the money goes and whether the company's (insurance company, travel agency, hospital) origin is halal or not.

There is no specific travel market for religious-based medical tourism, except for Muslim patients. Islamic or halal medical travel is an emerging market. Travel for healthcare is evolving in the Muslim world. There are more than 50 Muslim countries and 1.6 billion Muslims in the world, and recent indications show that nearly 120 million Muslim tourists are travelling, and this will rise to 180 million by 2020 (CrescentRating, 2015; COMCEC, 2016; Rahman and Zailani, 2016). Some international cases indicate the development of the halal-Islamic medical travel market. In India, the first halal certified medical hospital facility has been initiated in Chennai (Medhekar and Haq, 2015). Medical tourism is a significant sector of Malaysia's economy. In 2014, one million travellers went to Malaysia specifically for medical treatment, contributing US$200 million in revenue to their economy. Importantly, as a Muslim country, Malaysia is reputed to be one of the most preferred medical travel destinations for Muslim patients due to providing modern, private healthcare services (COMCEC, 2016; Rahman and Zailani, 2016). Japan is also playing an important role for Muslim medical travellers (Mohsin *et al.*, 2016). Turkey, UAE, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia, as Muslim countries, have good potential as halal medical travel markets, with the advantages of geography, culture and services (Connell, 2013; Bilim, 2015; Medhekar and Haq, 2015).

Religious Risk Perceptions in Medical Travel

The common point of both tourism trends is that aspects of consumption are paramount in consumers' decisions. This also relates to risk perception. Both aspects – health and religion – are critical factors for consumer decisions. On the other hand, related to risk perception, medical and religious factors comprise international travel or are discussed in an international context (Martin, 2010; Moghimehfar and Nasr-Esfahani, 2011; Musa *et al.*, 2012). Musa *et al.* emphasize, in their exemplary work, that medical tourism involves different ethnic, cultural and religious groups, so packages suitable for these should be provided, especially with regard for a country's culture. The international nature of medical tourism complicates operations, not only for patients but also for agencies and brokers. The first consideration is the patients, but it is difficult to manage multicultural and medical care operations (Kácha *et al.*, 2016).

Before examining religious and cultural risks, there are common risks associated with medical treatments like: international quality and standardization (Bies and Zacharia, 2007; Jeevan and Armstrong, 2008); operation risks

or adverse effects (after coming home, needing a second operation for the same problem or needing another associated treatment); travel-based side effects (e.g. after a heart operation, patients can be affected by air pressure on a plane) (Grossbart and Sarwer, 2003; Lunt *et al.*, 2011); managerial or organizational problems of insurance companies, hospitals, brokers, travel agents (Ehrbeck *et al.*, 2008; Lunt *et al.*, 2011); and political and national legal structures (Bies and Zacharia, 2007; Herrick, 2007).

Hoesli and Smith (2011, pp. 294–295) point out that:

> [W]hen designing a treatment regimen, health care providers may only take into consideration a patient's allergies, medical history, and other medications. However, the patient's culture and religious or personal beliefs must be considered and the corresponding information actively solicited before designing a medication regimen.

One study (Hoesli and Smith, 2011) found that 63% of the total patient sample surveyed thought that physicians should inform them when prescribing drugs with ingredients that might be forbidden by patients' religious beliefs. Botterill *et al.* (2013) emphasize that the problem is about ethical evaluation and it is a difficult problem for providers. Complex questions are posed on both sides, such as: 'Is the treatment in accordance with my religious beliefs?' 'What kind of patient is this? 'What kind of cultural rules of treatment prevail?'

A religious person may care about the below issues which can be risk factors arising from a relative absence of a second chance associated with health problems and religious beliefs:

- Some medication applications are not suitable for religious patients and different religions have different rules. Many religions teach that if anybody uses prohibited materials or foods, it is a sin. For example, Islamic rules prohibit porcine-based materials. If a Muslim uses these unconsciously in a medication, s/he feels very guilty because it is haram (forbidden – opposite to halal). This is more of a problem than money, time and other aspects in medical travel (Bilim and Özer, 2017).
- Language challenge is another issue. This challenge is not only a linguistic problem but also a matter of understanding religious and cultural codes (Kácha *et al.*, 2016). Moghavvemi *et al.* (2015), in their examination of the experiences of Muslim patients abroad, emphasize that language used is important for medical tourists, but they also imply that it is a reassuring element for Muslim patients if words like Bismillah or Alhamdulillah are used by a Muslim doctor, even if their native language is a different one.
- Some religious groups are strictly opposed to another religion's applications, products or services. This concerns the religiously unfamiliar. In medical travel, service providers may use unfamiliar and different services such as money or banking services. Nationality or religiosity of hospital owners and staff, or company origins, are important factors for conservative patients.
- Some international hospitals can provide services for different religious communities. However, some conservative patients don't want to be treated at the same place as members of other faiths. They may be suspicious about food or medication production or preparation.

Religious perspectives of communities are the main source of evaluation differences, and cause perceptional differences regarding risks in medical travel. For example, in relation to medical consumption, Muslim communities have dissimilarities about the level of conforming to halal rules. In other words, interpretations of religious structures and degrees of conservativeness are not the same and uniform across the Muslim community. Among Islamic countries there are different approaches due to their sociocultural impacts and the different impacts of sharia practices on legal and social systems (Zamani-Farahani and Henderson, 2010; Jafari and Scott, 2014). Jafari and Scott explain that in some Muslim-majority countries, some Islamic rules are limited to personal and family matters (Turkey). Also, some have blended systems (Indonesia, Morocco, Pakistan), some use sharia only (Saudi Arabia) and political Islamist groups introduce sharia rules as their ideology. Considering differences, some Muslim communities' risk perceptions for medical travel will be very high, and some will ignore certain rules. In particular, conservative travellers will not accept communication with the opposite sex,

non-Islamic money operations, and so on. This is a really important issue for them religiously, and not acceptable. On the other hand, for some groups, religion is not a primary consideration in medical treatment.

Summary

Medical tourism has become significant in recent years in terms of product diversification and new market development in the tourism industry. Once, medical tourism approaches seemed to be out of the core elements of tourism. Now it has a compulsory nature, on a par with classical tourism types of a hedonic nature. Expressing obligations, religious factors have priority in all aspects of consumption. So product concepts of both types are similar and focus on a sense of personal need. Medical tourism research is in its infancy, but as a specific area, religious factors in medical travel need to be examined in depth because both types of travel contain factors that are sensitive for the international patient.

According to study findings, religious factors play an important role in decision-making in international medical travel involving cultural and technical aspects. Prohibited foods and medical ingredients, opposite sex applications in treatment, private religious rituals (Sabbath for Jewish people, Ramadan for Muslims), organ donation, transplantation procedures, dress codes, burial procedures and banking services are some of the main factors for medical travel.

Religious risks are also to be considered. Daily worship rituals, accommodation conditions and religious codes present challenges and risks for religious patients.

Many destinations are becoming expert in the field of religious tourism. Malaysia, India, Turkey, UAE and Japan are the main destinations promoting religious-based packages. Medical and religious approaches will provide exclusive advantages for destinations because of private consumer potential. But religiously perceived risk factors are the main challenges for packagers. Some recommendations will help destination managers:

- Religious factors in medical travel decisions are very sensitive for patients, so trips must be evaluated by experts.
- Marketing of religious values is very difficult. Marketeers and managers should learn the rules and prohibitions of religions.
- Many religions have different communities adhering to secular or conservative customs. Some groups are very sensitive to dress codes or gender difference, and some groups are not so strict. Packages must be arranged according to these factors.
- International hospitals have to determine the exact target religious market or separated areas have to be defined for different groups. Conservative people will not want to get treatment alongside followers of other religions.

References

Battour, M. and Ismail, M.N. (2016) Halal tourism: concepts, practises, challenges and future. *Tourism Management Perspectives* 19, 150–154.

Bies, W. and Zacharia, L. (2007) Medical tourism: outsourcing surgery. *Mathematical and Computer Modelling* 46, 1144–1159.

Bilim, Y. (2015) Dünyada Medikal Turizm. In: Temizkan, S.P. (ed.) *Sağlik Turizmi*, Detay Yayın, Ankara, pp. 101–126.

Bilim, Y. and Özer, Ö. (2017) Halal tourism: the case study from Turkey. In: Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (eds) *Conflicts, Religion and Culture in Tourism*. CAB International. Wallingford, UK.

Bookman, M. and Bookman, K. (2007) *Medical Tourism in Developing Countries*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK.

Botterill, D., Pennings, G. and Mainil, T. (2013) *Medical Tourism and Transnational Health Care.* Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK.

Boyle, D. and Lee, M.J. (2008) *Fast Facts: Religion and Medicine*. Health Press Limited, Abingdon, UK.

Chamberlain, T.J. and Hall, C.A. (2000) *Realized Religion: Research on the Relationship between Religion and Health.* Templeton Foundation Press, West Conshohocken, Pennsylvania.

Chandra, G.R. (2014) Halal tourism: a new goldmine for tourism. *International Journal of Business Management & Research* 4(6), 45–62.
COMCEC (Standing Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation) (2016) *Muslim Friendly Tourism: Understanding the Demand and Supply Sides in the OIC Member Countries*. Ankara.
Connell, J. (2006) Medical tourism: sea, sun, sand and … surgery. *Tourism Management* 27, 1093–1100.
Connell, J. (2013) Contemporary medical tourism: conceptualisation, culture and commodification. *Tourism Management* 34, 1–13.
CrescentRating (2015) *Muslim/Halal Travel Market: Basic Concepts*, *Terms and Definitions*.
Crooks, V.A., Kingsbury, P., Snyder, J. and Johnston, R. (2010) What is known about the patient's experience of medical tourism? A scoping review. *BMC Health Services Research* 10, 266–277.
Ehman, J. (2012) Religious diversity: practical points for health care providers. Department of Pastoral Care, Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania & Penn Presbyterian Medical Center. Available at: http://www.uphs.upenn.edu/pastoral/resed/diversity_points.html (accessed 23 November 2017).
Ehrbeck, T., Guevara, C. and Mango, P.D. (2008) Mapping the market for medical travel. *The McKinseyQuarterly*. Available at: https://www.mckinseyquarterly.com/Mapping_the_market_for_travel_2134 (accessed 23 November 2017).
El-Gohary, H. (2016) Halal tourism, is it really Halal? *Tourism Management Perspectives.* Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2015.12.013 (accessed 23 November 2017).
Esiyok, B., Çakar, M. and Kurtulmuşoğlu, F.B. (2017) The effect of cultural distance on medical tourism. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management* 6(1), 66–75.
Fetscherin, M. and Stephano, R.M. (2016) The medical tourism index: scale development and validation. *Tourism Management* 52, 539–556.
Gill, H. and Singh, N. (2011) Exploring the factors that affect the choice of destination for medical tourism. *Journal of Service Science and Management* 4, 315–324.
Grossbart, T.A. and Sarwer, D.B. (2003) Psychosocial issues and their relevance to the cosmetic surgery patient. *Seminars in Cutaneous Medicine and Surgery* 22, 136–147.
Hallem, Y. and Barth, I. (2011) Customer-perceived value of medical tourism: an exploratory study: the case of cosmetic surgery in Tunisia. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 18(1), 121–129.
Herrick, D. (2007) *Medical Tourism: Global Competition in Health Care*. Report no. 304. National Center for Policy Analysis, Dallas, Texas.
Hirshman, E.C. (1981) American Jewish ethnicity: its relationship to some selected aspects of consumer behavior. *Journal of Marketing* 45, 102–110.
Hoesli, T.M. and Smith, K.M. (2011) Effects of religious and personal beliefs on medication regimen design. *Orthopedics* 34(4), 292–295.
Hoof, W.V. and Pennings, G. (2013) Cross-border reproductive care around the world: recent controversies. In: Botterill, D., Pennings, G. and Mainil, T. (eds) *Medical Tourism and Transnational Health Care*. Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK, pp. 98–112.
Jafari, J. and Scott, N. (2014) Muslim world and its tourisms. *Annals of Tourism Research* 44, 1–19.
Jeevan, R. and Armstrong, A. (2008) Cosmetic tourism and the burden on the NHS. *Journal of Plastic, Reconstructive & Aesthetic Surgery* 61, 1423–1424.
Kácha, O., Kovács, B.E., McCarthy, C., Schuurmans, A.A.T., Dobyns, C. *et al.* (2016) An approach to establishing international quality standards for medical travel. *Frontiers in Public Health* 4, 1–4.
Lunt, N., Smith, R., Exworthy, M., Green, S.T., Horsfall, D. and Mannion, R. (2011) *Medical Tourism: Treatments, Markets and Health System Implications: A Scoping Review*. OECD, Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs, Paris.
Mainil, T., Platenkamp, V. and Meulemans, H. (2013) Habermas, transnational health care and cross-culturalism. In: Botterill, D., Pennings, G. are Mainil, T. (eds) *Medical Tourism and Transnational Health Care*. Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK, pp. 194–207.
Martin, D. (2010) Medical travel and the sale of human biological materials: suggestions for ethical policy development. *Global Social Policy* 10, 377–395.
McDaniel, S.W. and Burnett, J.J. (1990) Consumer religiosity and retail store evaluation criteria. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 18(2), 101–112.
Medhekar, A. and Haq, F. (2015) Halal branding for medical tourism: case of Indian hospitals. In: El-Gohary, H. and Eid, R. (eds) *Emerging Research on Islamic Marketing and Tourism in the Global Economy.* IGI Global Business Science, Hershey, Pennsylvania.
Medical Tourism Association (2016) 2015–2016 Highlights. *Annual Report. Available at:* http://www.medicaltourismassociation.com/en/annual-report-1.html (accessed 28 November 2017).

Moghavvemi, S., Zailani, S., Ali, S.M. and Musa, G. (2015) Islamic medical tourism providers in Malaysia: challenges and opportunities. In: Gaol, F.L. and Hutagalung, F. (eds) *The Role of Service in the Tourism and Hospitality Industry*. CRC Press, Boca Raton, Florida.

Moghimehfar, F. and Nasr-Esfahani, M.H. (2011) Decisive factors in medical tourism destination choice: a case study of Isfahan, Iran and fertility treatments. *Tourism Management* 32, 1431–1434.

Mohsin, A., Ramli, N. and Alkhulayfi, B.A. (2016) Halal tourism: emerging opportunities. *Tourism Management Perspectives* 19, 137–143.

Musa, G., Thirumoorthi, T. and Doshi, D. (2012) Travel behaviour among inbound medical tourists in Kuala Lumpur. *Current Issues in Tourism* 15(6), 525–543.

Namin A.A.T. (2013) Value creation in tourism: an Islamic approach. *International Research Journal of Applied and Basic Sciences* 4(5), 1252–1264.

Ormond, M.E. and Sothern, M. (2012) You, too, can be an international medical traveler: reading medical travel guidebooks. *Health & Place* 18(5), 935– 941.

Özdemir, C. and Konak, S. (2015) Medikal Turizm Kavramı ve Türkiye'de Medikal Turizm. In: Temizkan, S.P. (eds) *Sağlik Turizmi*, Detay Yayın, Ankara, pp. 77–100.

Poria, Y., Butler, R. and Airey, D. (2003) Tourism, religion and religiousity: a holy mess. *Current Issues in Tourism* 6(4), 340–363.

Rahman, M.K. and Zailani, S. (2016) Understanding Muslim medical tourists' perception towards Islamic friendly hospital. *Hospitality & Tourism Management* 1(2), 15–22.

Runnels, V. and Carrera, P.M. (2012) Why do patients engage in medical tourism? *Maturitas* 73, 300–304.

Sarwar, A., Manaf, N.H. and Omar, A. (2014) Medical tourism as emergent industry: riding on the halal wave. 2nd International Conference on Management from an Islamic Perspective, Malezya, 150–155.

Sood, J. and Nasu, Y. (1995) Religiosity and nationality: an exploratory study of their effect on consumer behavior in Japan and the United States. *Journal of Business Research* 34, 1–9.

Steffen, R., DuPont, H.L. and Smith, A.W. (2003) *Manual of Travel Medicine and Health* (2nd edition). BC Decker Inc., Hamilton, Canada.

Taylor, C.R. (2006) Health care and a theological anthropology. In: Taylor, C.R. and Dell'oro (eds) *Religion, Medicine and Moral Anthropology*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC, pp. 225–230.

Tengilimoğlu, D. and Kahraman, Ö. (2013) Dünyada ve Türkiye'de medikal turizm, içinde. In: Tengilimoğlu, D. (ed.) *Sağlık Turizmi.* Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara.

Tontuş, H.Ö. (2015) *Tüm Yönleriyle Sağlık Turizmi.* Sağlık Bakanlığı Sağlığın Geliştirilmesi Genel Müdürlüğü Daire Başkanlığı, Ankara.

Whittaker, A. and Chee, H.L. (2015) Perceptions of an 'international hospital' in Thailand by medical travel patients: cross-cultural tensions in a transnational space. *Social Science & Medicine* 124, 290–297.

Zamani-Farahani, H. and Henderson, J.C. (2010) Islamic tourism and managing tourism development in Islamic societies: the cases of Iran and Saudi Arabia. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 12, 79–89.

7 Hajj: The Movement and Behaviour of Crowds

Jahanzeeb Qurashi*
University of Central Lancashire, UK

Introduction

Hajj is the fifth pillar of Islam and is considered to be the largest annual religious pilgrimage event in the world; it consists of several religious rituals with complex movements (Mahmoud and Plumb, 2010). The journey of Hajj is completed over a period of five days, and the spiritual city of Makkah has hosted the annual pilgrimage for the last 14 centuries (Gwyn, 1989).

The Hajj is not only famous for its scope but also its scale (Sharpley, 2009); in 1950, Hajj involved a total of 250,000 pilgrims (Ahlan, 1988); however, pilgrim numbers have increased over the past 30 years dramatically. In 2012, 3.16 million pilgrims were recorded, and in 2015, 2.95 million took part in the mega-event (Mintel, 2017). Twelve million pilgrims visit both of the holy cities of Makkah and Madinah annually (*Arab News*, 2013). These numbers are expected to increase to 17 million by 2025 (Wainwright, 2015). An average development rate of more than 2% for religious tourism to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) has been recorded for the period 2006–2010. In 2010 alone there were 4,867,387 international religious tourism trips recorded to KSA, representing a 17.1% share of all international religious tourism trips globally (Jafari and Scott, 2010; Mintel, 2012).

Makkah is surrounded by the sacred area called Haram where the movement of pilgrims takes place to fulfil different complex rituals of the Hajj. The movements of pilgrims include the circumambulation of Kaaba (black cube) seven times in the Grand Mosque situated in Makkah; running and walking between the hills of Al-Safa and Al-Marwah inside the mosque; staying for a day under canvas or the sun in the field of Arafat; spending a night in the rocky field of Muzdalifah to collect pebbles to stone three devils; and staying three days in the tent city of Mina, which includes the stoning of the devil (Jamrat Al-Aqabah) ritual (Robinson, 1999).

Due to the high turnout of pilgrims from across the globe, the Hajj is, potentially, a dangerous event due to vehicular and pedestrian movements, and homogeneous and heterogeneous crowd behaviour. It has been observed that crowd behaviour in non-routine situations, where emotions are heightened (exhilaration, anxiety, fear, religious passion, aggression), can turn an event into chaos, and the Hajj is one such event that is vulnerable to this syndrome.

The evidence is available that despite the peaceful nature of the Hajj, mass religious crowd movements and the mammoth efforts made by the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have resulted in the deaths of almost 3000 pilgrims

*Address for correspondence: Jqurashi@uclan.ac.uk

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events. M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

during the Hajj over the past three decades (*The Guardian*, 2006). Most of the Hajj incidents recorded were from stampedes and fires (Alaska *et al.*, 2016).

This chapter discusses the challenges faced by pilgrimages during the Hajj ritual. These will range from the internal directions and challenges of Hajj movements from a religious perspective to local services being offered by the Saudi government. Moreover, by logical extension, how psychological and physical factors, and the physics of crowd behaviour impact the mega-movement of the Hajj are also discussed. In addition, the study examines the role of different simulation models that can observe movements and crowd behaviour. This raises various questions concerning whether the mega-movements are hazardous due to their complex nature and scale of crowd movement, or whether it is the crowd's behaviour that is the real challenge for the Hajj ritual, with tragic potential.

Hajj Movements

Hajj is the largest annually recurring mass movement event on earth. It attracts about 3 million pilgrims from all over the globe who assemble in Makkah over a one-week period. In the course of the pilgrims' movements, there is mobbing and other disorder caused by overcrowding due to the compactness of the gathering, and the integration of vehicles and pedestrians (Alaa, 1992). To comprehend this in more depth, the Hajj is presented in this study as a 'closed system' with a fluctuating number of pilgrims flowing through it at any time.

Religious movements and rites mainly follow from religious decree. Each pilgrim wants to keep to these strictly. In the Hajj, some rituals are mandatory ('Fard' – canonical law) as a religious duty, while others are only customary ('Sunnah') (Ahmad, 1992).

Many groups of pilgrims, some nearly as large as a whole nation (Lebanon, Iran), follow homogeneously religious (Shia sect) traditional interpretations. Other movements are not liturgical but necessary in order to carry out the set rites. These factors place a burden on the Hajj; for example, it is customary (Sunnah) to go to the field of Arafat early in the morning, but it is mandatory (canonical law) to leave Arafat before sunset. Additionally, it is a mandatory duty to throw the seven pebbles onto the biggest devil (Jamrat Al-Aqabah) on the tenth day of the Hajj month, but it is only the custom to do this before noon. Therefore, most pilgrims wait at this venue in order to complete the ritual between sunrise and noon. A further example is Tawaf Al-ifada (circumambulation of the black cube, Kaaba), which must be offered to complete the Hajj (canonical Islamic law). Although no special time is designated, pilgrims like to accomplish it as soon as possible to follow the custom of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) who did this on the tenth day of the Hajj month (Alaa, 1992).

Thus, the Hajj system consists of subsystems with different capabilities to cater for the mass of pilgrims. In the physical sector, these fluctuate between wide-open valleys – Arafat, for example – and narrow routes like the exit from Mina to Makkah. In the domain of canonical law, they vary from temporary and locally diffused actions (the shaving of the head after the Hajj, the sacrifice, ritual ablutions) to such as are exactly defined in time and/or space, for instance Tawaf (circumambulation of the black cube, Kaaba) (Alaa, 1992).

Mobbing in the flow of the Hajj occurs at the narrow passes in the system: at the places of the Tawaf and Sa'I (walking and running between the hills of Al-Safa and Al-Marwah) before the ninth day of the Hajj month when the pilgrims offer the Tawaf Al-Qudum (welcome circumambulation of the black cube) for Al-Umrah or Hajj, and additional Tawafs during their visit in Makkah; during the Nafra (Arafat to Muzdalifah), at its starting places – the pedestrian and vehicle bridges in front of Arafat, on the five newly constructed floors of the Jamarat bridges (Devil's Bridge), and at its eastern entrance on the morning of the 10th, as well as in the afternoon of the 11th and 12th of the Hajj month, on the roads between Mina and Makkah on the 10th and 12th, and again from the 10th of the month at the places of Tawaf and Sa'I, when the pilgrims perform Tawaf AI-Wada (last circumambulation) and other Tawafs, (Owaidah, 2015).

Amblers' movement

The intensity of movement of pilgrims at a particular point is fluctuating constantly, depending

on the speed and compactness of the amblers. Pilgrims who saunter individually (minority) or in groups (majority) in the early stage of the Hajj can be gauged at an average velocity of 40 m/min, but when compaction of pilgrims occurs, with the pilgrims touching each other, the free movement is blocked and the entire movement can come to a halt. If optimal mass is exceeded, the pass becomes impenetrable. If not checked, the movement in Hajj can turn to chaos (Sarmady *et al.*, 2011).

After performing Hajj rituals from Mina, Arafat and Muzdalifa, the pilgrims return to the Grand Mosque Al-Haram for Tawaf Al-ifada, which consists of seven laps around the Kaaba, which is situated in the centre of the court Mataf (area around the black cube) (Rinschede, 1992). Three million Muslims took part in circumambulation around Kaaba in 2011 (Mintel, 2012). During Tawaf, the crowd comprises a homogeneous and heterogeneous set of pilgrims, changing with respect to physical capacity as well as movements.

The Grand Mosque consists of two significant zones: first, the main court Mataf (area of circumambulation); second, the zone of the sacred hills of Al-Safa and Al-Marwah for Sa'I, in which pilgrims walk and run between two hills seven times and cover a distance of 3.15 km approximately.

Tawaf movement is fundamentally a circular movement around the Kaaba. However, the wall of Al-Hateem, an extension of the Kaaba, can disrupt the circular movement. This interruption of the counter-clockwise Tawaf motion causes a compressed and mobbed area near Al-Hateem. This mobbing, combined with the congestion formed by the magnetism on the east side of the Kaaba, causes a high density on that side of the Kaaba, while on the other side it is less mobbed. Figure 7.1 shows a medium demand level; there is congestion on the east side of the Kaaba as well as around Maqam-Ibrahim (where Prophet Ibrahim stood while building the upper walls of the Holy Kaaba). On the right side of the court is a place where pilgrims pray or perform Tawaf. Due to the heightened emotion during circumambulation, pushing is strong, which sometimes causes suffocation (Sarmady *et al.*, 2011). In 2016, several deaths occurred in this way during Tawaf.

Tawaf time and speed

The large amount of pilgrims in the Tawaf area causes sluggish motion. Figure 7.2 tracks demand levels (5000, 7500, 10,000, 12,500, 15,000 pilgrims) per hour. It shows that the Tawaf length increases as demand increases.

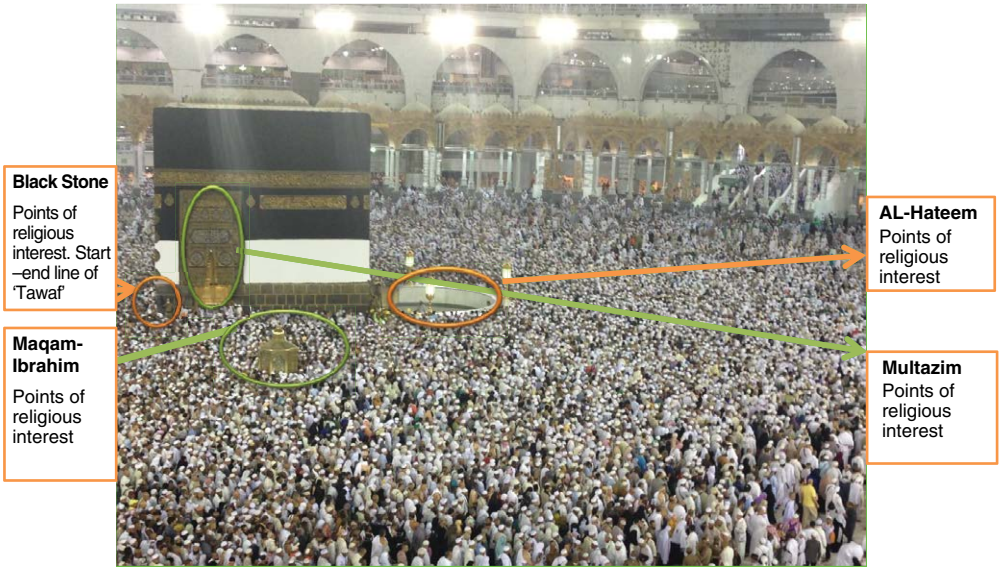

Fig. 7.1. The density of the crowd near the points of religious interest: black stone, Multazim, Al-Hateem and Maqam-Ibrahim. Makkah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

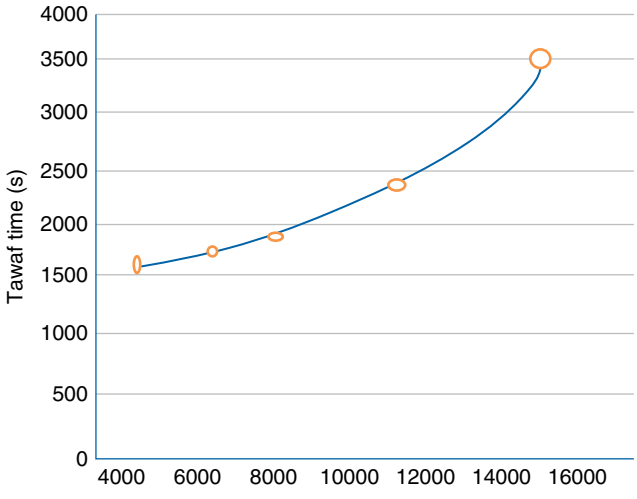

Fig. 7.2. Duration of Tawaf in different demand levels/ pedestrians/hours. (Derived from Sarmady *et al.,* 2011.)

Figure 7.3 shows how demand levels higher than 10,000 amblers per hour cause a sharp increase in Tawaf time. At this level mobbing occurs behind the Tawaf start–end line (black stone, see Fig. 7.1) (Sarmady *et al.*, 2011).

This mobbing might spread to other zones in the Tawaf loop and cause lengthier Tawaf times. Bottlenecks become hazardous because pilgrims push each other in such situations. Additionally, the Tawaf time and speed can also be influenced by pilgrims standing shoulder to shoulder and reaching out to kiss the black stone, which is framed in polished silver and elevated approximately 1.5 m in the south-eastern corner of the mighty Kaaba. This is the spot where pilgrims multiply exponentially and start to press forward. As pilgrims are propelled forward, a lengthier Tawaf ensues. This is the case near the black stone. In this zone, five or more pilgrims per square metre means that pilgrims start to lose their ability to move; the crowd behaves like a wave and death or serious injury can occur.

Another situation is 'crowd crushing'. In this, a pilgrim is not even able to move his/her hands and the pressure on them prevents their lungs from functioning. This situation normally occurs when pilgrims try to kiss the black stone or touch it, or to pray near Maqam-Ibrahim (where the Prophet Ibrahim stood while building the upper walls of the holy Kaaba, see Fig. 7.1). Additionally, the Tawaf time and speed is affected due to progressive crowd collapse. In this situation, due to the increasing density of pilgrims, they won't be able to maintain their balance and will fall down. This creates a vacuum, and a 'domino' effect; pilgrims then stampede, which can create chaos and delay to the Tawaf movement (Sarmady *et al.*, 2011; Templeton *et al.*, 2015).

Jamarat movement

Stoning three devils in the Hajj is a symbolic and mandatory ritual. This is currently the most dangerous ritual conducted on the mega-bridges of Jamarat. The last Jamarat Bridge was built in 1975, with pillars that penetrated three openings in the bridge, thus permitting pilgrims to throw pebbles from ground level or from the bridge (The Hajj, 2015). Prior to that, pillars were approached only from the ground level, and the ritual was conducted in a less planned manner. More than 1000 pilgrims died during stampedes on the Jamarat Bridge between 1994 and 2006 (*The Guardian*, 2006). These incidents provide a stark reminder of the safety challenges at the most congested public space in the world. Such a challenging situation for the Saudi authorities prompted them to alter the design of the bridge, using architecture that facilitates crowd control, rather than regulating the numbers of pilgrims (Ngai *et al.*, 2009).

Discussions and cooperative efforts were led by domestic and international professionals in crowd safety. Following an incident on the Jamarat Bridge in 2004, numerous safety measures were applied to the bridge's design. Altering the form of the Jamarat pillars from spherical

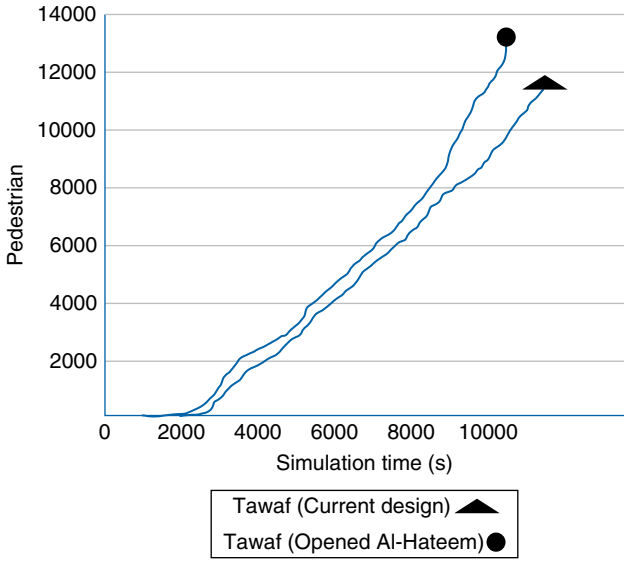

Fig. 7.3. Demand levels higher than 10,000 amblers per hour cause a sharp increase in Tawaf time. (Derived from Sarmady *et al*., 2011.)

pillars to larger oval walls augmented the surface area and redeployed pilgrims into a better-organized arrangement, avoiding any weak points. However, despite intense efforts, in 2006 a stampede took place and 380 pilgrims were killed and 289 injured. The Saudi government consequently destroyed the old bridge and established new plans. The new bridge is over 950 m long and 80 m wide with five levels. Each level is 12 m in height. Levels 1–5 can be seen in Fig. 7.4.

A number of entrances and exits were augmented, permitting pilgrims to move effortlessly and safely. In 2007, the new bridge was opened with a capacity of 300,000 pilgrims per hour along its 950-m length (Jeavans, 2015). Anticipating future upsurges in the quantity of pilgrims, the bridge was designed to accommodate 5 million pilgrims, distributing them on 12 levels. In former years, paths to and from the bridge permitted bidirectional movement of pilgrims, which led to obstacles and interruption in the flow. This was altered to a unidirectional system in the new design, minimizing obstructions (*The Guardian*, 2006).

However, in 2015 another stampede took place on the new bridge, claiming 769 pilgrims and injuring 934 others. This time investigators did not criticize the design of the bridge but rather the crowd's behaviour. Even given the high-tech structure and massive capacity of the bridge, further disasters remain a possibility (Saudi Health Ministry, 2015).

Pedestrian Traffic Movement

The average distance covered by pilgrims is approximately 12 km for the whole journey of Hajj, apportioned thus:

Al'Omrah: Tawaf and Sa'I – 5 km
Jamarat: 6 km – (3 x 2 km – 3 days)
Tawaf Al-lfada (without Sa'I) – 1 km

Further, numerous pilgrims, particularly those who are in Mina prior to the Hajj, walk to the field of Arafat in the morning on the ninth day of Hajj, which is about 12 km from the Grand Mosque, though the distance depends on the allocated tent zone of Mina. Then, within Arafat on the ninth of Hajj, much internal movement takes place between the camps, the Mosque Nimra and the Jabil Al-Rahma mountain. Then, before sunset on the ninth day, the most significant mega-pedestrian movement occurs, called 'Nafra', a movement from Arafat to the rocky valley of Muzdalifa. At present, around 30% of the pilgrims walk 7 km from Arafat to the middle of Muzdalifa. Two to three million pilgrims participate in this mega-movement. In Muzdalifa, all 2–3 million pilgrims stay overnight and collect pebbles to stone the devil in Mina. On the dawn of

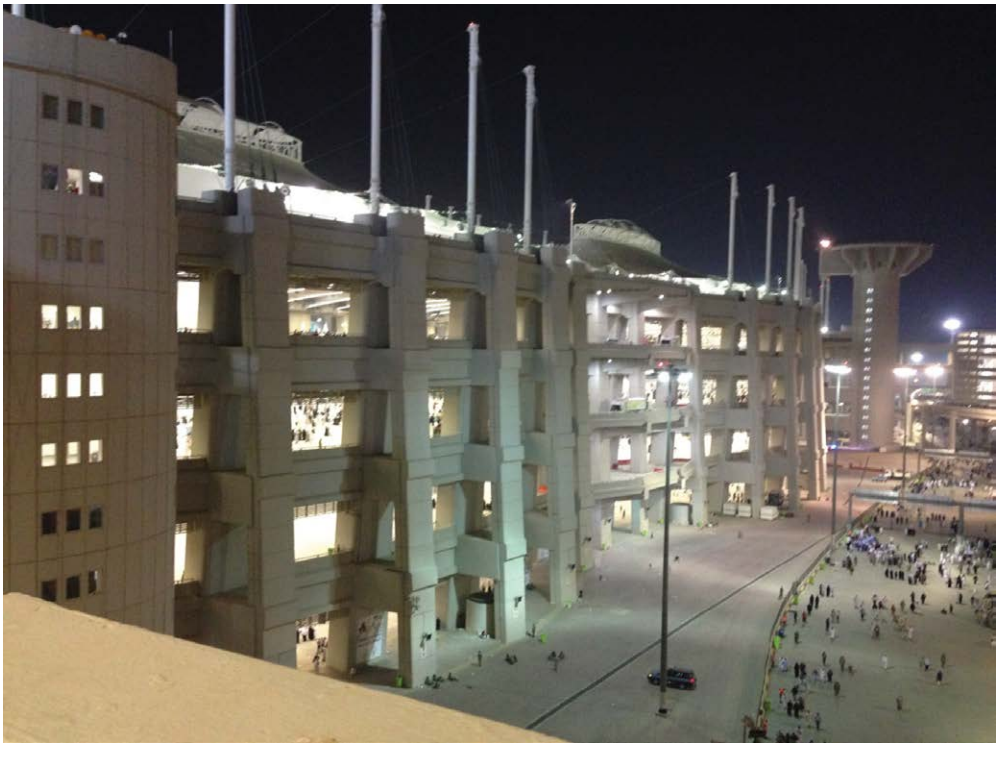

Fig. 7.4. Newly designed Jamarat Bridge, levels 1–5, Mina, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

the tenth of the Hajj, approximately 30% of pilgrims walk 5 km from Muzdalifa to the Jamarat area in Mina (Saudi Ministry of Hajj, 2017).

Walking is unavoidable, even if the majority of movement is by vehicle. Adding all small and mass movement distances, the overall distance covered on foot is about 70 km over a five-day period. The longest walk in one day occurs on the tenth day of Hajj when pilgrims walk from Muzdalifa to Mina through the Jamarat, back to the sacrificing area, from there to Makkah to perform the Tawaf Al-Ifada (obligatory circumambulation) and then to the tent city of Mina. This adds up to 25 km. However, it is not obligatory to do all these rites in one day; it is likely that most walking pilgrims distribute these activities over the three-day stay in Mina. After finishing all rituals in Mina, another mega-movement takes place – perhaps the most difficult part, the pedestrian way on the road to Makkah. Soon after leaving Mina, vehicles and pedestrians have to share the road, which jeopardizes the movement of pedestrians. This is an extremely hazardous situation and causes accidents every year. However, due to the presence of mega-pedestrian bridges on Jamarat, walking is the most efficient means of transportation in order to reach the Grand Mosque, and carries little risk.

Movements of Pilgrims

The complex mass movement of private and public transport during the Hajj is one of the biggest issues. Approximately 19,000 government vehicles took part in 2016. These buses are guided and controlled by Saudi pilgrim guides called Mutawiffun. On arrival, the pilgrims are first taken from Jeddah to Makkah or from Madinah to Makkah, and mostly depart in the same order as they arrived. On the ninth of the Hajj month, pilgrims are transported directly to their tents in Arafat or left in the open. Then they load the pilgrims and take them to Muzdalifa before sunset. Apart from government buses, there are

50–60,000 private vehicles participating in Hajj operations to leave Arafat. Mobbing develops, which takes hours to clear. There are reports of vehicles waiting 12–17 hours with their engines running to operate the air conditioning and covering only a distance of 6 km.

The mass departure of the pilgrims to Madinah or Jeddah on the 12th day of the Hajj month again starts with an extremely chaotic traffic jam. Since this involves another exhausting circuit through the one-way system, it means that actual traffic volumes are higher than anticipated. To overcome this, Saudi Arabia has built a widespread network of roads, bridges, crossings, motorways and other traffic features in the holy venues to overcome congestion. Additionally, a high-speed rail link is planned between Makkah and Medina, supported by a local mass rapid transit within Makkah linking the holy places of Mina, Arafat and Muzdalifa. Further planned developments include a new Hajj terminal for pilgrims, a new seaport terminal for pilgrims and the extension of the holy mosque Al-Haram. The 18 km southern line of the Al-Mashaar and Al-Mugadassah metro opened in 2010, with nine stations connecting the holy places of Mina, Muzdalifah and Arafat. Additional extensions to the mass-transit system will link with the Grand Mosque of Al-Haram with four further lines under construction including a Jeddah airport link to Makkah (*Railway Gazette International*, 2010).

However, despite these mega-facilities to ease movement of pilgrims and vehicles, risk cannot be mitigated, though the probability of accidents can be decreased through effective crowd management and understanding of crowd behaviour. Recent evidence reveals that most catastrophes occurring during the Hajj are due to crowd behaviour. Therefore, the next section will focus on this.

Hajj Crowd Behaviour

Until now, this study has addressed the complex movements of Hajj; however, investigation is required into the reasons why a mob is pushed into catastrophic situations. Therefore, further research will prove profitable to comprehend the psychological and physical aspects, and physics of Hajj crowd behaviour.

Unfortunately, every year, during the time of the Hajj in Saudi Arabia, crowd crush claims the lives of pilgrims. Despite the Saudi authorities offering excellent high-tech facilities, the Hajj is still a potentially risky mega-event, as millions of pilgrims from across the globe with different cultures, languages and ethnic backgrounds come together and involve themselves in several mandatory psychologically and physiologically complex rituals (Templeton *et al.*, 2015). Saudi Hajj authorities have spent more than $35 billion since 1992 on redesigning the infrastructure of the Hajj to ensure the safety of pilgrims (Vijayanand, 2012) but still tragedies occur. Therefore, it is necessary to understand crowd behaviour from a logical, critical and scientific perspective.

Hajj consists of two types of crowd; the first is physical (where people are simply in one location), and the second is psychological (where people in a crowd share a common social identity). This study considers both types together rather than individually as the majority of pilgrim movement is in the form of clusters during Hajj (Templeton *et al.*, 2015).

People in a group at an event may be Muslims, or football or music fans. This collective identity affects the behaviour of the mob and it is therefore imperative that one comprehends and forecasts crowd movements, including flow and mobbing (Curtis *et al.*, 2011). Similarly, Templeton *et al.* (2015) argue that the emotional state of a group might mean it is easier to manage, even if they are compact or moving slowly, because they feel safe within the group. But when there are numerous psychological crowds within a space, they can, unintentionally, limit the movement of one another.

Another study (Silverman *et al.*, 2005) shows that people in a psychological mob saunter closely together, amble more sluggishly and walk additional distances to stay together compared with a physical crowd. Irrespective of the reputation of shared identity in comprehending psychological mobs, computer modellers have so far either ignored crowd psychology in their models or treated mobs merely as a mass of individuals. Where clusters form within a crowd, the model has been to use small groups of two to five pilgrims. But the modellers have supposed that all crowds are simply physical crowds. As a result, these simulations cannot sufficiently forecast the behaviour of psychological crowds. A major

question arises: Can a physical crowd comprise more than one psychological crowd – for instance Sunni and Shia pilgrims? So imagining that a crowd is simply made up of individuals who behave like atoms in a mass does not recognize the topographies of crowds such as those at the Hajj (Templeton, 2015). This has vital implications for existing simulations of the event. For instance, we cannot forecast how a diverse cluster might favour unlikely locations; for example, a group of Shia pilgrims may prefer to worship in the open. This is vital due to the diversity of rituals the Hajj pilgrimage comprises. Scientific models that treat the crowd as a homogeneous unit (see Fig. 7.5) cannot elucidate how large groups of pilgrims will fragment, some groups extricating themselves from other groups and creating mass contraflows (Templeton, 2015).

The Saudi authorities are somewhat reliant on computer-based models, such as the cellular automata model, force-based methods, matrix-based models and rule-based models; these are the most common methods to simulate crowd movements and behaviour. Matrix-based systems divide environments into cells and make use of cellular automata to model the movements of entities between cells. Furthermore, in rule-based models, items like birds and animals are simulated in the form of a flock and interact based on their perceptions of the environment. Each of the models mentioned above has its own strengths and weaknesses. Based on the specific requirements and situation being simulated, one model may be more suitable than another. The social forces model, for instance, produces smoother movements in comparison to cell-based methods, due to its continuous nature. However, due to the computational complexity of that model, simulations based on it require high processing power. For instance, for huge crowds like the one in the court of the Grand Mosque, which can reach 300,000 pilgrims, it is not practical to use this method unless someone incorporates a parallel processing technique. Models that fall into these categories treat crowds as consisting of many individuals within a mass.

Fig. 7.5. Homogeneous crowds in Hajj, Grand Mosque, Makkah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Despite much research demonstrating that there are often small psychological groups within physical crowds, and extensive research showing that collective behaviour requires individuals to see themselves as part of a large psychological crowd or group, groups are not considered sufficiently in these models; whereas in the Hajj, the majority of pilgrims is in big or small groups. Therefore, as yet, computer modellers have not created models that adequately simulate certain key psychological features of large crowd behaviour. These models cannot give complete calculations or assurance of safety due to their limited rationalities. In order to prevent tragedies, models need to monitor the compactness and flow of crowds in real time, though this is extremely difficult in a live event due to the density of crowd and for political reasons (Sarmady *et al.*, 2011). Conversely, instead of relying on computer models to understand crowd behaviour, it can be argued that learning about crowd behaviour through crowd physics, psychology and physical behaviour might be profitable for further research in the context of understanding crowd behaviour in mega-movements.

On 24 September 2015, a horrific stampede occurred on the Jamarat Bridge during Hajj, which claimed over 700 pilgrims and over 900 were injured. This incident is a clear example of crowd physics, psychology and physical behaviour. Two different groups of pilgrims converged on Mina Street 204, a road leading from the Hajj camps to the Jamarat Bridge. A group of pilgrims on buses was allowed to descend onto the pathways that lead to the Jamarat Bridge at a time that wasn't allocated to them (Naar, 2015; Aljazeera, 2016) resulting in many fatalities.

Krausz and Bauckhage (2012) have debated how, at any mega-event, crowd density can increase. These densities generate clusters of movements called a 'stop-and-go wave'. This crowd behaviour indicates hazardous congestion that could be hard to manage. The flow of amblers could last not more than 20 minutes and individuals move in all directions. The pilgrims start to push each other and to lean on each other; some of them might fall, creating a gap in the crowd. More people may join this wave, and some may suffocate. Shiwakoti and Sarvi (2013, p. 12), examining this syndrome, state that it 'refers to situations in which individuals have limited information and vision to high crowd density and short time of egress, and which result in physical competition and pushing behaviour'.

Helbing and Johansson (2011) and Bosta (2011) defined panic as a breakdown of order where individuals' behaviour displays an anxious reaction to an event. It is characterized by many individuals attempting to escape from a threat to their safety and a struggle ensues that could end up in individuals being crushed. Crowds move slowly, and the flow of the crowd will start to halt, which could cause stop-and-go waves. These waves create panic. This situation occurs in stampedes or bottlenecks; people cannot think clearly about their next action, thus undermining their psychological strength (Helbing and Johansson, 2011). It could be argued that the Hajj crowd's psychological behaviour is one of the reasons behind the stampede on the 24 September 2015.

Further research by Reicher (2015, p. 1) states:

> The conventional way of thinking about crowd psychology is quite simply wrong. There is the talk of 'stampede' and of 'panic'. But stampede suggests that people cause havoc while running away. In disasters like these, the problem is generally that people can't move at all, let alone run away.

In reality, a major factor in the behaviour of crowds is a sense of mutual fate. Clusters in which members share a robust sense of identity are more likely to report instances of people helping one another. In simple language, the problem is primarily crowd physics. Crowd psychology can actually make things better, leading pilgrims to organize themselves better and help each other. The only risk is that a pilgrim who feels part of the crowd may have a false sense of security in excessively crowded spaces. Such may have been the case with the Jamarat Bridge episode. Instead of a mob unexpectedly stampeding like a herd of frightened animals, trouble begins as pilgrims stumble, and those left behind keep moving forward because they can't see what's happening up front. That is when crushing happens. Pilgrims on 24 September 2015 developed an extreme level of compaction, which was six pilgrims per square metre. Waves, going backwards and forwards, destabilized pilgrims. However, if the surviving

pilgrims had used their psychology and not gone forward to see what was happening on the bridge, fatalities could have been prevented.

Helbing argues that the answer lies more in physics than psychology. For instance, at low density, when everybody can move freely, crowd dynamics are like a gas; when the density increases, individuals are constrained and the crowd becomes more like a fluid. Then, at very high densities, when people are squeezed in between others, it is more like granular material – sand, rice or pebbles.

Conclusion

It could be argued that the Hajj mega-movement is growing at a rapid pace as Islam is gaining momentum as a religion. The majority of these Hajj movements are under canonical Islamic sharia law, which is extremely difficult to alter for the sake of pilgrims' facilities, health, safety and security; however, it will benefit everyone if infrastructure is improved and psychological aspects can be better understood.

Current studies seems to validate the view that despite the complex nature of the mega-movement, crowds' psychological and physical behaviour, as well as their physics, have an inevitable impact. Therefore the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is not only spending billions of dollars on improving the infrastructure of the Hajj, but also minimizing risk to health, safety and security by learning about crowd behaviour. The authorities are in the process of comprehending why these challenges emerge almost every year in the Hajj. Indeed, accidents are not inevitable and other tragic incidents are not always natural disasters; sometimes they are due to lack of knowledge regarding complex mega-movements. Additionally, despite the implementation of different computer model simulations on the Hajj, accidents are still occurring. Therefore, there is the need to produce more accurate small-scale movement models that consider specific issues of dense crowd movements, such as pushing, falling and grouping of individuals in the ritual movements of Hajj, as well as a better model of crowd behaviour that considers physiological and psychological aspects of pilgrims' actions, in order to produce more realistic simulations of crowd behaviour.

References

Ahlan, W. (1988) *Makkah 100 Years Ago*. Saudi Arabian Airlines Magazine.

Ahmad, U.Z. (1992) Islamic pilgrimage to Kaaba in Makkah: an important international tourism activity. *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 3(1), 35–43.

Alaa, S. (1992) Unresolved Problem of the Hajj in the City of Makkah in Saudi Arabia. Available at: http://arizona.openrepository.com/arizona/handle/10150/559272 (accessed 2 February 2017).

Alaska, Y.A., Aldawas, D.A., Nawfal, A., Aljerian, A.N., Ziad, A., Memish, A.Z. and Suner, S. (2016) The impact of crowd control measures on the occurrence of stampedes during mass gatherings: the Hajj experience. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tmaid.2016.09.002 (accessed 3 February 2017).

Aljazeera (2016) Saudi Arabian Hajj stampede death toll rises. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/09/saudi-arabian-hajj-stampede-death-toll-rises-150926130030311.html (accessed 12 February 2017).

Arab News (2013) Revenue from pilgrims makes 3% of Saudi GDP. Available at: http://www.arabnews.com/revenue-pilgrims-makes-3-saudi-gdp (accessed 4 October 2017).

Bosta, S.A. (2011) Crowd management based on scientific research to prevent crowd panic and disasters. In: Peacock, R., Kuligowski, E. and Averill, J. (eds) *Pedestrian and Evacuation Dynamics*. Springer, Boston, Massachusetts, pp. 741–746.

Curtis, S., Guy, J.S., Narain, R., Patil, S., Lin, C.M. and Manocha, D. (2011) Simulation and analysis of large crowds. Available at: http://gamma.cs.unc.edu/LARGE (accessed 1 February 2017).

The Guardian (2006) A history of Hajj tragedies. 13 January. Available at: www.theguardian.com/world/2006/jan/13/saudiarabia (accessed 1 February 2017).

Gwyn, R. (1989) The centrality of Islam: space, form and process. *GeoJournal* 18(4), 351–359.

Helbing, D. and Johansson, A. (2011) Pedestrian, crowd and evacuation dynamics, *Extreme Environmental Events*, 697–716.

Jafari, J. and Scott, N. (2010) *Tourism in the Muslim World: Bridging Tourism Theory and Practice*, vol. 2. Emerald Publishing, Bingley, UK.
Jeavans, C. (2015) Hajj: Jamarat Bridge, a deadly pinch point. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-34361122 (accessed 1 January 2016).
Krausz, B. and Bauckhage, C. (2012) Love parade 2010: automatic video analysis of a crowd disaster. *Computer Vision and Image Understanding* 116, 307–319. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cviu.2011.08.006 (accessed 1 December 2016).
Mahmoud, B.C. and Plumb, C. (2010) Real value in a changing world. Available at: http://www.joneslanglasalle-mena.com (accessed 6 October 2015).
Mintel (2012) Religious and Pilgrimage Tourism International. Mintel International Group Ltd, London. Available at: http://store.mintel.com/religious-and-pilgrimage-tourism-international-february-2012 (accessed 2 September 2016).
Mintel (2017) Religious and Pilgrimage Tourism International. Mintel International Group Ltd, London. Available at: http://store.mintel.com/travel-and-tourism-saudi-arabia-february-2017 (accessed 5 March 2017).
Naar, I. (2015) Al Arabiya: Middle East. Hajj: more than 700 dead in Mina stampede. Available at: http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/09/24/Hajj-100-dead-and-390-injured-in-Mina-stampede.html (accessed 1 October 2017).
Ngai, K., Burkle, F., Hsu, A. and Hsu, E. (2009) Human stampedes: a systemic review of historical and peer-reviewed sources. *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness* 3, 191–195.
Owaidah, A. (2015) Hajj crowd management via a mobile augmented reality application: a case of the Hajj event, Saudi Arabia. Available at: http://theses.gla.ac.uk/6330/ (accessed 11 February 2017).
Railway Gazette International (2010) http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA246452251&v=2.1&u=food&it=r&p=GPS&sw=w – (accessed 3 August 2015).
Reicher, S. (2015) Hajj disaster: Are large crowds inherently dangerous? Available at: http://www.latimes.com/science/sciencenow/la-sci-deadly-crowd-20150924-story.html (accessed 12 February 2017).
Rinschede, G. (1992) Forms of religious tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, 51–67.
Robinson, N. (1999) *Islam: A Concise Introduction*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC.
Sarmady, S., Haron, F. and Talib, Z.A. (2011) A cellular automata model for circular movements of pedestrians during Tawaf. *Journal of Simulation Modelling Practice and Theory* 19(3), 969–985.
Saudi Health Ministry (2015) Mina's EOC helped save lives of tens of stampede victims. Available at: http://www.moh.gov.sa/en/Ministry/MediaCenter/News/Pages/News-2015-09-25-007.aspx. (accessed 1 February 2017).
Saudi Ministry of Hajj (2017) Available at: http://www.haj.gov.sa/english/about/Pages/hajjpast.aspx. (accessed 1 November 2017).
Sharpley, R. (2009) Tourism, religion, and spiritualty. In: *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies*. Sage, London.
Shiwakoti, N. and Sarvi, M. (2013) Understanding pedestrian crowd panic: a review on model organisms approach. *Journal of Transport Geography* 26(1), 12–17.
Silverman, B.G, Badler, N.I., Pelechano, N. and O'Brien, K. (2005) Crowd simulation incorporating agent psychological models, roles and communication. Center for Human Modeling and Simulation, University of Pennsylvania. Available at: http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1033&context=hms (accessed 27 November 2017).
Templeton, A. (2015) Analysis: here's how to make the Hajj safer – by better understanding crowd psychology. Available at: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/broadcast/read/32242 (accessed 20 February 2016).
Templeton, A., Drury, J. and Philippides, A. (2015) From mindless masses to small groups: conceptualizing collective behavior in crowd modeling. *Review of General Psychology* 19(3), 215–229.
The Hajj (2015) The Jamarat Bridge project: an exceptional achievement of crowd control. Available at: http://www.kapl-hajj.org/jamarat_bridge.php (accessed 12 February 2017).
Vijayanand, S. (2012) Socio-economic impact in pilgrimage tourism. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 2(1), 329–343.
Wainwright, O. (2015) City in the sky: world's biggest hotel to open in Mecca. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2015/may/22/worlds-biggest-hotel-to-open-in-mecca (accessed 24 April 2016).

8 Rethinking Safety Issues within the context of Pilgrimage Routes

Carlos Fernandes[1,*], Goretti Silva[1] and Martín Gómez-Ullate[2]
[1]*Polytechnic of Viana do Castelo, Portugal;* [2]*University of Extremadura, Spain*

Introduction

Themed routes as tourist attractions have gained prominence in recent years and have enhanced their pulling power by connecting attractions that would, independently, not have the potential to entice tourists to visit an area, thus spreading tourism's economic benefits to marginal areas (Meyer, 2004). Routes are often seen as good opportunities for less mature areas, with rich cultural resources, which appeal to special interest tourists. Pilgrimage routes are good examples of such situations, working as catalysts of tourism development (Richards and Fernandes, 2007). Old pilgrimage routes are being revitalized by emerging destinations seeking a place on the tourist map or for diversification purposes by well-established destinations. But changes seem to be taking place in the motivation for pilgrimage alongside deviations in consumption patterns (Fernandes *et al.*, 2012).

The literature suggests that pilgrimage routes entail bridging tangible and intangible elements of heritage, representing a region's traditions and cultural identity. Emphasis is placed on links between the physical landscape and social interaction between pilgrims and local residents, as well as amongst the pilgrims (and tourists) themselves in their search for aesthetic experiences to satisfy their requirements – novelty, excitement, enjoyment, prestige, socialization, learning, and contribution to the enhancement of a sense of well-being (Prebensen *et al.*, 2014) – in an environment in which they feel safe.

Safety and security are theoretically complex, multidimensional concepts, which have undergone a significant change, particularly in the last two decades, and are active elements of tourism and fundamental requirements on pilgrimage routes. They embrace: political security, public safety, health and sanitation, personal data safety, legal protection of tourists, consumer protection, safety in communication, disaster protection, environmental security, getting authentic information, quality assurance of services, and more (Hall *et al.*, 2009).

Studying problems of safety and security has become vital for the tourism industry as it seeks to understand the main factors influencing the perception of safety, key security and safety problems, and how safety problems influence tourists' decisions when they are choosing a holiday destination.

The aim of this chapter is to design a conceptual framework based on the tourism system and apply it to religious tourism and pilgrimage. The framework takes into consideration three fundamental aspects: (1) understand the concept of pilgrimage and the spiritual fulfilment of traditional religious pilgrims; (2) the changing

*Address for correspondence: cfernandes@estg.ipvc.pt

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

motivations, needs and behaviour of religious pilgrims and the experience-seeking secular pilgrim; and (3) the identification of factors associated with ensuring that the undertaking of such physical and spiritual journeys takes place in the context of safe and secure environments.

Concepts of Pilgrimage and Pilgrimage Routes

Pilgrimage is one of the oldest and most basic forms of population mobility known to human society (Collins-Kreiner, 2010a). It is not surprising that a human activity as complex and varied as a pilgrimage has no universally accepted definition. Converting the concept of pilgrimage into an operational definition that will apply equally well to all cultural settings is difficult, particularly if we consider the diverse types of pilgrimage that can be identified throughout the world. Stoddard (1997, p. 41) proposes 27 potential types of pilgrimages, which he used to establish a classification of pilgrimages based on three key elements: (1) length of journey; (2) frequency of pilgrimage event; and (3) the pilgrimage route.

Pilgrimages involve the movement of people away from their normal environment (Turner and Turner, 1978); the primary motive is religious, pilgrims journeying to a place of worship or sacred site (Sykes, 1982; Barber, 1993), seeking spiritual or material benefit (Brandon, 1970) and internal understanding (Barber, 1993) on a route followed by a large number of pilgrims (Stoddard, 1997). Regarding the routes of pilgrimages, the final destination appears to be of secondary importance to the route itself, and every trek to one's local sanctuary is a pilgrimage in miniature, insofar as it acts out, on a small scale, some transition to the sacred and new community that pilgrimage seeks (Crim, 1981).

Pilgrimage routes are classified as either 'converging', which is merely the connection of all paths taken by pilgrims from their homes to a sacred site, converging on a nodal centre, and are associated with least-effort connections and perceptions and knowledge of route choices; or those prescribed by religious texts, teachings and/or practice, and which extend the religious domain far beyond a single holy site because the entire pilgrimage way is usually regarded as a sacred path (Stoddard, 1997), which can be either circular or linear.

Routes vary considerably in length and scale and attract different kinds and numbers of pilgrims (Meyer, 2004). The length of the journey is divided into regional, national and international components; the frequency of pilgrimage events ranges from 'frequent' (for those occurring more often than every ten months), to 'annual' (once every 10–14 months), to 'rare' (more than 14 months between pilgrimages); and the pilgrimage route is categorized as 'convergence', 'prescribed circular' or 'prescribed processional' (Stoddard, 1997).

Only certain modes of transport are recognized as proper along pilgrimage routes. For example, at the St James Way, walking, cycling or horse riding are the three most popular modes, and people who drive are not considered pilgrims by other pilgrims. Neither would vehicles, generally, have access to most of the route itself. Bicycles are quite popular and cycling is growing rapidly as a major means of pilgrimage, although among pedestrians, cyclists were found to be not generally regarded as 'real' pilgrims. Walking is seen as the predominant mode of transport as it allows pilgrims to engage in a meditative practice (Slavin, 2003; Gómez-Ullate, 2016) that Thoreau (1982) calls a 'return to the senses', and Secall (2003) argues that walking has always been one of the ways that mankind chose to be in 'balance'.

Frey (1998), in the first published anthropological monograph of the St James pilgrimages, gathers emic discourses to define the traditional, 'real' or 'authentic' pilgrim as one who walks for at least a month, with an austere attitude, an absence of comfort, discipline, self-sufficiency, staying in relevant places and exhibiting certain symbols to distinguish them. For this pilgrim, the pilgrimage of the heart must be a spirit-guided journey. 'He needs the wisdom and guidance of the Spirit who will provide the inner security without which he dare not venture into the unknown' (Bryant, 1980, p. 99).

On the other hand, the secular pilgrim is pragmatic, views the world as a functional culture, wastes little time on 'ultimate' or 'religious' questions (Cox, 1966) and does not impose the necessary conditions for the spiritual experience of the journey (Laplace, 1973). This type of pilgrim is in search of experiences that can contribute to their personal enrichment (Crompton

and McKay, 1997). Their motivation is based on a desire to socialize, to reflect and to disconnect from their hectic lifestyle; for leisure purposes or simple curiosity; or just for the experience of being a pilgrim (Fernandes *et al.*, 2012). They therefore are especially receptive to following proposed routes, including creative options, and are amenable to engaging in co-creation activities (Binkhorst, 2007). According to Pine and Gilmore (1999, p. 12), a tourist experience can be defined as 'a set of activities in which individuals engage on personal terms' and is something 'pleasant, engaging, and memorable' (Oh *et al.*, 2007, p. 120).

Some 330 million people become pilgrims each year, whether for hours, days, weeks or months, and numbers are increasing. Ancient routes are popular as never before and new routes are being rediscovered and developed (ARC, 2014). Pilgrimage has stimulated much interest and writing throughout history, parallel to the practice itself. The 'old' paradigm was predicated on the assumption that religious elements were at the core of the journey, but in recent years there has been a growth in the number of researchers dealing with various aspects of pilgrimage (Vukonic, 1996). Today, pilgrimage is defined differently, and can be considered as a traditional religious or modern secular journey. The phenomenon of pilgrimage is currently experiencing resurgence throughout the world with longstanding shrines still attracting those in search of spiritual fulfilment (Digance, 2003).

Pilgrimage and Tourism

A revival of interest in pilgrimage occurred in the 1990s through research in the field of tourism. Pilgrimage is increasingly linked with religion, sacred spaces and tourism (profane spaces). Furthermore, the literature suggests that the differences between tourism, pilgrimage and secular pilgrimage are narrowing (Kong, 2001) as research results suggest that the combination of a spiritual search with a physical journey is one indication of the popularity and importance of pilgrimage tourism (Timothy and Olsen, 2006; Fernandes *et al.*, 2012).

The features of present-day pilgrims can be represented on a scale that may be described as secular versus spiritual, tourism versus pilgrimage, and the convergence of old-fashioned pilgrimage and current tourism, which have much in common (Vijayand, 2012). Increasingly, motivations for beginning a pilgrimage are varied – pilgrims may seek to be transformed during the experience; and sometimes they are ambivalent (Digance, 2003; Slavin, 2003; Gómez-Ullate, 2016). In addition to the motivation of wanting to experience religious activities, religious pilgrims intend visiting religious sites and locations with or without religious motivation, i.e. for the architectural and cultural importance of these sites and routes (Csapó, 2012; Fernandes *et al.*, 2012). The overlapping motives of tourists and pilgrims is exemplified in Figure 8.1.

Pilgrimages oriented towards the divine, towards a lost sacred space and time, turn into a religious tourism trip as people leave their place of residence for a reason that is other than to fulfil basic needs (Secall, 2003). Although people may be travelling for reasons related to religion or spirituality, a quest for meaning perhaps, they may not see this as being religious per se (Richards and Fernandes, 2007). There is a close connection between cultural and religious motivations and they are difficult to separate (Haab, 1996); and a transformation of the nature of the trip can occur during a pilgrimage.

Travel for spiritual or religious reasons has increased in recent decades and represents a considerable share of the international tourism market (Timothy and Olsen, 2006). Pilgrimage, whether religious or secular, is experiencing a resurgence around the world and the discussion as to what tourism is and what pilgrimage is (and what the similarities or differences between them is) has expanded as new perspectives regarding secular sites and secular aspects of pilgrimage are the objects of research (Digance, 2003). Many analysts of religious tourism have pointed to a shift away from traditional religious activities towards a much broader view of 'spirituality' or 'holistic' travel (Smith, 2003) and have recognized religious tourism as a growing segment of the international tourism market.

Religion and spirituality are common motivations for travel, with many major tourist destinations having developed largely as a result of their connections to sacred people, places and events (Raj and Morpeth, 2007). Pilgrims seem to be increasingly seeking a spiritual rather than a religious experience (Richards and Fernandes,

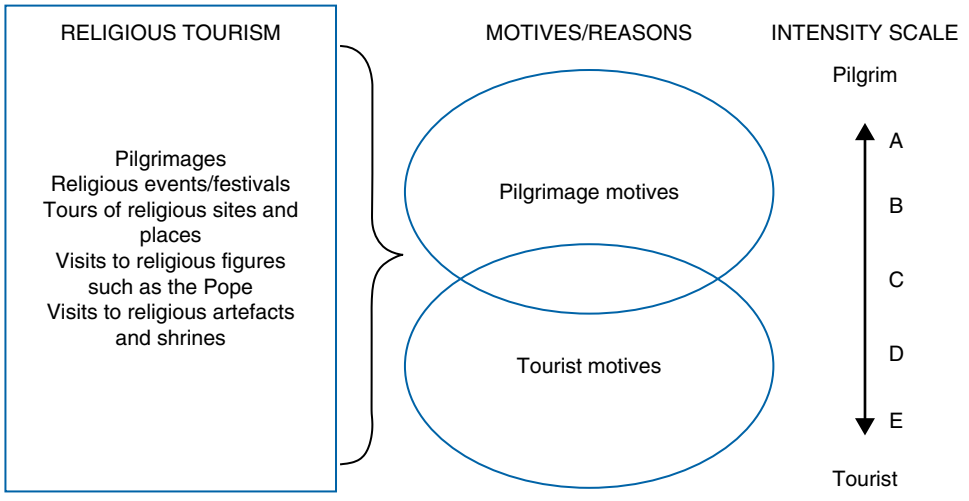

Fig. 8.1. Overlapping motives of tourists and pilgrims. (Source: Kruger and Saayman, 2016, p. 30)

2007). Pilgrims, religious or secular, often share the trait of searching for a meaningful and spiritual experience. These experiences can be described in various ways: transformation, enlightenment, life-changing or consciousness-changing events, but words seem inadequate to describe experiences that often transcend everyday experience (Digance, 2006).

Religious tourism is generally seen as leisure tourism related to heritage and cultural tourism, where travellers visit a place, building or shrine that they perceive to be sacred (Mester, 2006). Tourists taking part in religious tourism can hardly be classified into a single type, as too many types of people with a variety of interests set off to participate in religious events, ceremonies, pilgrimages and processions. Thus, the characteristic feature of tourism – we want to do something different, somewhere different, away from our everyday surroundings and conditions – applies to religious tourism and pilgrimage tourism (Pohner *et al.*, 2009) in what Smith (1992) describes as the pilgrim–tourist continuum (Fig. 8.2). Similarly, the term *turigrino*, coined at the St James Way and translated as 'pilgrimtourist', implies movement to a site of worship or a sacred place.

The issue of pilgrim versus tourist must be examined on two levels: from the perspective of the religious organizations and the travellers themselves; and from the viewpoint of the industry. In the first of these, pilgrims are not considered as tourists, or rather they are regarded as different. This view suggests that pilgrims are not tourists because they travel for spiritual reasons, while tourists travel for curiosity or pleasure. In the second, from the viewpoint of the industry, pilgrims are tourists and should be treated as such. This is relevant to the development of economic activities such as hotels, restaurants, shops, hospices or religious centres (Collins-Kreiner, 2010b). Both pilgrims and tourists undertake a consumptive experience using infrastructure, attractions, facilities and services characteristic of tourism. The distinction is most noticeable in the accommodation provided to pilgrims and tourists, exemplified in the saying, 'Where the tourist demands, the pilgrim thanks.' Increasingly, social networks such as Tripadvisor host the views of demanding tourists, and this is in contrast to tolerant, grateful pilgrims.

Pilgrimage and route tourism

One major new product that has become important for some destinations is the development of cultural routes and itineraries related to pilgrimage routes or religious sites (Richards and Fernandes, 2007). Routes are important, not just because of the physical journey but also because they are a form of narrative. Routes tell stories about the places they pass through and

Pilgrimage		Religious tourism		Tourism
a	b	c	d	e
sacred		faith / profane		secular
Note: a) pious pilgrim; b) pilgrim > tourist; c) pilgrim = tourist; d) pilgrim < tourist; e) secular tourist				

Fig. 8.2. The pilgrim–tourist continuum. (Source: Smith, 1992, p. 4)

link, as well as about those who travel them. The modern tourist needs to have a story they can relate to and which says something about them as people (Richards, 2011). Route tourism is an effort to provide a variety of activities and attractions under a unified theme and therefore promote entrepreneurial opportunity through the development of ancillary products and services (Lourens, 2007).

Pilgrimage routes and religious itineraries have become real tourism products and are a solid asset for the destination (UNWTO, 2014) in what Bremer (2005) labelled the pilgrimage and route-based tourism delineation. Tourists, pilgrims and local people compete for the use of available resources such as transport, infrastructure and parking around shrines and cathedrals (Digance, 2003). Consequently, destinations face two apparently conflicting goals: to increase international pilgrims' and tourists' use of the site, and to enhance the site for local day visitors (Vijayand, 2012) in the 'touristification' of the routes and of religious heritage.

As pilgrimage sites tend to attract large numbers of pilgrims/tourists, the routes to access these sites could employ a synergistic strategy to effect greater pulling power to entice visitors to spend time and money (Meyer, 2004), possibly by combining pilgrimage tourism with other tourism products, for example cultural and nature-based tourism (Vijayand, 2012).

In a postmodern society, tourism is often conceptualized as a highly complex series of production-related activities (Pretes, 1995). Tourists search for visitor attractions and tend to follow the same behavioural patterns, irrespective of the location. They prefer comfort and want their physical needs to be met completely (Pohner *et al.*, 2009) as customer satisfaction related to service quality is of paramount importance (Neal, 2003). Visitors expect services to meet their expectations and satisfaction, be it with transport/accommodation/food service provision or heritage and complementary attractions, entertainment facilities, scenery/landscape or retail/shopping as leisure opportunities. A safe environment is vital to ensuring the quality of service required by today's demanding tourists.

Safety and security in tourism and pilgrimage routes

Safety is a concept that is central not just to tourism but also to the wider world (Hall *et al.*, 2009). At destinations, it is generally accepted that safety and security are critical determinants of competitiveness. A tourist is exposed to the prevailing risks and security threats in his/her environment, and the fear of those risks and threats affects his/her choice of destination to visit or revisit. Thus, more than any other economic activity, the success or failure of a tourism destination depends on guaranteeing a safe and secure environment for visitors (UNWTO, 1996). Perceptions of risk, and travel experience, are likely to influence travel decisions (Roehl and Fesenmaier 1992; Sönmez and Graefe, 1998; Liu *et al.*, 2016; Ghaderi *et al.*, 2017), as conditions that lead to the avoidance of certain regions when evaluating destinations. Certain destinations are considered more subject to fears over risks to safety, and to uncertainty, and have seen a decline in tourist traffic because of unfavourable conditions for tourists, be these political instability/unrest, poverty, illiteracy, terrorism, unemployment, communal discord, lack of social services, corruption, quality of sanitation, prevalence of disease, environmental or natural risks, or quality of medical services (Dwyer and Kim, 2003; Baker, 2014; Hashemi and Jusoh, 2015). Destinations that accommodate a large number of tourists at the same time tend to

develop more enduring and chronic security problems, mostly in the way of crime (Mansfeld and Pizam, 2006).

Possibly the biggest factor leading people to be more concerned about their safety was the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in the USA. A new type of tourist has emerged since then, one whose consumptive behaviour has changed and travel decisions have modified, according to prevailing perceptions of risk and safety. Risk perception determines whether potential tourists feel safe on a trip (Reisinger and Mavondo, 2005) and the element of risk has the potential to alter the decision process and the likelihood of future travel to a particular destination (Sönmez and Graefe, 1998).

Tourism destinations are a highly complex mix of activities, with systems that are comprised of dynamic, interconnected and interrelated parts, meaning that safety in tourism must be ensured at multiple levels at the same time. Some destinations and tourists' experiences are more likely to be impacted by adverse events and risks than others. For those, safety policy and risk management need to include assessment of actual risk and the psychological and cultural factors involved in mediating the perception, and in understanding and responding to those risks (Clayton *et al.*, 2014). The same applies to pilgrimage routes; increasingly, pilgrims are more safety conscious.

Leiper (1990) identifies six aspects of the tourism system: (1) tourists; (2) traveller-generating regions; (3) tourist-destination regions; (4) transit route regions; (5) tourism industries – range of businesses and organizations involved in delivering the tourism product; and (6) the social, technological, legal, ecological context in which the system is embedded. The tourism system is described in Figure 8.3 as applied to religious tourism and pilgrimage and shows the routes and consumption directions from the pilgrims' and tourists' points of view, focusing on the safe environment of pilgrimage routes and not so much on the religious sites, which are often associated with mass gatherings and other safety and security issues.

Research into safety related to pilgrimage routes and destinations is still scant, although some contributions can be identified (e.g. UNWTO, 1996; Collins-Kreiner and Kliot, 2000; Bahurmoz, 2006; and Chaturvedi *et al.*, 2015). As pilgrimage becomes more and more 'massificated' and 'touristificated', a protected and peaceful environment has emerged as a most important factor in the choice of pilgrimage routes.

Pilgrimages are affected by many problems relating to the safety of pilgrims: terrorist attacks

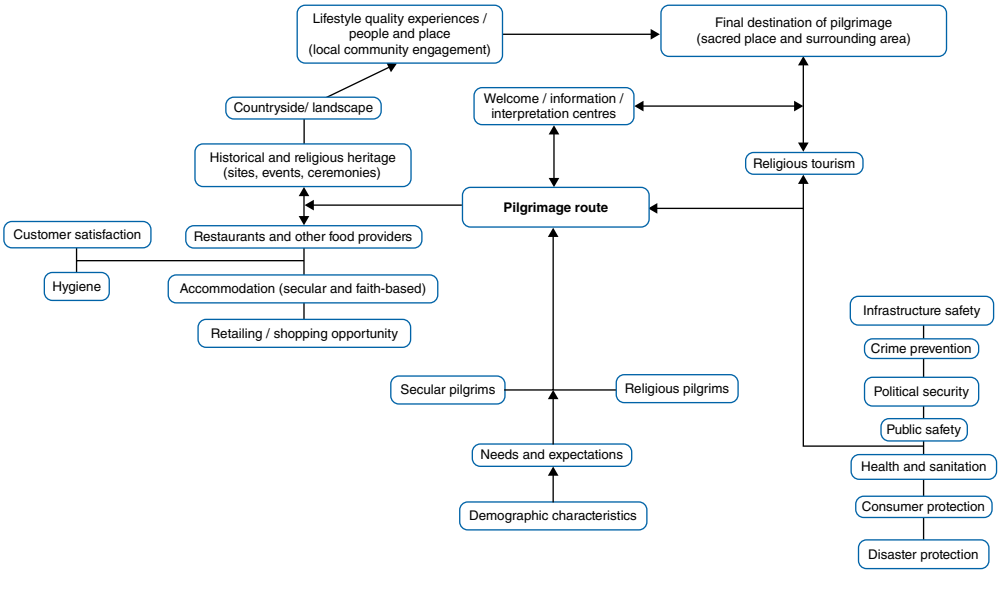

Fig. 8.3. The tourism system applied to religious tourism and pilgrimage.

and crime (Breda and Costa, 2005); epidemics and health problems usually resulting from poor hygiene but also from water and food infection (Khajuria and Khanna, 2014), particularly at locations with massive concentration of people (Ziad *et al.*, 2006); car accidents; and natural disasters. Pilgrimage destinations are often located in places with tough physical and climatic conditions and few sanitation and health facilities, increasing the risks of natural calamities and health problems. Disease can be considered a major problem inherent in mass gatherings, especially when large numbers of people congregate in small areas for a short duration. Among the complex challenges are the high rates of noncommunicable diseases resulting from heat stress, exhaustion and crowd stress (Steffen *et al.*, 2012). Healthcare services are expected to receive more attention as pilgrims are getting older and are more likely to require medical attention.

Religious sites, often in isolated places, attract many domestic and foreign visitors. These sites attract masses of tourists and can become overcrowded. Some of the problems that must be addressed are the management and monitoring of flows and access to sites. Destinations need to ensure that pilgrims are received safely and enjoy good hygiene and public health services. Measures also need to be taken to provide food services that respect the dietary rules of religions, assistance for the sick pilgrims (health services/infrastructure) and correct information about itinerary, places, services, times of ceremonies, restrictions and dangers (UNWTO, 2007; Khajuria and Khanna, 2014).

If we consider the arguments of Palmer *et al.* (2012) that distinguish pilgrimage from forms of tourism that are only like pilgrimage in some way, suggesting that the pilgrimage can include parts that are more touristy and parts that are strictly pilgrimage, the comfort zone of consumers' lifestyles needs to be reinforced with improved customer service/satisfaction and value for money. Therefore, tourism businesses need to have the proper equipment and safety procedures, as well as well trained personnel with the correct skills and knowledge – something that is still rather scarce (Popescu, 2011).

The high tolerance of many pilgrims of discomfort and their propensity for spending time and money in the name of their deity, combined with the lack of information and education on basic measures for a safe experience, makes them vulnerable to compromises, unethical practices and fraud. Destinations need to consider protection and prevention measures (Khajuria and Khanna, 2014) that ensure the safety of pilgrims and minimize the exposure of tourists to risk. According to Bahurmoz (2006), efforts to make pilgrimage routes safe need to consider a mix of strategies including education of both pilgrims and those who serve them, establishing regulations and rules, and improving site development aspects. Such needs would be implemented in accordance with the sociopolitical context and the resources available.

Reflections on safety concerns along pilgrimage routes

The above identified risks can be minimized if information is disseminated and preventative measures are taken when preparing for and undertaking the journey. Suggestions of safety measures associated with each type of risk are classified as follows:

Trail/path related. There is a risk for pilgrims and also for drivers when the route includes passage along a main road with vehicle traffic, as distractions tend to be the cause of accidents. The hard shoulder is too narrow (if it exists at all). There may be too many curves/bends, resulting in limited visibility, making pilgrims, as well as drivers, vulnerable to injury. In the pilgrimage to Fátima, pilgrims travel in large groups (up to 70) along major roads, and many accidents and fatalities have occurred. In St James Way, where the route entails walking along main roads, there were 31 deaths during the period 1993–2014. The accident rate is sufficiently high to be taken into account by some insurance companies who have issued special pilgrimage insurance packages.

Signage and information. The lack of signs and poor information lead to pilgrims getting lost or being misguided. Pilgrims need to obtain updated information prior to leaving home and throughout the pilgrimage. Road signs should indicate 'Pilgrimage Road, Beware of Walkers and Cyclists', to safeguard against collisions and ensure the safety of drivers and walking or cycling pilgrims.

Fig. 8.4. A group of pilgrims walking safely along a wide sidewalk on the side of a major street in an urban area. (Photo: the authors)

Fig. 8.5. A sign en route – 'Accommodation and interpretation'. (Photo: the authors)

Services and facilities related. Risks associated with poor infrastructure along the route such as accommodation and food establishments.
Crime. Pilgrimage destinations are often plagued by crime, notably robberies and muggings. Pilgrims are most vulnerable when walking alone in isolated areas.
Gender-based violence. This seems to be on the increase, with women being most vulnerable. Attacks are committed both by locals and fellow pilgrims. Emerging routes tend to be more 'feminized', with a higher percentage of women walking along them.
Health-related. Weather conditions can pose health risks. Exposure to the sun can cause injury to the eyes (erythema or conjunctivitis), heat stroke, heat syncope and migraine. Extreme temperatures can result in fatal sunstroke and heart attack. The body loses large amounts of liquid and salts that are necessary (dehydration). This results in weakness of the muscles, drowsiness or fatigue, which may lead to fainting. In the Via de la Plata of the St James Way, in certain months it is highly recommended that pilgrims depart before dawn from the hostels and take a break from the pilgrimage after midday (Granero Gallegos *et al.*, 2006). On the French route, there are places where low temperatures and sudden changes to climate in the mountains have resulted in deaths through hypothermia.
Food poisoning. Caused from eating uncovered foods that are exposed to heat, lack of hygienic conditions, or sensitivity to specific ingredients.
Physical burnout and foot problems. Long hours walking can cause physical fatigue or burnout, often aggravated by poor physical condition and inadequate preparation. Foot problems are the most common health risk in pilgrimage experiences, but also low blood pressure and low blood sugar (hypoglycaemia) appear as serious health risks.
Mass panic. When arriving at the final destination (the sacred site) and looking forward to participating in the religious ceremonies to complete their pilgrimage vows, pilgrims often encounter overcrowded spaces. Overcrowding is to be expected and more so on specific dates when particular events or celebrations take place making the likelihood of experiencing mass panic (stampede) acute. It can start with either a 'craze', in which people are trying to get to one place, or 'escape panic', in which they are all trying to get away. In the Mecca pilgrimage, human stampedes and fires can result in as many casualties as all the other pilgrimages put together. In 2015, 717 pilgrims died and 863 were injured in Mina, in the surroundings of Mecca, during the Feast of Sacrifice (Eid al Adha).

These risks can be minimized or avoided with proper planning and communication, to increase awareness and encourage pilgrims to be more proactive in taking preventative measures. For example, social networks and ITC could contribute to improving safety along routes by diversifying the channels through which pilgrims communicate among themselves while walking the route. But research is required to determine to what extent pilgrims are open to using ITC during their journey. Suggestions for safety measures and safety oriented behaviours are identified next.

Preparing for the Journey and Pilgrims' Safety Precautions

Pilgrims should start preparing months in advance for the journey, through daily walks, jogging or hiking, in order to get physically fit and prepare the body for the physical challenge ahead. It is suggested that they should have a general check-up with their doctor before embarking on the journey. The maximum that one can walk on a daily basis should be predetermined so as to not push beyond their limitations during the pilgrimage.

It may be worth dividing the pilgrimage into several phases depending on the physical effort required in each phase. In order to avoid carrying unnecessary extra weight, only essential gear should be packed. Clothes, shoes and socks should be carefully selected in accordance with weather conditions – for example boots in the winter months and running shoes in summer. Services such as rucksack transfer offered by public or private organizations allow pilgrims to walk without too much extra weight and provide increased security.

The hot months should be avoided, but if the pilgrimage does take place in the summer,

Fig. 8.6. Rucksack transfer of pilgrims on the way to Fátima. (Photo: the authors)

pilgrims should bring the essential items to prevent sunstroke. On the other hand, in the off-peak season the weather might be harsher, the days shorter (fewer daylight hours), and pilgrims are likely to find fewer support services available (cafés, markets, restaurants etc.). There are likely to be fewer pilgrims on the route, which can be a positive, but it also means fewer people to keep one company and safe. It is suggested that you should always walk in a group, especially in the case of women walkers as they are more vulnerable to harassment or attack. Transportation might also be more limited and less frequent out of season.

Carrying large amounts of money increases the likelihood of robbery, and the relaxed security at hostels makes pilgrims easy prey for thieves. Pilgrims should make every effort to conduct transactions via credit/debit cards or carry only small amounts of cash. However, some hostels and small shops along the route may only accept cash, and small villages/communities along the route may not have cash machines.

Measures to Enhance Safety along the Pilgrimage Route

We have looked at how pilgrims can prepare for a safer pilgrimage through preparation and by taking appropriate safety precautions along the route. Religious organizations, public authorities, route management organizations, volunteer organizations and businesses can contribute to minimizing risk and stimulating a safer environment for pilgrims.

Infrastructure and support services

The route network on which tourists and pilgrims travel needs to be to a standard to attract diverse types of pilgrims. The routes need to be well chosen/designed and lead through attractive countryside. Route managers should ensure that pilgrims stick to designated pathways and do not infringe upon homes and pathways needed to protect animals (ARC, 2014).

Sewerage and sanitation facilities

These should be available along the pilgrim route and should be evaluated. A plan to improve them, to operate water points and to ensure clean and safe water is available to all pilgrims should be worked out (ARC, 2014).

Reinforcement of the patrol of paths

Authorities need to patrol paths by means of transportation that are more appropriate for paths, especially in rural areas, in order to prevent pilgrims being the object of attack, robbery or even abduction, especially in the low season/winter months. Well maintained and well lit paths make walking more appealing and safer (ARC, 2014).

Signage

The accuracy of signage is essential so that pilgrims do not get lost or wander into unsafe areas. Signage seems to be less effective in bigger towns along the route.

Staying at a hostel

A simple meal consisting of little more than soup is characteristic of religious pilgrims' quest and desire for an experience of sacrifice and self-denial. They are willing to share accommodation and endure comparatively low standards of service, comfort and hygiene, and they may value dining communally in shared kitchens that offer basic facilities. However, secular pilgrims are not so willing to relinquish all comforts (Fernandes *et al.*, 2012). A diversified range of accommodation units should be provided according to the needs of pilgrims and tourists, according to an accreditation system for hotels/hostels, restaurants and other food outlets, including both secular and faith-based establishments. Accreditation tends to suggest safety and quality.

Becoming acquainted with the local culture and people is also advisable and may provide opportunities for pilgrims and tourists to acquire simple and healthy food, cooked to traditional recipes, in the homes of local residents, particularly in more isolated and remote communities and particularly during the low season (ARC, 2014).

Providing information and raising awareness

Conditions should be nurtured to encourage enterprises along the pilgrimage supply chain (wholesalers, tour operators, ground operators, travel agents, restaurants, tourist boards, attractions, museums, retailers, hotels and resorts, lodging facilities, parishes, souvenir makers and sellers, cafés, local councils) (ARC, 2014) to work as information points about weather conditions and difficulties and obstacles along the route, and to promote a 'safe pilgrim' culture.

Health risks

To avoid health problems and create a safe environment, information is needed about walking risks, frequent accommodation and medical services in order to avoid stages of the pilgrimage becoming too long and exhausting.

Conclusion

Pilgrimages and pilgrimage routes are a complex global phenomenon that is expanding in accordance with 'touristification' and 'heritagization' processes. Tourists and pilgrims (or religious and secular pilgrims) share itineraries, places and motivations, and they are represented in a continuum as components of single or mixed types of pilgrimages. Routes and experiences vary in length, duration, frequency, motivations, transportation, size of group, attitude and value systems. They share, nevertheless, as do other tourist destinations, a concern for risk, safety and security, which are critical determinants of their competitiveness.

Mass gatherings increase risks to, and impact on, hygiene. The highest levels of pilgrim casualties are through human stampede at sacred sites. But, placing to one side 'massification', pilgrimage routes share other safety and security problems that have been identified and classified in this chapter. These relate to the state of the trail, signage, services and facilities, criminality, both from locals and other pilgrims, and health risks.

Along the route, pilgrims tend to face fewer risks when walking in a group. However, group pilgrimage can be risky when it follows main roads.

The subject of managing pilgrimage routes and pilgrimage sites is a very complex process as it involves numerous actors and many entangled criteria and elements. Physical security is no longer the issue to be considered in a tourist destination's safety, but other factors such as political security, hygiene, biosecurity and environmental security are determinant factors. Information and education may play a very important role in minimizing such risks. Recommendations have been made both to pilgrims and to stakeholders involved directly or indirectly

with pilgrimage routes to improve safety conditions, thus enriching pilgrims' experiences. Stakeholders' and policy makers' initiatives should be directed towards creating and promoting crime-free, safe and secure pilgrimage tourism; a 'safe pilgrim' concept must be nurtured.

References

ARC (Alliance of Religion and Conservation) (2014) *Green Pilgrimage Network: A Handbook for Faith Leaders, Cities, Towns and Pilgrims*. Bath, UK.

Bahurmoz, A. (2006) A strategic model for safety during the Hajj pilgrimage: an ANP application. *Journal of Systems Science and Systems Engineering* 15(2), 201–216.

Baker, D. (2014) The effects of terrorism on the travel and tourism industry. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 2(1), 58–67.

Barber, R. (1993) *Pilgrimages*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, UK.

Binkhorst, E. (2007) Creativity in tourism experiences: the case of Sitges. In: Richards, G. and Smith, J. (eds) *Tourism, Creativity and Development*. Routledge, London.

Brandon, S.G.F. (ed.) (1970) *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.

Breda, Z. and Costa, C. (2005) Safety and security issues affecting inbound tourism in the People's Republic of China. In: Mansfeld, Y. and Pizam, A. (eds) *Tourism, Safety and Security: From Theory to Practice*. Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, Burlington, Massachusetts.

Bremer, T. (2005) Tourism and religion. In: Jones, L. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Macmillan Reference, Detroit, Michigan.

Bryant, C. (1980) *The Heart in Pilgrimage*. Darton, Longman and Todd, London.

Chaturvedi, S., Tripathi, B.K. and Singh, A.K. (2015) A study of factors associated with heritage and pilgrimage tourism in Madhya Pradesh. *Pacific Business Review International* 7(10), 8–16.

Clayton, A., Mustelier, L. and Korstanje, M. (2014) Understanding perceptions and attitudes to risk in the tourism industry. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 2(1), 48–57.

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010a) Researching pilgrimage: continuity and transformations. *Annals of Tourism Research* 37(2), 440–456.

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010b) The geography of pilgrimage and tourism: transformations and implications for applied geography. *Applied Geography* 30(1), 1–12.

Collins-Kreiner, N. and Kliot, N. (2000) Pilgrimage tourism in the Holy Land: the behavioural characteristics of Christian pilgrims. *GeoJournal* 50(1), 55–67.

Cox, H. (1966) *The Secular City*. Macmillan, New York.

Crim, K. (ed.) (1981) *Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions*. Abingdon, Nashville, Tennessee.

Crompton, J. and McKay, S. (1997) Motives of visitors attending festival events. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(2), 425–439.

Csapó, J. (2012) The role and importance of cultural tourism in modern tourism industry. In: Kasimoglu, M. (ed.) *Strategies for Tourism Industry: Micro and Macro Perspectives*. InTech, London.

Digance, J. (2003) Pilgrimage at contested sites. *Annals of Tourism Research* 301, 143–159.

Digance, J. (2006) Religious and secular pilgrimage: journeys redolent with meaning. In: Timothy, D. and Olsen, D. (eds) *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. Routledge, London, pp. 36–48.

Dwyer, L. and Kim, C. (2003) Destination competitiveness: determinants and indicators. *Current Issues in Tourism* 6(5), 369–413.

Fernandes, C., Gonçalves, F., Pimenta, E. and Rachão, S. (2012) A new research approach for religious tourism: the case study of the Portuguese route to Santiago. *International Journal of Tourism Policy* 4(2), 83–94.

Frey, N. (1998) *Pilgrim Stories: On and Off the Road to Santiago*. University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

Ghaderi, Z., Saboori, B. and Khoshkam, M. (2017) Does security matter in tourism demand? *Current Issues in Tourism* 20(6), 1–14.

Gómez-Ullate, M. (2016) Stakeholders, networks and fragility in pilgrimage cultural routes. In: Sigeuencia, L., Gómez-Ullate, M. and Kamara, A. (eds) *Cultural Management and Tourism in European Cultural Routes: From Theory to Practice*. Publishing House of the Research and Innovation in Education Institute, Czestochowa, Poland.

Granero Gallegos, A., Ruiz Juan, F. and García Montes, M.E. (2006) Lesiones y problemas físicos padecidos por senderistas y cicloturistas en una ruta por etapas. El caso del Camino de Santiago. *Revista Internacional de Medicina de la Actividad Fisica y el Deporte* 22, 99.

Haab, B. (1996) The Way as an inward journey: an anthropological enquiry into the spirituality of present day pilgrims to Santiago. *Bulletin of the Confraternity of St. James* 56, 17–36.

Hall, M., Timothy, D. and Duval, D. (2009) *Safety and Security in Tourism: Relationships, Management, and Marketing*, Routledge, UK.

Hashemi, S. and Jusoh, J. (2015) Determinants of tourism routes for tourism development: the mediating role of tourist satisfaction in Malaysia islands. *Journal of Scientific Research and Development* 2(13), 189–193.

Khajuria, S. and Khanna, S. (2014) Tourism risks and crimes at pilgrimage destinations: a case study of Shri Mata Vaishno Devi. *International Journal of Event Management Research* 8(1), 77–93.

Kong, L. (2001) Mapping 'new' geographies of religion: politics and poetics in modernity: progress. *Human Geography* 25, 211–233.

Kruger, M. and Saayman, M. (2016) Understanding the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) pilgrims. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 18, 27–38.

Laplace, J. (1973) *An Experience of Life in the Spirit*. Franciscan Publications, London.

Leiper, N. (1990) Tourism attraction systems. *Annals of Tourism Research* 17, 367–384.

Liu, B., Schroeder, A. and Pennington-Gray, L. (2016) Empirically testing the influence of travel safety concerns: examining alternative models. Tourism Travel and Research Association. Available at http://scholarworks.umass.edu/ttra/2016/Academic_Papers_Visual/9 (accessed 20 November 2017).

Lourens, M. (2007) Route tourism: a roadmap for successful destinations and local economic development. *Development Southern Africa* 24(3), 475–490.

Mansfeld, Y. and Pizam, A. (2006) *Tourism, Security and Safety*. Elsevier Butterworth-Heineman, Burlington, Massachusetts.

Mester, T. (2006) Vallási turizmus. *Turizmus Bulletin* 10(2), 16–18.

Meyer, D. (2004) *Tourism Routes and Getaways: Key issues for the development of tourism routes and gateways and their potential for pro-poor tourism*. Overseas Development Institute, London.

Neal, J. (2003) The effect of length of stay on travelers' perceived satisfaction with service quality. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism* 17(1), 167–176.

Oh, H., Fiore, A. and Jeoung, M. (2007) Measuring experience economy concepts: tourism applications. *Journal of Travel Research* 46, 119–132.

Palmer, C., Begley, R. and Coe, K. (2012) In defence of differentiating pilgrimage from tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology* 2(1), 71–85.

Pine, B. and Gilmore, J. (1999) *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre and Every Business Is a Stage*. HBS Press, Boston, Massachusetts.

Pohner, T., Berki, T. and Rátz, T. (2009) Religious and pilgrimage tourism as a special segment of mountain tourism. *Journal of Tourism Challenges and Trends* 11(1), 27–42.

Popescu, L. (2011) Safety and security in tourism. Case study: Romania. *Forum Geografic* 10(2), 322–328.

Prebensen, N., Chen, J. and Uysal, M. (2014) *Creating Experience Value in Tourism*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK.

Pretes, M. (1995) Postmodern tourism: the Santa Claus industry. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22(1), 1–15.

Raj, R. and Morpeth, N. (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Festivals Management: An International Perspective.* CAB International, Wallingford, UK.

Reisinger, Y. and Mavondo, F. (2005) Travel anxiety and intentions to travel internationally: implications of travel risk perception. *Journal of Travel Research* 43, 212–225.

Richards, G. (2011) Cultural tourism trends in Europe: a context for the development of cultural routes. In: Khovanova-Rubicondo, K. (ed.) *Impact of European Cultural Routes on SMEs' Innovation and Competitiveness*. Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg, France.

Richards, G. and Fernandes, C. (2007) Religious tourism in northern Portugal. In: Richards, G. (ed.) *Cultural Tourism Global and Local Perspectives*. The Haworth Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, pp. 215–238.

Roehl, W. and Fesenmaier, D. (1992) Risk perceptions and pleasure travel: an exploratory analysis. *Journal of Travel Research* 30, 17–26.

Secall, R. (2003) The origins of religious tourism: special references to the Saint James's Way tourism. In: Fernandes, C., Edwards, J. and McGettigan, F. (eds) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*. Tourism Board of Leiria/Fátima, Portugal.

Slavin, S. (2003) Walking as spiritual practice: the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. *Body & Society* 9(3), 1–18.
Smith, M. (2003) Holistic holidays: tourism and the reconciliation of body, mind and spirit. *Tourism Recreation Research* 28(1), 103–108.
Smith V. (1992) Introduction: the quest in guest, in pilgrimage and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 19(1), 1–17.
Sönmez, S. and Graefe, A.R. (1998) Determining future travel behavior from past travel experience and perceptions of risk and safety. *Journal of Travel Research* 37(2), 172–177.
Steffen, R., Bouchama, A., Johansson, A., Dvorak, J., Isla, N. *et al.* (2012) Non-communicable health risks during mass gatherings. *The Lancet Infectious Diseases* 12(2), 142–149.
Stoddard, R. (1997) Defining and classifying pilgrimages. Geography Faculty Publications, Paper 2. Geography Program University of Nebraska (SNR). Available at: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/geographyfacpub/2 (accessed 29 November 2017).
Sykes, J. (1982) *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (7th edn). Clarendon Press, Oxford, UK.
Thoreau, H.D. (1982) Walking. In: Thoreau, H.D. *Excursions*. Riverside Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Timothy, D. and Olsen, D. (eds) (2006) *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. Routledge, London.
Turner, V. and Turner, E. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. Columbia University Press, New York.
UNWTO (1996) *Tourist Safety and Security: Practical Measures for Destinations.* UNWTO, Madrid.
UNWTO (2007) *Tourism and Religions: A Contribution to the Dialogue among Religions, Cultures and Civilizations.* Summary of the Report prepared in the context of the Córdoba Conference, 29–31 October 2007. UNWTO, Madrid.
UNWTO (2014) *1st UNWTO International Congress on Tourism & Pilgrimages*. UNWTO, Madrid.
Vijayand, S. (2012) Socio-economic impacts in pilgrimage tourism. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 2(1), 329–343.
Vukonic, B. (1996) *Tourism and Religion* (trans. Matesic, S.). Elsevier Science Ltd, Oxford, UK.
Ziad, M., Arabi, Y. and Qanta, A. (2006) Health risk at the Hajj. *The Lancet Infectious Diseases* 367(9515), 1008–1015.

9 Risk Assessment and the Religious Event Space: The Context for the Risk Assessment

Bernadette Theodore
Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK

Introduction

Risk as a concept has existed since the dawn of time. Human nature and motivation at its most fundamental level, according to Maslow (cited in Mitchell and Moudgill, 1976), are rooted in the need for safety and security in our environment.

As health and safety issues continue to be paramount within the current climate of event management, fatal incidents that resonate within the broader event context include the Hillsborough disaster in 1989 and incidents at religious gatherings, such as the Hajj pilgrimage incident in 2015, which resulted in heavy loss of life. Had more effective crowd management and risk management been employed, casualties could have been avoided or at least reduced. Additionally, if effective planning and management strategies were adhered to, hazards that resulted in those deaths could have been removed completely.

Borodzicz (2005), early in his text on crisis and risk management, noted that due to an increase in legal and regulatory requirements worldwide, the need for risk, security and contingency management, and effective planning of managed responses, becomes critical when things go wrong. Within the context of this text, this element of effective risk management and planning is a fundamental requirement, particularly as religious events and the use of religious sites grow and become more prominent and complex, and gatherings expand in size and frequency.

However, it should be noted that alongside abiding by regulatory requirements, there is an ethical and moral obligation for event managers and religious site managers (on a more human fundamental level) to protect anyone attending events or locations where such events are being held. On this premise, the risk assessment process becomes not only a legal obligation but also a moral and ethical one.

This chapter will provide a specific contextual examination of the use of religious sites. Furthermore, it will interrogate events, whilst providing a practical and logical approach to key areas that require risk assessment within the religious event space. The authors identify general risk factors and provide samples of risk documentation that may be used. It is anticipated that this will provide a practical guide explaining how to maximize opportunities to ensure the safety of attendees within the religious event space through the use of effective and comprehensive risk assessment practices.

*Address for correspondence: b.theodore@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

Risk Assessment Process

To initiate an effective risk assessment process, it is necessary to first understand the nature of the risk and the risk factors typical of religious sites and religious event spaces (RES). It should be noted that along with the other issues associated with the RES, there are unique factors that need to be considered in terms of where the events are located – particularly within sites of historical, cultural or religious importance.

Attendee context and psychosocial behaviour

The demographic and psychographic characteristics of the attendees also need to be considered. It should be borne in mind that religious events and pilgrimages are often catalysts for individual and mass behaviour that is highly influenced by particular euphoric and psychosocial manifestations of spirituality. Hopkins *et al.* (2015) explain the concept of 'crowd effervescence', which is based on cognitive transformation, whereby a common frame of reference is adopted, grounded in the collective values, norms and beliefs that serve as a catalyst for shared identity (Turner *et al.*, 1994; Haslam *et al.*, 1999; Haslam and Reicher, 2012), followed by 'relational transformation', whereby the common conceptualization of 'us', of identity and belonging within a religious crowd, encourages higher levels of trust, cooperation, helpfulness and respect. Such aspects often serve as key characteristics in crowd behaviour (Tyler and Blader, 2000; Levine *et al.*, 2005; Renger and Simon, 2011; Wakefield *et al.*, 2011).

Within this setting, Alnabulsi and Drury (2014) and Novelli *et al.* (2013) noted that effervescence within the religious space also manifests as a higher level of comfort with strangers and a tolerance of a reduction in the awareness of their social and physical space within the group, a key consideration in crowd management and particularly in current circumstances where terrorism becomes a key security factor. Within this context, there may be a tendency for the attendee to become less risk-aware and thus more prone to relax. Due to the nature of the event being based within a religious context, where the mere atmosphere of the space encourages participants to feel safe, secure and protected, they are more likely to fall into a false sense of comfort, which may result in a lower level of risk awareness.

Thus, the threat of terrorism and terrorist attack become key issues as mass gatherings and religious sites are seen as terrorist targets. With such knowledge, the importance of effectively securing events that have a religious focus requires the need to consider additional factors when conducting effective risk assessments.

It is understood that, prior to the development of risk assessment as a tool to manage risk within the religious event space, organizations, event organizers and managers of religious event spaces must ensure that:

1. There is a health and safety policy.
2. Health and safety policies are implemented and put into practice.
3. Management structures adequately support and facilitate the delivery of the policy.
4. Staff are adequately trained in the implementation of the policy and are able to conduct effective risk assessments.
5. Staff are able to adequately monitor performance and delivery of the policy.
6. Staff are able to evaluate, audit and amend performance.

(HSE, 1999)

General Risk Factors for Religious Events

In order to assess the religious event space effectively, it is first necessary to understand the dimensions of risk. Silvers (2013) elaborates on the dimensions in terms of identifying what is at risk. These may include people, property, finances, systems, environment and image. In the case of the religious event space or site, this assessment also includes cultural, historical and religious values, which are not addressed by Silvers.

The impact of the risk is also accounted for in Silvers' study of risk dimensions and this includes death or injury, loss or damage to property, reduction in revenue, reduced capacity, availability of resources, loss of goodwill, and reputation. Within the text, Silvers further acknowledges that these factors are common to the general event space, and therefore context-specific

factors, which take priority, may include factors additional to those identified by Silvers.

Therefore, in addition to the general risks and hazards identified, certain elements will have a greater focus; specifically, crowd management, security of sites and venues and security from terrorist attack intended to harm attendees and/or damage or destroy sites of historic religious and cultural significance.

Figure 9.1 illustrates other key areas that require consideration within the broader headings of Logistics, Operations and Administration. All of these will contribute to ensuring that all elements within the event context are covered by the assessment of risk.

In an effort to identify all of the risk factors, Berlonghi (1995a) notes that the risk analysis or risk assessment should begin with a broader identification of the event, providing key information for the event staging. The benefit of such an event specification document is to provide information that will lead to clear and concise identification of hazards and subsequent completion of the risk assessment.

The creation of an event specification document, which covers the headings outlined below (Fig. 9.2), will ensure that the event purpose and broader activities will inform operational decision-making and logistical installation, and, by extension, lead the preparation of the risk assessment. Even if an event has been run previously or is being repeated, it is still necessary to develop and modify the event specification document to reflect changes in attendee numbers, demographics, location, size and conditions, as these may vary from event to event.

The Event

The nature of the event will influence the activities that will take place, along with the logistical infrastructure that will be required to sustain them. Issues relating to featured presenters, performers and programming are also key, and these will dictate other aspects of the event such as logistics, production, crowd flows and behaviour.

In addition, consideration needs to be given to what type of religious event will be staged, and its overall purpose. This will include the broader programme of activities that will be taking place, and the specific type of event (e.g. rally, conference, pilgrimage, worship ceremony). There may also be a need to identify whether there is a secondary purpose to the event, and what atmosphere is intended or will be generated.

The day, date and time of the event

Many religious events, and the use of RES, may follow specific requirements based on a calendar date or a previous ritualistic, cultural or spiritual

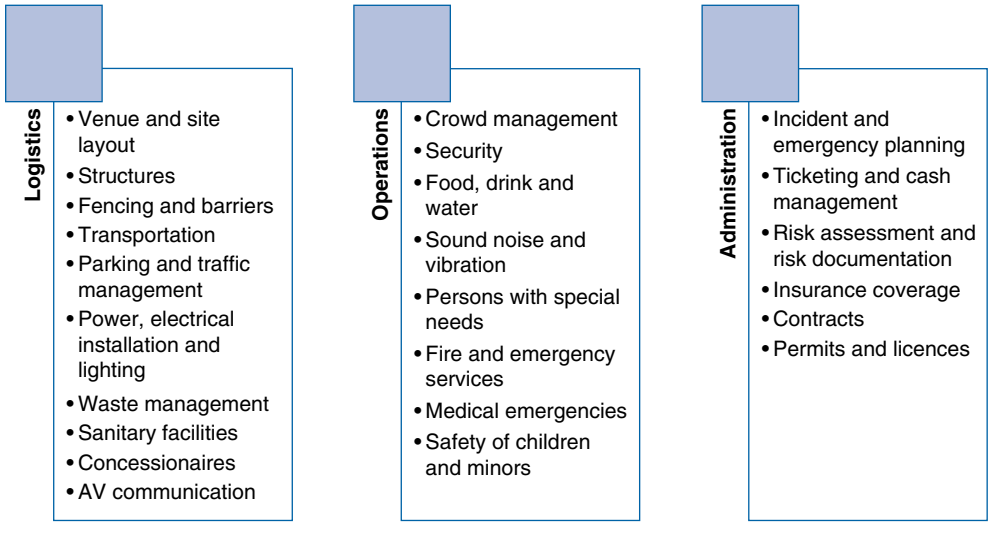

Fig. 9.1. Risk factors.

Fig. 9.2. The key features of the event specification.

date. Days of the week also carry significance for various religious groups, and therefore clearly identifying these features will highlight critical information surrounding possible attendance or factors such as pedestrian congestion or traffic issues.

Additionally, information to be identified includes: gate opening and closing times; times when attendees and participants are expected to arrive or gain access to the event space; whether attendees will remain for activities like vigils; specific timings that need to be kept; whether attendees are expected to remain overnight; whether the event occurs during daylight hours or during the evening; whether the duration of the event is confined to hours or days; opening and closing times of the event as opposed to the event space; general times when people may assemble or arrive on site; their mode of arrival (on foot, en masse or in a trickle); whether the site is a shrine or place of significant importance in which people may wish to linger or at which they may wish to arrive early prior to the event space opening, e.g. Lourdes; St Paul's Square, Jerusalem, and the impact that this will have on the way the space is used.

Site/venue description

The layout and location of the site become critical in terms of location, capacity and potential issues like access, exits and circulation of large numbers of attendees. Essential features such as crowd flow and capacity play an important role when managing risk on the event site (Berlonghi, 1995b). Areas of special interest where attendees are likely to congregate, due to their religious

significance, need to be considered thoroughly when assessing risk. With temporary sites, special attention needs to be paid to where event elements, infrastructure and logistics are located and how immoveable, or moveable, objects might impact on crowd management and layout. Significant structures in the site can impact on safety, and the event specification document will need to identify whether the venue is purpose-built or temporary.

At a religious or cultural site (regardless of whether it is indoors or outdoors), consideration is to be given to its location, which may be an area of interest to non-religious attendees. Event managers will need to assess whether there are specific religious rituals and beliefs that may impact on how the site is utilized and whether its use can be viewed as unfavourable to non-religious attendees and nearby residents.

Other related event activities and unique circumstances

All fringe activities and unique circumstances relating to an event should be considered in order to understand how they will impact the main event. Bearing in mind that each fringe activity will also require its own risk assessment, certain elements may represent hazard. For example, crowd management, traffic congestion, extending emergency services and security to cover multiple activities and venues simultaneously, and production and logistical issues of running multiple events around one locality are elements to be considered, along with pre-event social activities and activities that may run simultaneously with the main event. Understanding what these activities are, where they take place, their potential for vending and trade, and the presence of merchandise booths, is crucial, and security and safety measures need to be in place to safeguard against any unintended outcomes linked to these activities.

Number of attendees

Being able to estimate attendance is a key part of the risk management process. The worst mass-crowd incidents are often caused by over-capacity or poor ingress, egress and circulation. As a result, non-ticketed events are a risk in any context. The nature of religious events and spaces is to provide a location that reaches out to all attendees. Consideration needs to be given to issues of overcrowding due to fluctuating or high numbers of attendees, which can move from dangerous to fatal rapidly. It is necessary to be able to estimate, monitor and control the number of attendees. Other key questions are where attendees are travelling from and how they will get to the site. Are they likely to be local, regional or international?

The demographic details of the attendees

Age, gender, religious orientation, ethnicity and disability will all impact on audience behaviour and requirements. Will there be other visitors to the location during the event? How will this impact on integration or segregation within the crowd? Establishing attendee motivations is also critical to predicting attendee behaviour. Issues such as crowd behaviour and effervescence are key factors in determining potential hazard and risk.

Weather conditions

The weather and other environmental factors will be of relevance to when the event is staged. Issues of heat, cold and extremes of weather need to be considered. For example, staging an open-air event in tropical countries that are expecting major weather disturbance like monsoons, hurricanes or tornadoes would require a thorough meteorological assessment before deciding to hold the event.

Additional event-specific factors

Where different religious celebrations are taking place simultaneously, there is the potential for political or religious protest. The national terrorism risk rating for the site, when the event is being held and any specially invited guests or speakers are issues that need to be assessed.

Previous Event Evaluation Reports or Information

Evaluation of historical documents relating to earlier events may provide key research information concerning incidents or hazards that have arisen at previous events and their associated sites. These documents may provide an evaluative context as to how those hazards could have been avoided or managed more effectively, and this will be invaluable in avoiding the repetition of similar incidents. If the event has not been delivered previously, evaluations of similar events and historical documentation relating to them, including risk assessments, can provide pertinent information for event planners.

The Religious Event Risk Assessment

The development, implementation and use of risk assessments begin with an evaluation of the event in its entirety, identifying the areas of risk within all areas of the event space, across all logistical and operational areas and throughout the duration of the event, from start to finish.

The risk assessment itself can be considered a 'living document', which is a term that reflects the nature of the simultaneous evaluation and audit process that takes place from the moment the risk assessor begins the assessment. Following the development of the event, from load-in, the document is audited and amended until the close of the event. Therefore, the risk assessment is expected to change constantly and be updated throughout.

Due to the many risk factors in play at a religious event, the risk assessment requires a suitably knowledgeable and competent person to prepare, implement, audit and amend the documentation as conditions change within the event space. The assessment should therefore reflect changes throughout the duration of the event and be edited to accommodate and amend provisions to minimize risks.

The Health and Safety at Work Act (1974), which forms the basis of all health and safety legislation in the UK, under the supervision of the Health and Safety Executive (HSE), provides clear guidance on how, when and for whom risk assessments are required. The Act also advises that organizations have a clear obligation to protect their workforce and anyone else involved in or affected by work on the site before, during and after the event.

Preparing comprehensive risk assessments serves to show that organizers and managers of religious events and event spaces have exercised all necessary due diligence and demonstrates that they have done everything reasonably practicable to minimize hazards and their effect within the event space.

Purpose of the Risk Assessment

Risk assessments are predominantly developed to identify hazards that can cause harm, the likelihood of them and the severity of their potential impact. The overall purpose of the assessment is to identify suitable measures or contingencies that might eliminate or control hazards to the degree that, if harm is caused, its severity is reduced to 'acceptable' levels. Where this cannot be done, it is advised that the hazard be removed completely. In some instances, this could result in the cancellation of the event, the use of an alternative venue or changing certain activities.

Swiss Cheese Model of Accident Causation

Risk assessments facilitate the identification of hazards that may cause accidents or injuries. Reason (2000) illustrated this idea when he developed a systematic approach to how accidents are caused. The basic premise of the approach is that humans are fallible and errors are to be expected, even within the best venues and events. However, errors are seen as consequential rather than causational, having their origins not so much in the perversity of human nature but rather in 'upstream, multiple systemic factors'.

He goes on to note that advanced technological systems form defensive layers by means of CCTV systems, physical barriers and automatic gate entry and ticket scanners. Other defences rely on human resources, such as security and stewarding personnel, technical engineers, event control room managers, and still others depend on administrative controls and procedures.

Ideally, each defensive layer would be fully operational, but in reality, Reason acknowledges that each layer resembles a swiss cheese – having many holes! Unlike the cheese, these holes are continually shifting, opening and shutting, resulting in event organizers and site managers finding it difficult or impossible to know the weaknesses in the system until it fails.

When the holes in the many layers line up momentarily, the 'trajectory of accident opportunity' occurs, causing damage to attendees or employees (Reason, 2000). Therefore, the risk assessment attempts to identify the hazards and provide effective intervention strategies to ensure that the holes do not align.

The Five Steps to Risk Assessment

Silvers (2013) and HSE (1999) agree that risk assessment is a critical component of risk management and that completing effective risk assessments is a method of demonstrating compliance with legislation and adhering to best practice when running religious events or managing religious event spaces.

The scope of the risk assessment includes the collection of all relevant data as outlined in the event specification document, the identification of all vulnerabilities and hazards, the evaluation of those hazards, the analysis of the probability of their occurrence and, if they were to occur, how serious the consequences would be.

Risks and hazards are often confused, and the HSE 195 Guidance document states that: 'Risk is the likelihood that the harm from a hazard is realised and the extent of it' (HSG Purple Guide, 1999, p. 7). The HSE (1999) defines hazard as: 'anything which has the potential to cause harm to people' (HSG Purple Guide, p. 7). This not only relates to a situation or activity but also to dangerous properties of an item, substance or condition.

Risk ratings are calculated through a simple formula, allocating a quotient to the possibility or likelihood of harm occurring and multiplying it by the most severe outcome possible (severity):

Likelihood × Severity = Risk Rating

The five-step process

The HSE (1999) suggests that a five-step process is followed to ensure that an effective risk assessment is conducted (Fig. 9.3).

A variety of methods can be used to establish a context to conduct the risk assessment:

1. By location/position: using locations from the event space, e.g. main entrance, parking area, concessionaire space, backstage, main ceremony location.
2. By duration/event phases from load-in, to the event going live, to load-out.
3. By element: crowd management, structures, transport, parking, food and beverage, electrical

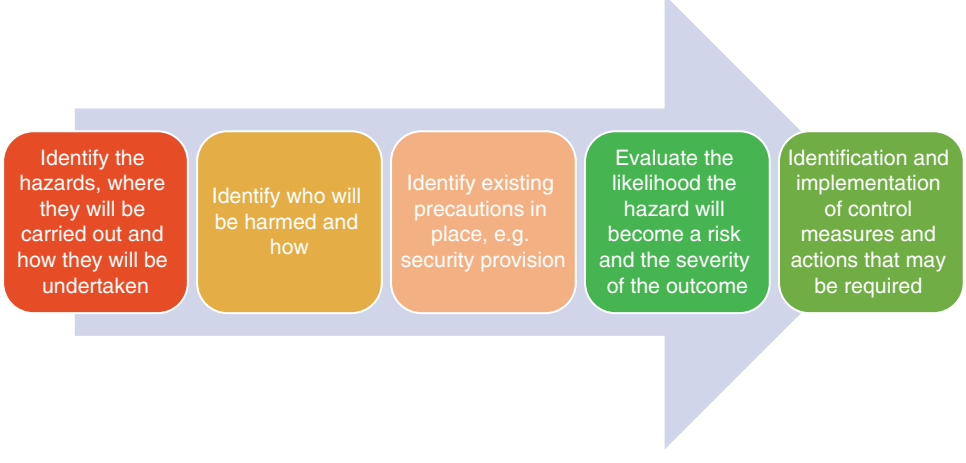

Fig. 9.3. Five-step risk assessment.

Table 9.1. Risk assessment matrix.

		Severity					
		Multiple death 10	Single death 8	Major injury 6	'3-day' injury 4	Minor injury 2	None 1
Likelihood	Certain 10	100	80	60	40	20	10
	Very likely 8	80	64	48	32	16	8
	Probable 6	60	48	36	24	12	6
	Possible 4	40	32	24	16	8	4
	Unlikely 2	20	16	12	8	4	2
	Very unlikely 1	10	8	6	4	2	1

installation and lighting, special effects, audio-visual, sound, noise and vibration, waste management, weather, venue.

However the risk assessor chooses to proceed with the risk assessment, the critical element is a comprehensive picture of the key hazards that may present themselves and the control mechanisms and measures put in place to reduce the initial risk rating to one that is acceptable.

Risk Assessment Matrix for Personal Injury

The risk assessment matrix (Table 9.1) provides a numerical scale to provide guidance as to the extent that a hazard may impact on attendees.

The numerical scale used allows comparisons of the risk levels only. The scale is not to be taken literally but rather as a means of quantifying the impact of the hazard.

Traffic Light System of Risk Rating

A traffic light system is used to provide guidance as to hazards that have a high likelihood of occurring, with severe consequences being highlighted in red, indicating that any risk rating that falls within the red band is an unacceptable risk and needs to be reduced or removed completely.

Table 9.2. Traffic light system of risk rating.

Key to shading	
100	Level of risk is unacceptable.
24	Level of risk may be tolerable. Seek to reduce level of risk.
12	Level of risk is acceptable.

Definition of Likelihood Classes

Having identified the potential hazard, the likelihood of it needs to be identified. This can be done using a definition of likelihood classes table. The terminology may range from 'Certain' to 'Very unlikely'. However, some matrices may range from 'Unlikely' to 'Very likely'. This depends on the organization and the definitions that are allocated by the risk assessor. The key here is to ensure that the spectrum of likelihood of the hazard impacting attendees is recognized.

The Risk Assessment Document

The risk assessment document forms part of a wider event safety management plan that begins with the event specification document discussed earlier. However, the risk assessment should be accompanied by effective communication between emergency services along with the health & safety and events teams, supported by active and reactive monitoring systems.

Table 9.3. Identified hazard grid.

Certain 10	Has happened before and is expected to happen on this occasion
Very likely 8	Has happened before and is very likely to happen on this occasion
Probable 6	Has been known to occur before and is likely to happen on this occasion
Possible 4	Has been known to occur before and it may happen on this occasion
Unlikely 2	Has been known to occur before but no reason to suggest that it will happen on this occasion
Very unlikely 1	Has never happened before and there are no reasons to suggest it will happen on this occasion

Constant checks must be carried out throughout the event by the designated health and safety officer who will have had input into the risk assessment process. The officer should collaborate with, and be informed by, the event team on the ground – stewards, security, and all other staff involved in running the event.

Evaluation, Auditing and Review of Safety Performance and the Risk Assessment

The risk assessment should reflect changing circumstances and should be amended to reflect those changes. It is a historical document that can be referred to in the future as an evaluation tool. It is a live document that reflects the numerous hazards and risk factors that may fluctuate throughout the event. A debrief following the event is critical to audit and review the effectiveness of the safety management systems, and this should inform subsequent event planning.

Completing the Risk Assessment

The example in Table 9.4 illustrates how the risk assessment should be completed, with the hazards and effect being reduced by implementing multiple control measures. In this example, the risk assessment identifies crowd crushing due to slow ticket collection at the main entrance. Here the risk rating, which results in a score of 40, needs to be reduced as, within the risk matrix, 40 falls within the red band of unacceptable risk level.

Within this context, multiple controls have been used to minimize the impact of the hazard, which in turn have reduced both the likelihood and the severity of the risk rating, bringing down the outcome to within an acceptable range within the green band (12).

The example in Table 9.5 again gives multiple control measures minimizing the 'trajectory of accident opportunity' and therefore minimizing the likelihood that the incident occurs. It should be noted that, when identifying the hazard, it is crucial that the impact of the hazard is also identified. For example, it is not sufficient to say that queuing or candles are a hazard since well managed queuing or well positioned candles are not in themselves hazards. However, crowd build-up due to poor queue management, or candles placed in high traffic areas are. This needs to be identified within the risk assessment.

Terrorism and the Terrorist Threat

Terrorism and associated threats have now become a key part of any risk assessment, as large gatherings become prime targets. Many large-scale religious events and sites host large numbers of attendees and attract high levels of media coverage, making them attractive propositions for terrorists.

Critical in this regard within the risk assessment is the allocation of adequate security measures, which may include the use of technology and state-of-the-art surveillance equipment. Along with these resources, the use of documents such as the Crowded Places Guidance acknowledges that: 'The concept of absolute security is almost impossible to achieve in combating the threat of terrorism, but it is possible' (NaCTSO, 2017, p. 32).

As terrorists become more sophisticated, their ability to exploit weaknesses in the protective

Table 9.4. The completed risk assessment – Example 1.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN ASSESSMENTS										
P = Public		S = Staff				C = Concessionaires				
Subject area	Hazards and effect	To whom	Severity rating × likelihood = primary risk based on no controls S × L = R			Suggested control measures	Severity rating × likelihood = residual risk S × L = R		
Crowd control Main entrance, ticket barriers	Queue build- up due to slow service ratio of ticket collection at entrance of event venue. Effect: crowd crushing due to overcrowding	P (public) S (staff)	10	4	40	Steward monitoring of queuing systems, Staggered arrival times with specified gate entry on tickets. Security to identify when service ratio is not meeting arrival rate causing back queues. Temporary ticket counters to be opened. Increase of ticketing staff.	6	2	12

Table 9.5. The completed risk assessment – Example 2.

Subject area	Hazards and effect	To whom	Severity rating × likelihood = primary risk based on no controls S × L = R			Suggested control measures	Severity rating × likelihood = residual risk S × L = R		
Traffic manage- ment Attendee parking area	Injury to attendees/ staff caused by getting hit by vehicular traffic	P/S/C	8	4	32	Allocation of clearly signposted pedestrian walk areas. Installation of temporary pedestrian crossings on site. Allocation of drop-off transport zones adjacent to main ticket entrance. Imposition of a 10 mph speed limit within designated pedestrian zones.	4	2	8

security systems means that attention needs to be paid in the risk assessment to improving not just the systems but also the security culture of the staff and attendees.

Threat levels and response plans

The likelihood of a terrorist attack is based on a wide range of factors, from recent events to current terrorist activities. With this in mind, one of the primary functions of the risk assessment team should be to verify the current level of threat and plan accordingly (NaCTSO, 2017). NaCTSO also notes that response levels and control measures commensurate with the identified threat should be applied. Therefore, the risk assessment should reflect not only the threat level but also the appropriate level of response required.

Where threat levels are considered critical, it is likely that government agencies may request that the event is postponed or cancelled altogether, or that the event site is temporarily closed until the threat level is reduced. In this regard, it is vital that your assessment is specific to your event and site/venue, and that within the audit process, response levels are reviewed and monitored; also that staff are aware of the threat level and are trained through the use of simulation exercises that prepare them for an attack. All of these control measures constitute best planning.

Summary

An extensive and well-prepared risk assessment is one of the key documents that will serve to support the safety plan and show clearly that the religious event manager or manager of the RES has identified all key hazards that might affect attendees, staff or concessionaires. Ensuring that the comprehensive assessment is based on a well-prepared event specification document will show that the event manager has shown a clear duty of care and done everything possible to safeguard attendees and staff and to minimize hazards and control risks, ensuring that the risk ratings identified have been reduced to an acceptable level.

This does not imply that accidents and injuries will not occur, but strives to minimize the occurrence of accidents, incidents and injuries, whilst ensuring that sufficient support systems are in place to guarantee that the severity of the impact of the hazard is reduced, and the possibility of the occurrence of serious incidents is minimized. This will ensure that the event or RES continues to be a place in which attendees and staff can function and engage in their activities in a healthy and safe environment.

References

Alnabulsi, H. and Drury, J. (2014) Social identification moderates the effect of crowd density on safety at the Hajj. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111(25), 9091–9096.

Berlonghi, A. (1995a) *The Special Event Risk Management Manual*. Alexander Berlonghi Publishing.

Berlonghi, A. (1995b) *Understanding and Planning for Different Spectator Crowds*. Alexander Berlonghi Publishing.

Borodzicz, E. (2005) *Risk, Crisis and Security Management*. John Wiley & Sons Ltd, Hoboken, New Jersey.

Haslam, S. and Reicher, S. (2012) In search of charisma. *Scientific American Mind* 23(3), 42–49.

Haslam, S., Oakes, P., Reynolds, K. and Turner, J. (1999) Social identity salience and the emergence of stereotype consensus. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25(7), 809–818.

Haslam, S., Reicher, S. and Reynolds, K. (2012) Identity, influence, and change: rediscovering John Turner's vision for social psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 51(2), 201–218.

H.M. Government (1974) Health and Safety at Work Act 1974 (c37). The Stationery Office, London.

H.M. Government (2017) New crowded places guidance launched. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-crowded-places-guidance-launched (accessed 20 June 2017).

Hopkins, N., Reicher, S., Khan, S., Tewari, S., Srinivasan, N. and Stevenson, C. (2015) Explaining effervescence: investigating the relationship between shared social identity and positive experience in crowds. *Cognition and Emotion* 30(1), 20–32.

HSE (1999) *The Event Safety Guide*. HSE Books, Norwich, UK.

Levine, M., Prosser, A., Evans, D. and Reicher, S. (2005) Identity and emergency intervention: how social group membership and inclusiveness of group boundaries shape helping behavior. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin* 31, 443–453.

Mitchell, V.F. and Moudgill, P. (1976) Measurement of Maslow's need hierarchy. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance* 16(2), 334–349.

NaCTSO (2017) Advice for security managers during a heightened threat level. National Counter Terrorism Security Office. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/advice-for-security-managers-following-a-threat-level-change-to-critical (accessed 20 July 2017).

Novelli, D., Drury, J., Reicher, S. and Stott, C. (2013) Crowdedness mediates the effect of social identification on positive emotion in a crowd: a survey of two crowd events. *PLoS ONE* 8(11): e78983.

Reason, J. (2000) Human error: models and management. *British Medical Journal* 320(7237), 768–770.

Renger, D. and Simon, B. (2011) Social recognition as an equal: the role of equality-based respect in group life. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41(4), 501–507.

Silvers, J.R. (2013) *Risk Management for Meetings and Events*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

Turner, J.C., Oakes, P.J., Haslam, S.A., and McGarty, C. (1994) Self and collective: cognition and social context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20, 454–463.

Tyler, T. and Blader, S. (2000) Identity and cooperative behavior in groups. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 4(3), 207–226.

Wakefield, J.R.H., Hopkins, N., Cockburn, C., Shek, K.M., Muirhead, A., Reicher, S. and van Rijswijk, W. (2011) The impact of adopting ethnic or civic conceptions of national belonging for others' treatment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37, 1599–1610.

10 Travelling through a Hostile World: The Expansion of Terror in American Culture

Maximiliano E. Korstanje[1,*], Geoffrey Skoll[2] and Hugues Seraphin[3]
[1]*University of Palermo, Buenos Aires, Argentina;* [2]*Buffalo State College, New York, USA;* [3]*University of Winchester, Winchester, UK*

Introduction

The attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015 demonstrate the reality of two predictions that have been feared for some time: that it is impossible to protect leisure industries such as cultural entertainment, museums and tourism; as well as the fact that terrorists have selected travellers as their primary target over recent years (Bonham *et al.*, 2006; Mansfeld and Pizam, 2006; Korstanje and Clayton, 2012). From the perspective of some voices, terrorism is the result of the unilateral imposition of a colonial order that produced extractive institutions and impeded fairer wealth distribution (Keefer and Loayza, 2008). From the outset, terrorism-related research not only constructed a moral discourse around what terrorism is, but also blamed poverty and working conditions as key factors that lead people towards hate-filled action. Originally thought of as an irrational activity, terrorism corresponds with the rise of an evil spirit that can only be fought using preventative and preemptive measures. This is because it is more important to stop terrorism happening than to understand the causes of terrorist activity. In a global world, where the causes of events tend to blur, people are only interested in preventing those events that are anticipated and warned of by the media (Korstanje, 2017). This opens the door to multiple options that are not seen at the present time.

For years experts have indicated that frustration is the main cause behind terrorism (Stampnitzky, 2013). In this chapter we discuss the process of colonization, that took place in past centuries on the pretext of the requirement to 'discipline' non-European others. As Edward Said puts it, empires are based on the development of an ethnocentric discourse that legitimizes the superiority of their own cultural values over those of others (Said, 1993). Though historians generally acknowledge that the relationship between 'centre' and 'periphery' involved, to some extent, an acceptance of European superiority by the colonies (Turner-Bushnell and Greene, 2002), at the same time empires expand their areas of influence around the globe. The dialogue, exchanges and interaction between centre and periphery rests on what Turner-Bushnell and Greene call the 'sphere of influence'. Since these liminoid spaces are mobile and in continuous flux, further investigation is called for.

To some extent, a sense of terror and colonialism seem to be inextricably intertwined. The intersection of imperialism and colonialism is present in many seminal works, such as *Rule of*

*Address for correspondence: mkorst@palermo.edu

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

Darkness (Brantlinger, 1990), *The Theory of the Novel* (Lukács, 1971), *The British Image of India* (Greenberger, 1969), *Imperial Eyes* (Pratt, 2011) and *Culture and Imperialism* (Said, 1993). Before discussing the roots of terrorism it is worth delving into the sociocultural background of American ethnocentrism. We consider the role played by American ethnocentrism in modern travel books such as Charles Robert Temple's *Americans Abroad* (1961) and question whether Temple's argument reflects actual American ethnocentrism or is simply the personal opinion of an anthropologist in the 1960s.

To respond to this question we turn to the contribution of Sally Falk Moore (2016), who posits that habits, rites and individual behaviours are historically cumulative. Far from being an all-encompassing model, society is formed by many 'ladders', which are cemented through the influence of other classes, cultures and groups. From this viewpoint, Temple's book provides fresh insight into the issue of to what extent 9/11 triggered an atmosphere of fear, as the specialist literature would have it, or whether that fear was already present, embedded within American culture. Temple's work shows Americans looking outward. While feeling safe at home, they have developed an uncanny discourse that merges exceptionalism with panic. One of the ways that American ethnocentrism differs from British ethnocentrism is the sentiment of exceptionalism with respect to others. In the USA, 'Americanness' is lived as a superior allegory to be applied to the world, making it a safer place for all (Fitzgerald, 1986; Wildman, 1996; Skoll, 2009; Coleman, 2011). Through the lens of this debate we understand how the 'other' is constructed by privileged American citizens and their expectations, hopes and fears.

Preliminary Debate

The 'scourge of terrorism', a term widely used in the addresses of various political leaders including Obama, has affected many service industries worldwide, but in tourism it has caused particular harm (Tarlow, 2014). Policy makers and officials have witnessed how, in seconds, the image of a destination has been destroyed. Some actors have pursued a communicative model for governments to follow to avoid political instability (Hall, 2010) or to communicate potential risk in the midst of uncertainty (Litvin and Alderson, 2003), but without tangible success. Focusing on the issue of security, 9/11 has multiplied the number of studies dedicated to risk perception and terrorism (Lepp and Gibson 2003; Floyd and Pennington-Gray, 2004; Reisinger and Mavondo, 2005; Fuchs and Reichel, 2006; Kozak *et al*., 2007, amongst others). These researchers, though many follow quantitative-oriented methods, shed light on the problem of terrorism as well as the role of the mass media as they impact the attractiveness of a tourist destination. This has revealed that risk perception varies according to political affiliation, genre, religion etc. Some studies even show how people in rural areas are less risk-aware than urbanites. Others focused on the fact that women are more risk-aware than men. The majority of the specialized literature post-9/11 validated the previous assumptions of Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992) or the classic discussion by Stanley Plog (1974). Prior to 9/11, some authoritative voices, such as Sönmez (1998) argued that terrorism and political instability were products of a lack of tolerance that is required for democracy to flourish. In this respect, tourism plays a crucial role not only in democratizing institutions but also in importing Western values to the Middle East.

The resentment shown towards the USA and Western civilization was the result of economic failure and failure to achieve a developed society (Sönmez, 1998; Sönmez and Graefe, 1998). Others researchers – Pizam, Tarlow or Mansfeld – not only distanced themselves from this view but also explored local crime as a potential threat to mass tourism. The visibility of foreign tourists and their lack of experience of, or familiarity with, the topography of the destination visited represent a rich prospect for terrorists, or an ideal opportunity for hostility to manifest. To ensure their security, policy makers need to be trained by experts who are educated not only to understand tourists' behaviour but also to prevent further blows (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996). Paradoxically, the growth of attention to these issues post 9/11 also led to a wave of criticism of risk perception theories and to the conjecture that terrorism derives from global capitalism (Bianchi, 2006; Korstanje, 2009, 2016; Bianchi and Stephenson, 2013; Bianchi and Stephenson, 2014).

On another front, ISIS's leader, Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, declared a jihad against modern tourism and leisure consumption. As experts assert with confidence, the international community must examine the intersection of terrorism and tourism and create a new institute to monitor the effects of terrorism on the hospitality and tourism industries and why terrorist attacks are systematically perpetrated against tourists (Korstanje, 2017). Because of limited time and space, it is not possible to expand this further; suffice to say that terrorism and tourism are inextricably intertwined.

Two interesting points emerge. First, the development of circuits of travel and goods exchange have been orchestrated to facilitate empires in controlling peripheral economies; this is particularly evident in ancient civilizations but also in the modern era. Secondly, the dialogue between empires and their colonies is fundamentally one-sided, grounded on a paternalistic view of the other, which mimicks the parent–child relationship. As a result, ethnocentrism is the oxymoron of colonial submission: the natives internalize the supremacy of their imperial lords, and the concept of 'assistance' is used by empires to legitimize their extractive policies. Though this applies to almost all empires, there are two that escape such classification. The first is Nazi Germany, whose Darwinist idea of supremacy culminated in mass extermination; and the second, less acknowledged, is the USA with its culture of 'exemplarity'. In the next section we place the notion of exemption and 'Americanness' under a critical lens. We suggest that Americans are particularity exercised by terrorism due to the legacy of wayward Puritans who envisaged a dangerous world, and also due to the discourse of manifest destiny.

The Power of Travels

The act of travelling represents an attempt to know other cultures and pursue a dialogue with the 'other'. Western novels recount anecdotes amassed by travellers who open their 'imperial eyes' to new circuits and trade, and question their own future as a leading civilization (Korstanje, 2017). Many theories have been formulated as a result of experiences of European travellers abroad. 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 derived from travellers' courage to go beyond the boundaries of their respective civilizations (Chateaubriand, 1944). The main limitations to discussing further the potential of travel writing as a valid source of information depended on the attention each generation gave to it. Social imaginaries are formed from encounters with landscapes and from imperial interests. No less true is that there are different ways of travelling and connecting with others. While anthropologists look at a process of reflexivity in order to understand the native, tourists, generally, are on a quest for something new, which leads to an idealized image of local cultures. In the honeymoon phase, tourists develop a friendly but superficial acquaintance with the native other (Irwin, 2007).

American economist Robert Heilbronner emphasizes imperialism as the necessary step towards capitalism, following two important axioms: on one hand the quest for novelty pursued by European powers opened the door to new markets; on the other, the long-simmering process of secularization, which paved the way for the rise of scientific thought, played a vital role in classifying the discovered world in accordance with the interests of European rulers (Heilbroner, 1995). Within the social sciences, anthropology and ethnology were two disciplines that pondered the importance of living with and as natives in order to understand their customs. This view was not only conducive to the colonial order, which was cognizant of natives' lives through the reading of ethnographers' texts, but also displayed a sentiment of paternalism as a counter to European cruelty (Korstanje, 2012). In view of this, the first ethnographers were forced to travel to the colonies to gather information, objects and relics before primitive cultures were to disappear and because natives were seen as irrational and, in a sense, unfamiliar with their inner world.

Part of ethnocentric discourse in Europe consisted in believing instrumentality and rationality should be exported to the world. Of course, such a discourse remained in the literature – in a paternalistic view – in the guise of heritage, as well as a forged colonial ethnocentrism that was exploited by colonial officers to show the inferiority of natives to Europeans (Teng, 2004; Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 2005; Korstanje,

2006, 2012; Busby *et al.*, 2011; Pratt, 2011). This suggests that the production of knowledge, imperialism and travel are inextricably intertwined. Mary L. Pratt (2011) reminds us how imperialistic discourses portray 'others', but only to mould their identities that are subordinated to economics. Travel and the literature of travel were of importance in diffusing conflict in areas of tension between the white lords and natives. Like Adam in Paradise, the ideology of the dominant ones consisted in marking the 'others', while the dominant ones remain unmarked. The passion for travel and discovery began with Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) who, in 1735, published *Systema Naturae* ('System of Nature'). This project encouraged many natural historians, or as they are called today, 'natural scientists', to classify biological species to create an all-encompassing system that explains the diversity of plants. Following this classification system, the first scientific travels were oriented to describing customs, cultures and any other aspect of peoples whom Europeans thought merited attention. In this way the new discipline of social science assisted colonialism to expand European control around the globe, and in so doing portrayed the other as non-white and an irrational actor who needed to be civilized. In Western ethnocentric ideology, cultural values were seen as necessary for and beneficial to the indigenous others. Literature and travel writing, Pratt adds, encouraged imperial values, paving the way for the advance of an ideological colonization that strengthened the bond between the centre and the periphery.

Tourism and Literature

The interest of cultural analysts and scholars in colonialism has multiplied over recent years. In tourism, scholars have relished bringing the centre–periphery theory to the fore. In fact, while many natives adopt tourism to revitalize their economies, the consumption of heritage gives to First World tourists a privileged status. Such an engagement with ethnicity rests on the activation of old stereotypes that were originally peddled by colonialism but remain in the social imaginary still (Burns, 2004; Caton and Santos, 2008; Mansfield, 2008; Busby *et al.*, 2011). In a seminal book, *Traversing Paris*, Mansfield (2008) discusses definitions of travel writing not only as a significant genre of literature that describes far-away situations and landscapes but also as an instrument of domination. As mentioned, the episteme of travel elevates the status of travellers to that of watchdogs of reality. Opening a tension between objectivity (emulating the archetype of science) and subjectivity (left to irrational natives), Mansfield adheres to the thesis that texts work as souvenirs because, like souvenirs, they are strongly associated with tourists' identity. As souvenirs are linked to 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 represents a creative praxis by closing the hermeneutical circle, linking those events we experience on a daily basis with the individual's emotional background, thereby becoming an episteme in the Foucauldian sense. Mansfield's argument leads to the three elements of discovery travel that are rooted in 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. Following this, Rascaroli (2013) calls attention to the discrepancy between pleasure and displeasure in travel. While the latter signals to unproductive displacements, effacing the self, the former ushers the traveller towards hedonism. In other words, the formation of social identity depends upon the bifurcation of soft and hard (legal) borders, which are constructed by nation-states.

Another interesting chapter in this discussion is given by Grandena (2013) who explains that global capitalism has been structured in two types of space – *striated* space, which is formed by legal borders and most often is legalized by lawmaking and the power of states, and *nomadic* space, which exists as an answer to psychological frustration. Within the logic of romantic gaze, thousands of tourists visit exotic destinations in accordance with the first type; but there is an additional form of travel, where citizens become eternal tourists, always escaping to elsewhere, moving without a precise sense of direction. The concept of *flaneur* originally developed by Walter Benjamin speaks of those nomadic persons who need to escape the capitalist network and seek a

new identity (Buck-Morss, 1986). Recent advances in anthropology suggest that we have to revisit the idea that tourists are superficial persons who only want to maximize their pleasure, while other travellers are anthropologists who seek an emotional attachment with the other. Mazierska (2013) dissects how the epistemology of past travels is cemented in current culture. She asserts that there are a lot of ways to travel, or at least to connect with others, regardless of the role of the traveller (i.e. tourists or migrants); what is important is the sense of discovery.

In recent years, the industrial world has been more concerned with securitization of identity and mobility than with other questions. Korstanje and Olsen (2011) have examined the genre of horror movies to explore how 9/11 has not only created a serious shock to American culture but has also changed the manner of creating terror in cinema. Based on an examination of movies such as *Hills Have Eyes*, *Hostel* and *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, they 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 populated by sadists who take pleasure in torturing innocent persons. The principle of evil seems to be combined with a lack of hospitality. The world beyond the boundaries of the USA is depicted as a dangerous place. This leads to a deep-seated ethnocentrism that audiences cannot see with any clarity but which affects how the other (non-American) is constructed. The concept of risk with terrorism, as it is being exploited by Hollywood, may instil serious damage in the collective psyche of Americans. However, as will be debated in the next section, this sentiment of fear is not new and comes from the foundation of nations.

American-ness and the Sentiment of Exemptionism

Doubtless, Max Weber was not only a pioneer in finding a connection between religion and economics, but he also realized how the cosmology of Protestantism (unlike Catholicism) constructed a closed view of the future. The idea of predestination led an economy of salvation whose immediate consequences were the rise of capitalism (Weber, 1958, 1964, 1995). One of his contributions rested on a much deeper analysis of labour organization as well as how it determined territorialization according to cultural archetypes. In a valuable book entitled *Visionary Compacts*, Pease (1987) dissects the tension between American patriots and their doubts after Revolution, and Great Britain. From its earliest beginnings, the USA debated the dichotomy of freedom and the tyranny imposed by the British Crown. The level of anxiety that was sensed as a result of the separation of the USA from England, and the subsequent trauma occasioned by the Civil War, not only constituted serious concerns for settlers but also created a division between the idea of national unity and local culture. At the same time as the government created a central authority to ensure the loyalty of citizens, it undermined (as with the British Empire) the autonomy of peoples. The negative experiences suffered at the hands of British political powers steered Americans to validate the role of the private market. Freedom depended on the ability of one to confront the other's will. In other words, Americans developed a sentiment of individualism that fostered an internal competence among citizens.

One of the greatest fears of the Founding Fathers was to repeat the British project. To counter this, the discourse of manifest destiny gave to Americans a reason to trust in their leadership style. In the same way, the USA did its best to forget the past, in contradiction to its own identity. A sense of manifest destiny not only resolved the long-simmering conflict of a newborn nation with the Empire but also raised hopes that democracy would be imported and taught to other nations. The USA wrought a new paternalism, which has accompanied its ethnocentrism to this day.

Coleman (2013) suggests that American fundamentalism orchestrated the link between religion and politics, portraying the world as a dangerous place. Such a new order seemed to be charged with the need to reform the world, expiating its sin by means of sacrifice and creating an atmosphere of fear and grace converging. Americans and other anglophones, especially those in Britain, Australia and Canada, have produced a culture of terror that is embedded within their heritage. That culture induces a general fear among the populations of these countries. With a focus on the USA, the ruling

class has constructed a culture of fear that has evolved from the kind of fear associated with the anti-communist hysteria of the postwar years to its current incarnation in obsession with terrorism (Skoll, 2010, Skoll and Korstanje, 2013). While recognizing popular participation in constructing a globalized culture of fear, the fact is that elites in the centres of world capitalism have buttressed its construction conscientiously. The culture of fear is conducive to keeping class conflict in America and in the wider world under control (Skoll, 2016).

In clear contrast with Spanish settlers, English colonization crystallized through trade. The English reserved the right to intervene in the autonomy of natives, excluding them from their project. Their success in expanding a subtle but stronger mechanism of discipline was based on the concept of white supremacy (Guidotti-Hernández, 2011). As Hofstadter (1992) observed, the sentiment of exemplarity ignited a dormant discourse of racial supremacy that accelerated the adoption of social Darwinism as the main ideology. Invested with the right to command the destiny of the world, Anglo-Saxons not only expanded their ideology to the periphery during the 19th century but also expanded the original Darwinian thesis of the 'survival of the fittest' to 'survival of the strongest'. Social Darwinism disciplined European immigrants and provided Americans with a reason to feel superior. This suggests that becoming a major power gives the right to purvey a peculiar ethnocentrism. Hofstadter is correct when he says that the primary reason to rationalize competition among citizens is the natural selection theory proposed by Darwin (Hofstadter, 1992). In the texts by authoritative authors such as William Graham Sumner and Herbert Spencer, social Darwinism, far from being confined to Darwin alone, fits with the concept of an emergent exceptionalism, which in turn derives from the Puritan tradition (Fitzgerald, 1986). This raises an interesting point: 'What are the concrete effects of social Darwinism in capitalism?' or 'To what extent is this biological theory conducive to capitalist class formation?'

The introduction of social Darwinism was resisted by religious leaders until they realized that millionaires were not the product of greed or sin, as the puritan would claim, but a consequence of natural selection and moral virtue. Millionaires and owners of capital were seen as the finest specimens of humankind, promoted through their strength, validated by their skills in business and their ability to foster a climate of competition. According to an aristocratic view of republic, social Darwinists focused on the need to cultivate elevated and reified citizens. In parallel, as Miller (1953) has discussed, the hostility of the natives to the puritan mind reinforced their belief that they were on the 'correct' side, receiving pardon for their sins through faith.

Against this backdrop, Calvinism adopted the notion of predestination to divide the world in two – those (selected) who are allowed to enter into heaven, and those (the majority) who are doomed. On closer examination, social Darwinism and Calvinism are entwined. The social Darwinism of the later 19th century was allied to the underlying Calvinist doctrine of salvation, stewardship and prosperity as a sign of moral superiority. Equally significant, in the days prior to the Civil War, nativism emerged as a disciplining force that fostered resistance to newcomers (immigrants). Although, originally, nativism was merged with a dormant sentiment of anti-Catholicism, it mutated to other forms in the South where slavery was finally rationalized and legitimated. Racial discrimination and its practices constructed a barrier between the community and undesirable guests (Janiewski, 1991). Thus the foundation is laid for the economic exploitation of the new European immigrants and African-American slaves. At the same time, the USA carried out its genocide of the North American Indian. Cheyfitz (1993) explained that empires construct a subordinated image of the other who can never be the equal of the 'elite'. Ranging from ridicule to demonization, others are portrayed as inferior or uncivilized. Imperial discourse consists in disciplining this other – African-American slaves and their descendants, recent European immigrants and native North Americans – to make them into valid citizens. In practice, 'valid' and 'respectable' came to mean 'white' (Ignatiev, 1995). From that point, the politics of exception, as it was studied in different fields, not only defined the USA but it also ignited a debate worldwide. As Korstanje noted, this principle of exceptionality, which characterizes Americans, denotes a sign of insecurity in as much as other cultures are seen as 'rogue' or enemies of

democracy. Underpinning the proposition that 'preemption' is an adequate response to the rise of 'evil doers', rogue states or virulent terrorist groups, the USA, historically, suppressed the autonomy of nations, alluding to the principle of self-representation – a right given by constitution – and exceptionality, which is rooted in its religious ethos (Korstanje, 2013, 2016). However, the specialized literature has glossed over the connection between exemplarity and fear, a caveat that will be tackled in the following section.

This chapter helps understanding the intersection of terrorism and imperial aggression, which constitutes in an academic challenge for the next years. As a literary genre, travel writing offers a fertile ground on which to construct an understanding of how ethnocentrism works to maintain these contradictory ideas. In literature, the imagined landscapes of travellers are written from the 'centre', to impose a specific message on the 'periphery'. In the next section, we examine the book *Americans Abroad* by Charles Robert Temple. This book represents an effort to warn Americans who travel or work abroad about the dangers in the world. A clear diagnosis of how American imperialism works can be made based on this now relatively obscure text. The ideological core of American ethnocentrism resonated in Temple's book and we attempt to unravel this next.

Tips for Americans while They Travel

Fluent in six languages, Temple worked in many countries after graduating from Yale University, experiencing diverse cultures and customs. Interested in the psychology of tourists, he published *Americans Abroad* in 1961 to explain the radical shift suffered by Americans when they have to travel or work abroad. The book presents a clear picture of American ethnocentrism.

The end of World War II marked the epicentre of a new destiny for the USA, in view of the fact that the whole nation remained intact, unlike in Europe, where the process of recovery proved tougher. The USA promptly became the leading economy and the symbolic centre of Western civilization, while the Soviet Union fulfilled a similar role in the east. With the growth of the middle-income tier of American society, many Americans started to travel widely as tourists, businesspeople, diplomats, and in many other capacities. In doing so, they represented 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, p. 8)

Following on from Temple, many Americans view democracy as a legacy that the USA will leave the world, while travellers are encouraged to demonstrate why they are a special people. Beyond the failures and successes of international relations, the USA imagined by Temple should be judged according to what tourists do abroad. As ambassadors of their culture, American tourists should be enthusiastic about connecting with others; at the same time they should never forget what a good American citizen is. Even if language is an obstacle to overcome when Americans travel, since they are reluctant to learn foreign languages, Temple acknowledges that fluency in another language opens up new opportunities for business, as well as learning other customs. He insists that the American way is culturally associated with profit and money, in which case, following Weber, the degree of material wealth exhibited by the holder is a sign of God's blessing. Secondly, discovery and the quest for novelty is linked to the possibility of overcoming prejudice and stereotyping. Therefore, if racism restricts the opportunity to learn new things, then authentic experiences are based on the opportunity for tourists to embrace multiculturalism. Temples goes on to say:

> 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 a 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 people's value and standards.
>
> (Temple, 1961, p. 15)

Temple offers a guidebook for his compatriots who choose to live in other countries for a prolonged period. For tourists he has different tips, which typically focus on correct behaviour so as not to offend locals or their cultural values. Since tourists, who are mainly motivated by curiosity, excite their fascination for ethnic difference, they are often moved to know more about locals' customs, habits and heritage, and it is important not to forget that their security is a vital priority; tourists are not interested in causing harm, and they are respectful of the other. Nevertheless, in some poor countries, many of them portrayed as undemocratic, where the majority is deprived of the benefits of capitalism and democracy, tourists are targeted or attacked. Temple is convinced that lack of democracy is the key factor that explains why some countries fail to develop their economies, experiencing riots and political instability on a regular basis. The exclusion of citizens from political life results in serious material asymmetries that lead a population to poverty. Americans, following Temple's model, ought to help poor nations, never forgetting they are part of a superior culture affirmed by their economic supremacy. Of course, being 'special' and having the means to travel to different sites carries its own risks. It is worth mentioning that American tourists are invited to collect as much information as they can before travelling abroad; knowledge and data are important in helping Americans whilst overseas:

> 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, p. 21)

Though Temple is not an economist, and there is no explicit examination of the economic history of the USA, he notes that the USA, with its vast land mass, has produced a rich economy where domestic demand and industry have flourished in a continuous chain of consumption. This huge internal market has advanced through scientific achievement, and therefore a sense of 'American-ness' has been fostered through science, hard work and recreation. Temple contrasts the difference between the white/Anglo model and the natives in other countries. Of course, Temple ignores the many areas where aboriginals coexist with 'model', white, Anglo-American citizens. He trivializes the part of US history where one might document the rise of urban ghettos, depressed and marginalized small towns and stretches of rural poverty. The book assumes that the USA is the most democratic country. Temple does not ask if it is democratic, but instead asks *why* it is the most democratic country in the world. In the chapter entitled 'Special Luggage Labeled "American"', he recognizes that democracy is not a perfect system and notes that foreigners might say that judges can be bribed or the activities of some minorities are restricted, but he replies that in the USA '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, p. 30).

One of the most troubling aspects of Temple's argument is that he ignores hundreds of years of ethnic discrimination against Afro-Americans, the repression of blacks and the subsequent ghettoization of many citizens. Beyond judging American politics from an ethical viewpoint, this essay explores the archetype of identity to find the elements of 'American-ness'. Although few citizens have read Temple's book, it represents a valid resource in order to deconstruct how the allegory of American-ness has been formed. Our goal is aimed at revealing the essence of the American ethos, and to understand why Americans are frightened of strangers. While travelling for recreational purposes, tourists should understand that the lands they visit are not entirely populated by barbarians (p. 115) but that locals can learn from American values through reading magazines and other publications. Surely, travelling is the best way of cultivating American culture in other undemocratic nations, but it is, nevertheless, a difficult and dangerous undertaking. A rapid adaptation to local culture is the best course of action for Americans to follow.

On the surface, the primary concern for Temple is the implicit view that the world seems to be a hostile place. Thus, knowledge and know-how facilitate the mitigation of anxieties concerning the validation of passports at the border; and guidebooks are of paramount importance, so as to be familiar with the visited destinations. Travel writing (and guidebooks) tends to be trusted by readers (De Ascaniis and Grecco-Morasso, 2011). That said, Séraphin (2015), taking the example of postcolonial, post-conflict and post-disaster destinations, explained that travel writing can be a useful marketing tool as long as it includes the right type of information: (1) evidence that the service provided is good; (2) information about events and sites to visit; and finally (3) evidence of endorsements by opinion leaders who have already experienced the destination.

A coherent interpretation of the country visited should be kept in mind when purchasing the ticket. Temple gives the example of a friend who travelled to Beirut, buying his ticket in Israel, and was rejected upon arrival as he was accused of being a Zionist spy. Secondly, Temple's use of the term 'entirely barbarian' sounds ethnocentric because it connotes foreigners as representatives of uncivilized cultures. At this point, the notion of what is secure, or not, links to nationality; the question of whether the Middle East is perceived as a dangerous place implies that Arabs or Muslims are dangerous people. Finally, Temple anticipates the following axiom: while the USA devotes money and effort to export its culture to undemocratic nations, hostile reactions may very well emerge. This happens because tourists are perceived as intruders or ambassadors of empire. This raises the question of how international affairs, linked to issues of terrorism and security, mould what being 'American' means; and whether a sense of exemptionalism accounts for, in part, the fear they feel as 'privileged citizens'. This also supports Séraphin *et al.*'s (2016a) research on the importance of educating tourists (planning to travel to postcolonial, post-conflict and post-disaster destinations) at pre-visit stage. Nowadays, in many parts of the world, echoes of the US-led global war on terror stirs up resentment on the part of dominated nations. These two poles – American exemptionalism and the fear of terrorism – still remain at the heart of the Anglo-American archetype and the derived ethnocentric discourse that modern tourism often promotes.

Temple's book contains many examples of people who have travelled to Europe, Latin America and Asia. Being American means superiority over other ethnicities due to having a high income relative to people in other countries. Of course, this is less true today than in 1961 when Temple wrote the book. Also, Temple assumes that because Americans are educated in a civilized culture where respect for the other symbolizes the essence of democracy, they are willing to learn about other cultures. However, the way of constructing the other adheres to a logic that claims that 'we' are superior to 'them'. To be part of an elite, selected for salvation, raises serious issues for American tourists as representatives of their country. American tourists are not responsible for the policies followed by their government, unless they are officials of the US State Department, but the Anglo-American ethnocentric discourse upends the connection of causes and consequences, laying the burden on tourists. This can be seen in current guidebooks that present the Middle East as a dangerous destination for Americans. Tourists become involuntary ambassadors of their own country. It should be kept in mind that this ethnocentric discourse was not created by 9/11; it was present long before that 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, President Bush encouraged Americans to confine their travels to the USA only, and at the same time he militarized US borders and restricted migrants.

Ethnocentrism encourages the exemplary nature, situated in an exemplary centre over the rest. While fabricating virtues according to the values of the elite, ethnocentrism imposes limits on uniqueness, justifying exclusionary borders. At the time, international public opinion validates American tourists, seeing them as equals and accepting the would-be supremacy of the USA and its concept of democracy. However, being part of an elite has its price. When Americans cross the borders of their country, they face risky situations that range from terrorism to local crime. This allows for the classification of a destination according to security-oriented infrastructure and also creates a hierarchy of nationalities with Americans situated at the top. Though the act of travelling fosters more tolerance and open-mindedness, it is also true that, under certain conditions, it

neglects the importance of the other. Modern travel and mass tourism often values the other only when they adapt to the cultural values of a capitalist–cultural matrix. Ethnocentrism is not necessarily associated with violence or discrimination; sometimes it consists in seeing others under the lens of its own cultural values. Most desirable among tourists, Americans are the targets of evildoers and those who are the enemies of freedom and democracy. This was particularly well developed by Lisa Stampnitzky (2013) in her work *Disciplining Terror*. Notably influenced by Foucault, she traces the creation of terrorism, not as a problem but as an object culturally constructed by experts. In the 1970s, terrorism was conceived as a rational tactic used to wage small-scale warfare, but in the new century the theory has undergone radical alteration, more than likely supported by the advance of the neo-conservative Bush administration. The fact is that after 9/11, terrorism was redefined, leaving doubt as to the rationality of terrorists. Stampnitzky argues that the reaction to 9/11 stems from the three preceding decades and the rise of preemption as a valid doctrine. Equally important is that the Western sense of rationality should be applied to those who are not only irrational but who also envisage terrorism as a risk that can be prevented by adopting precautions. On one hand, there is a convergence between laypeople and a global expert network that emphasizes how terrorism operates on the fuel of hatred for the USA, because it represents all the best cultural values of democracy, stability and prosperity; on another, Stampnitsky brilliantly states how the demonization of Muslims in a post-9/11 context, coincides with the desired consolidation of discipline.

Summary

The films *Hostel I* and *Hostel II*, and many other horror movies, reflect how Americans are regarded as rogues or villains. An aspect of the plot of a movie can very well be extrapolated to daily life. Situating them at the top of a pyramid, these plots show how American tourists are captured and tortured by a criminal network. Seduced in eastern Europe, power lies in the hands of a bunch of millionaires who pay large amounts for the dispatch of others. This does not represent increased resentment by the local population, but portrays the world as a hostile place where big fishes eat smaller ones. The victim's value is fixed according to his/her nationality. Horror movies and other genres often depict eastern Europe as a hostile and dangerous destination for civilized tourists. The same sentiment of exceptionalism that leads Americans to be proud of their civilization instils in them a sense of terror when they have to leave home.

Literature often serves as an ideological mechanism of power, in order for the centre to exert influence over the periphery. Less attention has been given to the limits of imperialism, when it collides with fear. We have reconstructed how Anglocentrism operates through the text of Robert Temple's *Americans Abroad*. Though avoiding overtly discriminatory or racial overtones, Temple's text examines what is one of the tenets of Anglo-American ethnocentrism – the sentiment of exception. Temple's diagnosis is that the world is stereotyped as a dichotomy between dangerous and safe. That said, sometimes there are gaps between the way a destination is perceived by those from the outside and also by the locals. Séraphin *et al*. (2016b) referred to these gaps as 'blind spots'. Ethnocentrism appeals to Americans as the guardians of democracy, civilization and legal order; but they should never lose sight of the fact 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'.

References

Ansari, A.A., Singh, I.B. and Tobschall, H.J. (1999) Status of anthropogenically induced metal pollution in the Kanpur-Unnao industrial region of the Ganga Plain, India. *Environmental Geology*, 38(1), pp. 25–33.

Bandyopadhyay, R. and Morais, D. (2005) Representative dissonance: India's self and western image. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(4), 1006–1021.

Bianchi, R. (2006) Tourism and the globalisation of fear: analysing the politics of risk and (in)security in global travel. *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 7(1), 64–74.
Bianchi, R. and Stephenson, M.L. (2013) Deciphering tourism and citizenship in a globalized world. *Tourism Management* 39, 10–20.
Bianchi, R. and Stephenson, M.L. (2014) *Tourism and Citizenship: Rights, Freedoms and Responsibilities in the Global Order* (Vol. 11). Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
Bonham, C., Edmonds, C. and Mak, J. (2006) The impact of 9/11 and other terrible global events on tourism in the United States and Hawaii. *Journal of Travel Research* 45(1), 99–110.
Brantlinger, P. (1990) *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.
Buck-Morss, S. (1986) The flaneur, the sandwichman and the whore: the politics of loitering. *New German Critique* (autumn), 99–140.
Burns, P.M. (2004) Six postcards from Arabia: a visual discourse of colonial travels in the Orient. *Tourist Studies* 4(3), 255–275.
Busby, G., Korstanje, M.E. and Mansfield, C. (2011) Madrid: literary fiction and the imaginary urban destination. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* 3(2), 20–37.
Caton, K., and Santos, C.A. (2008) Closing the hermeneutic circle? Photographic encounters with the other. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(1), 7–26.
Chateaubriand, F. (1944) *Viaje a América.* Emecé Editores, Buenos Aires.
Cheyfitz, E. (1993) Savage law, the plot against American Indians in Johnson and Graham's Lesee v M'Intosh and the Pioneers. In: Kaplan, A. and Pease, D. (eds) *Cultures of United States Imperialism.* Duke University Press, Durham, UK, pp. 109–128.
Coleman, S. (2013) Actors of history? Religion, politics, and reality within the Protestant right in America. In: Lindquist, G. and Handelman, D. (eds) *Religion, Politics and Globalization: Anthropological Approaches.* Berghan Books, New York, pp. 171–188.
De Ascaniis, S. and Grecco-Morasso, S. (2011) When tourists give their reasons on the web: the argumentative significance of tourism related UGC. *Information and Communication Technology in Tourism*, pp. 125–137.
Fitzgerald, F. (1986) *Cities on a Hill.* Simon & Schuster, New York.
Floyd, M.F. and Pennington-Gray, L. (2004) Profiling risk perceptions of tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research* 31(4), 1051–1054.
Fuchs, G. and Reichel, A. (2006) Tourist destination risk perception: the case of Israel. *Journal of Hospitality & Leisure Marketing* 14(2), 83–108.
Grandena, F. (2013) The constant tourist: passing intimacy and touristic nomadism in *Drôle de Félix*. In: Gott, M. and Thibaut, S. (eds) *Open Roads, Closed Borders: The Temporary French-language Road Movie*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, pp. 39–54.
Greenberger, A.J. (1969) *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism, 1880–1960*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
Guidotti-Hernández, N.M. (2011) *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping US and Mexican National Imaginaries*. Duke University Press, Durham, UK.
Hall, C.M. (2010) Crisis events in tourism: subjects of crisis in tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism* 13(5), 401–417.
Heilbroner, R.L. (1995) *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers.* Touchstone, New York.
Hofstadter, R. (1992) *Social Darwinism in American Thought*. Beacon Press, New York.
Ignatiev, N. (1995) *How the Irish Became White*. Routledge, New York.
Irwin, R. (2007) Culture shock: negotiating feelings in the field. *Anthropology Matters* 9(1), 1–11.
Jain, S.K., Agarwal, P.K. and Singh, V.P. (2007) *Hydrology and water resources of India* (Vol. 57). Springer Science & Business Media.
Janiewski, D. (1991) Southern honor, southern deshonor: managerial ideology and the construction of gender, race and class relations in southern industry. In: Baron, A. (ed.) *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor.* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, pp. 47–69.
Keefer, P. and Loayza, N. (eds) (2008) *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
Kerouac, J. (1957) *On the Road*. Viking Press, New York.
Korstanje, M. (2006) Identidad y cultura: un aporte para comprender la Conquista de América. *Iberia, Revista de la Antigüedad* 9(1), 191–212.
Korstanje, M. (2009) Re-visiting risk perception theory in the context of travel. *E-Review of Tourism Research* 7(4), 68–81.

Korstanje, M. (2012) Reconsidering cultural tourism: an anthropologist's perspective. *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 7(2), 179–184.
Korstanje, M. (2013) Empire and democracy: a critical reading of Michael Ignatieff. *Nómadas: revista crítica de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas* 38(2), 69–78.
Korstanje, M. (2016) *The Rise of Thana Capitalism and Tourism.* Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
Korstanje M (2017) *Terrorism, Tourism and the End of Hospitality.* Palgrave-Macmillan, New York.
Korstanje, M. and Clayton, A. (2012) Tourism and terrorism: conflicts and commonalities. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 4(1), 8–25.
Korstanje, M. and Olsen, D.H. (2011) The discourse of risk in horror movies post 9/11: hospitality and hostility in perspective. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology* 1(3), 304–317.
Kozak, M., Crotts, J.C. and Law, R. (2007) The impact of the perception of risk on international travellers. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 9(4), 233–242.
Kulshrestha, H. and Sharma, S. (2006) Impact of mass bathing during Ardhkumbh on water quality status of river Ganga. *Journal of environmental biology*, 37(2), pp. 437–440.
Lepp, A. and Gibson, H. (2003) Tourist roles, perceived risk and international tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30(3), 606–624.
Litvin, S.W. and Alderson, L.L. (2003) How Charleston got her groove back: a Convention and Visitors Bureau's response to 9/11. *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 9(2), 188–197.
Lukács, G. (1971) *The Theory of the Novel: A Historico-philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*. MIT Press, Boston, Massachusetts.
Mansfeld, Y. and Pizam, A. (eds) (2006) *Tourism, Security and Safety*. Routledge, London.
Mansfield, C. (2008) *Traversing Paris: French Travel Writing Practices in the Late Twentieth Century.* VDM Verlag, Saarbrücken, Germany.
Mazierska, E. (2013) Tourism and travelling in Jean-Luc Godard's *Allemagne 90 neuf zero* and *Eloge de l´amour*. In: Gott, M. and Thibaut, S. (eds) *Open Roads, Closed Borders*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, pp. 119–136.
Miller, P. (1953) *The New England Mind from Colony to Province*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Moore, S.F. (2016) *Comparing Impossibilities.* Haubooks, Chicago, Illinois.
Pease, D.E. (1987) *Visionary Compacts: American Renaissance Writings in Cultural Context*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.
Pizam, A. and Mansfeld, Y. (1996) *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*. John Wiley & Sons, New York.
Plog, S.C. (1974) Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly* 14(4), 55–58.
Pratt, M.L. (2011) *Ojos Imperiales, literatura de viajes y transculturación.* FCE, Buenos Aires.
Rascaroli, L. (2013) On the eve of the journey: Tangier, Tbilisi, Calais. In: Gott, M. and Thibaut, S. (eds) *Open Roads, Closed Borders.* Chicago University Press, Chicago, pp. 19–38.
Reisinger, Y. and Mavondo, F. (2005) Travel anxiety and intentions to travel internationally: implications of travel risk perception. *Journal of Travel Research* 43(3), 212–225.
Roehl, W.S. and Fesenmaier, D.R. (1992) Risk perceptions and pleasure travel: an exploratory analysis. *Journal of Travel Research* 30(4), 17–26.
Said, E.W. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. Random House, New York.
Séraphin, H. (2015) Impacts of travel writing on post-conflict and post-disaster destinations: the case of Haiti. *River Tourism: The Pedagogy and Practice of Place Writing*. University of Plymouth, Plymouth, UK, 3 June.
Séraphin, H., Butcher, J. and Korstanje, M. (2016a) Challenging the negative images of Haiti at a pre-visit stage using visual online learning materials. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*. DOI:10.1080/19407963.2016.1261146
Séraphin, H., Gowreesunkar, V. and Ambaye, M. (2016b) The Blakeley model applied to improving a tourist destination: an exploratory study: the case of Haiti. *Journal of Destination Marketing Management*. DOI:10.1016/j.jdmm.2016.07.004
Skoll, G. (2009) *Contemporary Criminology and Criminal Justice Theory: Evaluating Justice Systems in Capitalist Societies.* Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
Skoll, G. (2010) *Social Theory of Fear: Terror, Torture, and Death in a Post-Capitalist World*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Skoll, G. and Korstanje, M. (2013) Constructing an American fear culture from red scares to terrorism. *International Journal of Human Rights and Constitutional Law* 1(4), 341–364.
Skoll, G.R. (2016) *Globalization of American Fear Culture: The Empire in the Twenty-first Century*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
Sönmez, S.F. (1998) Tourism, terrorism, and political instability. *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(2), 416–456.
Sönmez, S.F. and Graefe, A.R. (1998) Influence of terrorism risk on foreign tourism decisions. *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(1), 112–144.
Stampnitzky, L. (2013) *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented 'Terrorism'*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
Tarlow, P. (2014) *Tourism Security: Strategies for Effectively Managing Travel Risk and Safety*. Elsevier, Oxford, UK.
Temple, C.R. (1961) *Americans Abroad.* Sterling Publishing, New York.
Teng, E. (2004) *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895* (Vol. 230). Harvard University Asia Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Turner-Bushnell, A. and Greene, J. (2002) Peripheries, centres and the construction of early modern American empires. In: Daniels, C. and Kennedy, M. (eds) *Negotiated Empires.* Routledge, New York, pp. 1–14.
Weber, M. (1958) *Essays in Sociology.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
Weber, M. (1964) *Economía y sociedad: esbozo de sociología comprensiva.* FCE, Mèxico.
Weber, M. (1995) *La Ética Protestante y el Espíritu del Capitalismo.* Península, Barcelona, Spain.
Wildman, S.M. (1996) *Privilege Revealed: How Invisible Preference Undermines America*. New York University Press, New York.

11 Risk Management or the Right to Ritual: Attempting to Control the Masses at the Kumbh Mela

Danielle Griffin, Yadukrishna Puthanparambil Radhakrishnan and Kevin Griffin
Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin, Ireland

Introduction

As widely acknowledged within the literature, some of the fundamental drivers in religious tourism and pilgrimage are traditional religious events or rituals, and holy or spiritual places and people (Vukonić, 1996; Reader, 2015; Albera and Eade, 2017). Vukonić (1996, p. 117) emphasizes this, explaining that:

> [S]ince the time of the ancient mythologies up to the present, all the religions in the world have made hope concrete by proclaiming to believers that a visit to a holy place would relieve all or some of their troubles, whether spiritual or worldly.

For millennia, this impetus has driven pilgrimages to places of worship and enhanced religious travel both on a national and international level (Vukonić, 1996; Cerutti and Piva, 2015; Laing and Frost, 2015; Reader, 2015; Albera and Eade, 2017). Shinde develops this connection between religious places and ritual events, in Laing and Frost's 2015 work, explaining that 'festivals are celebrated because they constitute and function as "ritual" for transmitting and maintaining continuity of religious and cultural traditions' (Shinde, 2015, p. 23). Cerutti and Piva (2015, p. 55) identify the impact of such activity, noting in particular that religious events 'play an important role in enhancing tourism in the area in which they take place' and concurring with other theorists that many religious rituals and events, along with places of worship and persons of religious leadership, are the driving force behind religious tourism (Vukonić, 1996; Reader, 2015; Albera and Eade, 2017). Raj and Morpeth (2007, p. 228) support this idea, maintaining that 'religion and spirituality are common motivations for travel, with major tourism destinations having developed largely as a result of their connection to sacred people, places or events'.

This chapter introduces the Hindu festival Kumbh Mela as a motivating factor driving religious tourism and pilgrimage. This event has developed from the Hindu faith and belief that during a battle that lasted 12 demigod days or 12 human years, the nectar of immortality was dropped in four places, causing those places to be eternally sanctified as places of cleansing and purity (Sharma, 2013; Singh and Bisht, 2014). These four places, Haridwar, Prayag (Allahabad), Trimbak-Nashik and Ujjain, each host an annual event, with an auspicious event held every 12 years, to reflect the original 12 demigod days of battle (Malhotra, 2013; Sharma, 2013). Millions of Hindus believe that '[the] Kumbh offers the chance to transcend, to reach beyond the endless suffering of material existence and reincarnation and enter the level of liberation, salvation, and immortality' (Sharma, 2013, p. 1).

c05040060@mydit.ie; d14122953@mydit.ie; kevin.griffin@dit.ie

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

Thus Hindu devotees submerge themselves in the river waters as a rite of passage and to obtain immortality and purity (Palmer, 2014). This is a fundamental ritual in the life of a Hindu and is 'considered so holy that it is supposed to wash away the sins of several accumulated lifetimes' (Malhotra, 2013, p. 1).

Specific attention is given here to risk management at the 2013 Kumbh Mela in Allahabad, a mega-event which over 100 million pilgrims attended and bathed in the river Ganga (Albera and Eade, 2017). Environmentalists have voiced their great concern regarding the quality of the Ganga's waters (Nelson, 2013), with Mallet (2015a, p. 1) noting that the river is 'so polluted by untreated sewage, industrial waste and pesticides that parts of the river and its tributaries are not only filthy and unsightly but disease-bearing, toxic and carcinogenic'. This is of great concern to the prime minister of India, Narendra Modi, who is attempting to have the Ganges cleaned of impurities by 2018 (Mallet, 2015a, 2015b). However, 'regardless of the pollution, Hindus believe bathing in the Ganges will purify and help them achieve their desired Moksha, an end to continual reincarnation' (Nelson, 2013, p. 1). This spiritual attainment does not come without corporeal risk, and a group of scientists and doctors from Harvard University, along with their students, have researched the event extensively, paying particular attention to the pilgrims from across India and what infectious diseases they have carried, and from where, adding to the pollution of the river when they bathe as part of Kumbh Mela (Malhotra, 2013).

This leads on to a fundamental question: How can the authorities balance the needs, wants and requirements of the many stakeholders of this event; i.e. can health and safety professionals implement their water risk management plans while ensuring that pilgrims are allowed to attend and to perform a rite of passage that is a fundamental element of their faith? Within this chapter the argument from both sides is discussed and an attempt is made to draw some conclusions.

Religious Ritual

Throughout history 'religion has continued to be a central part of human experience' (Giddens, 2001, p. 530) as it defines a range of common rituals that are followed by devotees (Schultz and Lavenda, 2009). These rituals are often carried out by way of a ceremony or event, through very specific protocols and traditions (Schaefer and Lamm 1994; Bilton *et al.*, 1996; Haralambos *et al.*, 2004; Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006; Schultz and Lavenda, 2009). These rituals are important to both individuals and societies; they 'have religious and cultural values and are patterns of behavior tied to events that we consider important in our lives' (Subbarao, 2007:15).

A number of authors have identified and classified rituals. Primary among them are Durkheim, who identified positive and negative rituals, and Victor Turner, whose set of seminal works on the topic, *The Ritual Process* (1966), *Forest of Symbols* (1967) and *From Ritual to Theatre* (1982), identified two types of ritual – life-crisis rituals and rituals of affliction. Bell (1997), in discussing the basic genres of ritual action, provides a useful overview of the literature and identifies six genres of ritual:

Rites of passage: these are activities that celebrate the major landmarks in life, such as ceremonies related to birth (baptism), coming of age (Bar and Bat Mitzvah), marriage and death.
Calendrical and commemorative rites: these mark particular times of year, or fixed periods of significance, such as Ramadan, Diwali or lunar events for new religious movements.
Rites of exchange and communion: these occur when followers of a faith perform sacrifice and offerings to praise or appease divine powers; such rituals include harvest festivals, offering food to ancestors at Buddhist shrines or offering flowers and incense to a Hindu god.
Rites of affliction: these include a range of actions to heal, exorcise, protect and purify followers and generally to mitigate misfortunes that have been inflicted on them. Examples include the Oberammergau Passion Play (which was initiated to save local residents from the bubonic plague); Shamanistic rituals in many native cultures from the Ndembu of Zambia (as studied by Victor Turner) to the Korean *mansin* or *mudang* (Bell, 1997); and many other widespread events, such as paradin of statues to appease the gods.
Rites of feasting, fasting and festivals: these include Passover, Christmas or even Thanksgiving meals; communal/community fasting such as Christian Lent or Muslim Ramadan; and public

events such as Carnival/Mardi Gras, Semana Santa in Guatemala, Songkran festival in Thailand or the Festival of Lanterns in Obon, Japan.
Political rites: typically dramatic public events such as coronations or the opening of Parliament, which are both cognitive and emotional in nature, usually bringing together social and political traditions of the past and aspirations for the future.

There is much cross-over between the elements of this classification, particularly when one considers a complex multilayered event such as the Kumbh Mela, which involves various different sects of Hinduism, each with their own rituals and practices. Each ritual incorporates its own unique norms and traditions, with Giddens (2006, p. 241) noting how 'all religions involve regular assemblies of believers, at which ritual prescriptions are observed'.

History of the Kumbh Mela

The Sanskrit translation of the word pilgrimage is Thirthayatra; 'Thirtha' meaning a sacred site, including lakes, rivers, mountains or any other natural feature, and 'Yatra' meaning a journey (Lochtefeld, 2002). However, it is often forgotten that 'Thirtha' or 'Thirtham' can also mean pure or holy water. This translation of Thirtha is mentioned in studies conducted by Hooykaas (1973) and Milner (2005). Singh (2009) says that, traditionally, a Thirtha is always located on riverbanks or fords regardless of the topographic situation. Hence there is a very strong indication that a pilgrimage in Hinduism is a journey towards water. The Kumbh Mela is one of many Hindu pilgrimages involving a journey towards water and also one of the most ancient. The paramount river among the four rivers and the mythical Saraswathi is the Ganges. Singh (2012) says that the Ganges began to play a vital role in Hinduism for religious rituals and ceremonies of birth, death, purification, merit and marriages from the third century CE. However, Maclean (2003) provides a strong, evidence-based argument that the Kumbh Mela had its origins in the 17th or 18th centuries:

> The puranic [ancient] legend has been forcefully grafted on the Kumbha fair in order to show Puranic authority for it. Though the incident of amrita manthan churning for nectar has been stated in several Puranic works, 'the fall of amrita in four places' has not been stated in any of them.
>
> (Battacharya, 1997, cited in Maclean, 2003, p. 67)

Singh (2013) cites the Chinese traveller Hsüan-tsang attending the Kumbh Mela, in CE 644 in the month of Magha, as the first historical reference to the Kumbh Mela. However, Maclean (2003) and Wrigins (1998) argue that Xuanzang provides no reference of the word 'Kumbh' and the festival had none of the characteristics of today's Kumbh Mela. There is a strong argument that it was the Magh Mela or a Buddhist festival that Xuanzang had witnessed.

According to popular beliefs and scholars such as Ramesh (2009), the word 'Kumbh' refers to a pot or a pitcher in which the nectar of immortality or 'Amritha' was carried. However, Kumbh or Kumbha is also used for the zodiac sign of Aquarius. Maclean (2003) notes that many authors have pointed out that out of the four Kumbh Melas, the Haridwar Mela might be the original as it is the only one featuring Aquarius or Kumbha (Lochtefeld, 2002). The Nasik and Ujjain Kumbh Melas, which are often identified as later adaptations of the Haridwar Kumbh Mela are also known as Simhastha festivals. Both these Melas feature Leo or Simha, which could be the reason for them to be known as the Simhastha festivals. Additionally, three of the Kumbh sites – Haridwar, Allahabad and Nasik – have very similar annual festivals that might have been later amended to form part of the Kumbh Mela. Table 11.1 provides a brief account of the Kumbh Mela sites and other annual (or otherwise) festivals. The data show striking similarities between some of the original fairs and the Kumbh Mela.

Kumbh Mela (Allahabad)

The prescribed nature of ritual for Kumbh Mela is presented in Reader's (2015, p. 3) work, describing how 'millions of Hindus embark on pilgrimages to Hindu holy cities' to bathe in the Ganges as part of the ancient Hindu religious ritual to obtain purity and a long life (Pais, 2013a; Reader, 2015). This pilgrimage can be undertaken at any time of the year but it is most

Table 11.1. Details of the Kumbh Mela sites.

Kumbh Mela sites	Other name(s)	River(s)	Annual festival(s)	Activities	Kumbh Mela	Sources
Haridwar		Ganga	Kanwar Yatra	Bathe and carry the holy water from Ganga to dispense as offerings in their local Śiva shrines	When Jupiter is in Aquarius (Kumbh) and the sun enters Aries	Ramesh (2017) Lochtefeld (2002)
			Annual spring bathing fair Baisakhi Mela	Bathe and trading fair especially for horses		
Allahabad		Ganges, Yamuna and mythical Saraswati	Magh Mela (Makar Sankranthi or sun enters Capricorn)	Bathe	Jupiter is in Taurus and sun and moon in Capricorn	Ramesh (2017) Lochtefeld (2002) Rubacka *et al*. (2008) Maclean (2003) Wriggins (1996)
			Buddhist festival happening every five years as described by Xuanzang	Almsgiving in the presence of Buddhist monks with an image of Buddha central to the rituals		
Nasik	Nashik-Trimbakeshwar Simhastha	Godawari	Godavari Pushkaram or festival of rivers held every 12 years and Maha Pushkaram held every 144 years. Jupiter enters Leo, Simhastha (Simha meaning Leo)	Bathe and offer 'arghya' (releasing holy water by standing in river) to the sun	Jupiter is in Leo (Simha) during the lunar month of Shravan	Ramesh (2017) Lochtefeld (2002) Prasadini & Srinivasu (2015) *Economic Times* (2015)
	Pushkara festival		Chhath Festival			
Ujjain	Ujjain Simhastha	Shipra	Unknown festival (Ranoji Shinde invited Akharas up from Nasik to Ujjain in the 18th century)	Bathe	Jupiter is in Leo (Simha) and the full moon appears in the lunar month of Baisakh	Ramesh (2017) Lochtefeld (2002)

auspicious during the Kumbh Mela event held every 12 years for 55 days from mid-January to March (Malhotra, 2013). 'This event is held on the banks of the "Sangam" – the confluence of the holy rivers Ganga, Yamuna and the mythical Saraswati' (kumbhmelaallahabad.gov.in, 2013) and hosts millions of devout Hindus who come to bathe in the river Ganges as part of their religious ritual to seek enlightenment, immortality and purification (Sharma, 2013, p.1). Pilgrims travel from across India, and from further afield, with many making enormous sacrifices to attend this significant life event: 'Depending on the degree of their religious belief, people are prepared to undertake journeys covering longer or shorter distances, and sometimes very long ones, to satisfy their religious needs and beliefs' (Vukonić, 1996, p. 55).

Winter (2014) reports that in 2013, 100 million Indian people journeyed or undertook the singular pilgrimage to Allahabad, thereby creating a vast amount of religious tourism for the Indian nation. The event is recorded as the 'biggest gathering of humans in history' (Winter, 2014, p. 1) and 'the world's largest religious festival' (Harvard SAI, 2014).

The Right to Worship

The right to freedom of religion and to partake in religious rituals or events (such as Kumbh Mela) is widely discussed, both politically and socially, throughout the world (Davie, 2013; Parthasarathy, 2016). Under the Indian Penal Code, every Indian is granted the right to practise religion, or no religion. This set of regulations, originally written by the British, supported religious freedom as early as the 1860s (Skuy, 1998), long before such rights were commonplace in many jurisdictions. Section 295(A) of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) states:

> Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of citizens of India, by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.
>
> (CIS India, n.d.).

Other Indian government legislation refers to freedom of religion. Article 23 states that: '[subject to] public order, morality and health, and to the other fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution, all persons are equally entitled to "freedom of conscience and the rights freely to profess, practice and propagate religion"' (Parthasarathy, 2016, p. 1). This Indian freedom, emerging from 19th-century laws, is echoed in the United Nations Human Rights Council's mandate on Freedom of Religion or Belief (A/HRC/RES/22/20) wherein Section 1 states that 'everyone has a right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion or belief' (United Nations, 2013, p. 2). Since India joined the United Nations as a founding member on 30 October 1945 (UN.org, 2016), this mandate is binding on the country. Additionally, Section 8a and 8h insist on 'the right to freely practice one's religion' (United Nations, 2013, p. 3) and 'to ensure, in particular, the right of all individuals to worship, assemble or teach in connection with a religion or belief and their right to establish and maintain places for these purposes' (United Nations, 2013, p. 3).

Thus, both national and international laws and regulations, directly support the rights of the 100 million pilgrims who travel and attend Kumbh Mela to bathe in the river Ganges. The pilgrims legally maintain the right to religion, to worship, to assemble and to maintain their place of worship. The Indian government's stance on the topic undoubtedly protects this right to practise one's religion; however, it clearly states that this is subject to 'public order … and health' (Parthasarathy, 2016, p. 1). With rising concerns for the safety and wellbeing of the pilgrims that attend Kumbh Mela (Koch, 2013), this raises questions regarding the concerns of risk management advocates and stakeholders at the Kumbh Mela event in 2013.

The Risk of Ritual at Kumbh Mela

Tarlow recognizes that 'events, especially large events, provide a tremendous amount of extra stress on those trying to manage medical risks and to care for the public' (2002, p. 112). Shone and Parry (2013, p. 224) agree, claiming that health and safety risks for the public must be considered at all times, 'especially at outdoor

events which are large and complicated, or involve some inherently risky activity' such as bathing in the rivers at Kumbh Mela. Quinn (2013, p. 111) raises the argument that 'mismanaged and uncontrolled risk can have devastating consequences', and, as a result, Tarlow (2002, p. 223) advises that 'more than ever, the events co-ordinator must address the possibility that something might go wrong at the event; seeking to identify potential risks and taking steps to reduce or mitigate them'.

Kumbh Mela holds many potential risk management issues, including the use of ritual fire, crowd management, sanitary issues, environmental impacts, infectious disease, public safety and a range of water hazards (Illiyas *et al.*, 2013; Nelson, 2013; Palmer, 2014).

At the Kumbh Mela, while issues such as crowd management and potential stampedes (such as occurred in 2011, 2013 and, infamously, 1954) are to the fore, the management of water is the greatest risk concern (Nelson, 2013; Palmer, 2014) and a key issue for both the immediate stakeholders of the event and the Indian government (Mallet, 2015b). As Kumbh Mela is such a large event (over 100 million attendees over the 55 days in 2013 according to Nelson (2013), Verma *et al.* (2013), Balch (2014), Palmer (2014) and Singh and Bisht (2014)), environmentalists and medical professionals are alarmed by the number of pilgrims both attending and bathing in the waters (Holman, 2013; Balch, 2014; Holman and Shayegan, 2013; Palmer, 2014). Many specialists in the area of risk management and public health regard the tradition of submerging oneself in the waters, while few are vaccinated from infectious disease, as both problematic for the potential risk of infectious disease and the environmental impact this has on the river water (Balch, 2014; Holman and Shayegan, 2013; Palmer, 2014), which in turn highlights the issues of pollution of the Ganges and public health at the event.

The Waters of Kumbh Mela

According to Getz *et al.* (2012, p. 48), one of the first academics to examine Hallmark Events was Ritchie, who, in 1984, turned his attention to their 'economic, physical, socio-cultural, psychological and political impacts'. However, since Ritchie discussed the risks associated with water pollution, there appears to have been little progress in this regard, and David (2009, p. 103), more recently, has discussed how 'water surfaces situated in and/or near by event areas are usually exposed to significant environmental threats and pollution, which may be caused by the maintenance of additional facilities supporting events. Thus, 30 years after Ritchie highlighted the issue, this is still a concern, as the use of water sources is so significant at events for food preparation, cleaning, development of the site, personal hygiene and ritual (David, 2009; Paginton, 2013; Holman and Shayegan, 2014).

Nelson (2013) explains that environmentalists are growing more concerned as the Kumbh Mela 'is contributing to the alarming levels of pollution which is killing the Ganges', through the ritual of people passing through the waters for purification (Verma *et al.*, 2013; Balch, 2014; Palmer, 2014) and also the dumping of waste, cleaning of objects, personal hygiene, food preparation and secretion of excrement within the river during the Kumbh Mela event (Nelson, 2013; Verma *et al.*, 2013; Balch, 2014).

Thus it has been historically recognized that the river Ganges is disease-ridden, untreated and a concern for health and risk specialists (Palmer, 2014). This is a topic, much discussed by Harvard's global health senior writer Dr Susan Holman (Holman, 2013), who explains that many specialists are extremely concerned about the water quality at the holy river. Mallet (2015a) concurs, and states that a major issue for the medical professionals at Kumbh Mela is sewage within the water:

> At its worst – according to the 2011 water quality statistics published by the Central Pollution Control Board (CPCB) – the Yamuna's water at Okhla contains 1.1 billion faecal coliform bacteria per 100 ml, nearly half-a-million times the (Indian) recommended bathing limit of 2,500.
>
> (Mallet, 2015a, p. 1)

This is a direct result of the Indian cultural acceptance of public defecation (Koch, 2013; Palmer, 2014), and with the addition of 100 million-plus people who attended Kumbh Mela in 2013, the issue has seriously escalated, as people relieve themselves by the river's edge (Koch, 2013). Richard Cash, a lecturer and researcher at Harvard University's Global Health

department, travelled to India during Kumbh Mela in 2013 and noted that he 'watched a group of women huddle together next to a public toilet to urinate in the sand' (Koch, 2013, p. 1). This was noted as commonplace at the Kumbh Mela in 2013, according to Palmer (2014) and Nelson (2013). Palmer notes that '[t]he World Bank estimates that more than half of Indians practice open defecation daily'. He notes that, in a village environment, that this is not a good idea; however, 'if you're defecating on the banks of a river that supplies cooking and bathing water to millions of people within a couple of miles, it's a disaster waiting to happen' (Palmer, 2014, p. 1).

Nelson (2013) discusses the immense impact of the Kumbh Mela 2013 pilgrims bathing in the river for ritual purposes and camping on its banks, noting that they had 'dramatically raised organic pollution to dangerous levels' (p. 1) within the waters. Although no comprehensive analytical research has been carried out to assess widescale exposure to Kumbh Mela pilgrims of water-borne disease, most scientists agree that the issue is of grave concern and must be addressed (Nelson, 2013; Holman, 2013; Palmer, 2014). Sharma *et al*. (2012) undertook investigation at a number of sites in 2010, identifying potential risks, while Sridhar *et al*. (2015) discuss the risks from infectious disease at the event. However, they note that despite the many risks, the last cholera epidemic in the Mela was reported in 1906.

Kulshrestha and Sharma (2006) point out that there is large accumulation of soluble and suspended matter in the Ganges river water during the dipping. Ansari *et al*., (1999) provide a detailed view of anthropologically induced metal pollution of the Ganges. Jain *et al*. (2007) say that approximately 2 billion litres of untreated human waste enters the Ganges per year, which contributes to the loss of habitat of many species including the Ganges river dolphin, susu, which is also the national aquatic animal of India (Behera *et al*., 2013).

Public Health at Kumbh Mela 2013

Shone and Parry discuss that an important element of successful risk management is to develop 'a policy of heightened awareness, assessment, evaluation, moderation and recording' (2013, p. 223). This concept was a central tenet of a process undertaken at Kumbh Mela 2013 by professors and students of Harvard's Global Health Institute, along with Harvard's FXB Centre for Health and Human Rights (Holman, 2013; Koch, 2013; Malhotra, 2013; Pais, 2013a; Pais, 2013b; Palmer, 2013; Holman, 2013). Forty staff and students embarked on the Kumbh Mela 2013 in Allahabad, under Gregg Greenough, an emergency physician and assistant professor of Global Health and Population at the Harvard School of Health. They undertook to 'map the Kumbh', to examine the movement and activities of people, their infectious diseases, and, overall, 'to understand the dynamics of a temporary city during pilgrimage' (Malhotra, 2013, p. 1). To do this they monitored medical records during the event at a number of 'pop-up' hospitals, studied toilets and sanitation throughout the event, monitored the quality of drinking water, categorized 40,000 patient records, observed the management and care of lost children and observed how this developing country manages risk, public health and safety at the largest event in the world (Holman, 2013; Koch, 2013; Pais, 2013b; Palmer, 2014).

The results of the research have provided extensive knowledge of common ailments and disease outbreaks, on the ground and in real time, so that medical professionals could be more prepared throughout the onsite hospitals (Koch, 2013). These data were also to be utilized during future Kumbh Melas and other large-scale events.

The Harvard team established that staffing and resources of the Indian authorities at the clinics were not suitable as they were regularly 'overburdened with patients who had minor illnesses – often 500 or 600 a day, with only three nurses and one or two doctors on duty at a time' (Koch, 2013, p. 1). Minor injuries were much more common than anticipated. The team observed the use of public toilet facilities to obtain a better understanding of what sanitation system might work best at an event such as this, and established that open defecation is the main concern. Thus a waste management system must be adopted to reduce risk (Holman, 2013; Koch, 2013).

Pooja Agrawal of Harvard's Department of Emergency Medicine stated that she 'is amazed at the resources the government agencies

provided at the Mela, including free generic medicine' (Pais, 2013b, p. 12). However, she acknowledged that the Indian state government 'haven't gathered sufficient public health data required to improve their services' (Palmer, 2014, p. 1), mainly because they write everything by hand, and when the clinics become busy, the notes are forgotten, as priority is given to care for the patients. The Harvard team monitored 40,000 patients over 25 days (Pais, 2013b; Harvard SAI, 2014). Their main finding was that pollution of the Ganga is a serious concern that must be addressed (Pais, 2013a, p. 10).

Attempting to Control the Masses – Greening the Kumbh Mela 2013

The planning committee for Kumbh Mela 2013 attempted to reduce the environmental impact of the event on the Ganga's waters. Holman explains that water safety measures at the 2013 Kumbh Mela 'included attempts to reduce the risk of waterborne diseases' (2013, p. 1). Balch discusses the planning committee's attempt to 'green' the event and how 'as part of the "Green Kumbh", a major public awareness campaign about water pollution [was to] run before and during the event' (Balch, 2014, p. 2). Holman (2013), also discussing this, notes that, 'several religious groups at the 2013 festival led a publicity campaign to promote a "Green Kumbh" and sponsored efforts to emphasize the importance of keeping the Ganges clean' (Holman, 2013, p. 5).

Nelson (2013) confirms that the authorities agreed to promote the 'green Kumbh', noting that attempts were made to prevent people from washing clothes, animals and cars during the event, as these acts were not fundamental to any religious rituals and caused additional environmental concern. While seemingly minor, and apparently not very successful, these actions are important to acknowledge, as the event organizers clearly understand the importance of the environmental impact the event is having on the river, and the risks this pollution represents for the health of the pilgrims. Despite these efforts, water pollution within the Ganges remained a concern for specialists including the Harvard team (Pais, 2013a), who experienced the situation on the ground in 2013, with Singh and Bisht (2014) proposing that more could and should be done without affecting the essence of this religious event (Singh and Bisht, 2014).

Stone (1972) says that it is a common perception that nature is the dominion of man, which is mostly derived from the religious traditions in the West. He proposed the idea of giving legal rights to nature and natural resources for their protection. This idea was first adopted in New Zealand by granting the Whanganui River the same legal rights as a human being for its protection against harm, abuse and pollution (*The Guardian*, 2017). A few days later, India became the second country to grant human rights to two of its rivers – the Yamuna and the Ganges. The court ruling was on the grounds of preserving and conserving the rivers; however, its legal implications and implementations are still in question (CNN, 2017). The Ganges has always occupied the status of Divine Mother Ganga, yet it is heavily abused and polluted by pilgrims and industry. It remains to be seen how the river recovers after gaining human status.

Risk Management versus the Right to Ritual

This is a complex relationship. Holman (2013) explains that one of the fundamental issues in this situation is that Hindus believe that the Ganges is pure and clean, no matter what goes into it. Swami Chidananad Saraswati, cited by Nelson (2013, p. 1) concurs with this, noting that 'the water is dirty but the Ganga is pure. That purity never ends.' Nelson further notes that 'regardless of the pollution, Hindus believe bathing in the Ganges will purify them and help them achieve their desired Moksha, an end to continual reincarnation' (2013, p. 1). However, Palmer (2014, p. 1) insists that 'pilgrims shouldn't have to risk their lives to fulfil their obligation to God'.

Tarlow (2002) maintains that 'event risk managers, must take into account issues of both water consumption and water purity, which Quinn develops by stating that 'risk management is the business of actively seeking to avoid, prevent, minimize and manage risk' (2013, p. 110). Shone and Parry suggest that while this is true, it should not reflect upon the essence of the event, stressing that organizers need to find a balance between providing the best possible duty

of care to visitors/staff/attendees, whilst maintaining 'a sense of proportion' (2013, p. 223).

Clearly, intervention in a religious event that is based on thousands of years of tradition must be done carefully, sensitively and respectfully in order to not affect the religious rights of the attendees. However, Swami Chidananad Saraswati, head of the Parmath Niketan Ashram, believes that the balance lies within the Kumbh Mela community itself (Nelson, 2013). He states that Hindu pilgrims focus 'too much on their Creator but…[do]…not care enough for his creation' (Nelson, 2013). A clear example of this is the shortage of waste and sewage management systems, which are not at present being well managed (Nelson, 2013). In this regard, both the attendees and the event managers must work harder, together, to achieve a positive outcome for the Kumbh Mela event (Nelson, 2013).

Summary

Within this chapter, the topic of religious events and rituals as drivers for religious tourism and pilgrimage was acknowledged, noting that travel is frequently motivated by religion and spirituality. This movement of people for religious purposes is widespread, such that major tourism destinations have developed as a result of their connection to the sacred, with a range of hospitality services and sanitary, health and safety facilities all developing to support the visiting pilgrim tourists. In the Kumbh Mela, however, the city that houses up to 100 million travellers is erected, inhabited and dismantled in about five months (Mehrotra, 2014) with the temporary existence of the site adding to the challenges regarding health safety and risk management.

The chapter introduced the Hindu festival Kumbh Mela as a motivating event, driving religious tourism and pilgrimage within India, and explained how this event is a fundamental ritual in the life of a Hindu. However, one of the most incredible aspects of the event is that over 100 million pilgrims attended in 2013 to bathe in the river Ganges.

Risk management at this event, and also relating to the waters of the Ganges, was discussed, with environmental and medical concerns regarding the quality of the river being noted (Nelson, 2013). Research from Harvard academics and students was presented, as was the Indian government's attempts to 'green' the Kumbh Mela. The conclusion, however, is that the river waters are still a great concern for many, and while it is acknowledged that the 'greening' will, and must, continue and develop in order to be successful (Pais, 2013a), they will continue to present enormous risk for the foreseeable future.

A brief debate on the management of risk versus the right to ritual at Kumbh Mela was discussed and the consideration for managing the risk, by integrating the pilgrims as well as other stakeholders into the overall strategy, was identified as a vital step in the process of combatting the risk of water quality at Kumbh Mela 2013. Ultimately, it is a complex challenge, whether managing the risks or facilitating freedom to engage in ritual is afforded the most significance. However, it remains clear that the event management team and the multitude of stakeholders for the event must do everything in their power to protect both the attendees themselves and the integrity of their religious pilgrimage.

References

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S. and Turner, B. (2006) *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* (5th edn). Penguin Books, London.

Albera, D. and Eade, J. (2017) *New Pathways in Pilgrimage Studies: Global Perspectives*. Routledge, New York.

Balch, O. (2014) Religiousfestivals: how sustainable is Kumbh Mela, Hajj and Christmas? *The Guardian*, 13 November. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2014/nov/13/religious-festivals-sustainable-kumbh-mela-hajj-christmas (accessed 19 March 2017).

Behera, S.K., Singh, H. and Sagar, V. (2013) Status of Ganges River dolphin (Platanista gangetica gangetica) in the Ganga River basin, India: A review. *Aquatic ecosystem health & management*, 16(4), pp. 425–432.

Bell, C. (1997) *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (rev. edn). Oxford University Press, New York.

Bilton, T., Bonnett, K., Jones, P., Skinner, D., Stanworth, M. and Webster, A. (1996) *Introductory Sociology* (3rd edn). Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK.

Cerutti, S. and Piva, E. (2015) Religious tourism and event management: an opportunity for local tourism development. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 3(1), art. 8. Available at: http://arrow.dit.ie/ijrtp/vol3/iss1/8 (accessed 25 March 2017).

CIS India (n.d.) Section 295A of the Indian Penal Code. Available at: http://cis-india.org/internet-governance/resources/section-295a-indian-penal-code (accessed 6 December 2017).

CNN (2017) India becomes second country to give rivers human status. Available at : https://edition.cnn.com/2017/03/22/asia/india-river-human/index.html (accessed 27 January 2017).

David, L. (2009) Events and tourism: an environmental approach and impact assessment. *Journal of Tourism Challenges and Trends* 2(2), 101–114.

Davie, G. (2013) *The Sociology of Religion – A Critical Agenda* (2nd edn). Sage, London.

Getz, D., Svensson, B., Peterssen, R. and Gunnervall, A. (2012) Hallmark events: definition, goals and planning process. *International Journal of Event Management Research* 7(1/2), 47–67.

Giddens, A. (2001) *Sociology* (4th edn). Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.

Giddens, A. (2006) *Sociology* (5th edn). Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.

Haralambos, M., Holborn, M. and Heald, R. (2004) *Sociology – Themes and Practices* (5th edn). Harper-Collins, London.

Harvard SAI (2014) Visualizing global studies in the classroom. Harvard University South Asia Institute. Available at: http://southasiainstitute.harvard.edu/2014/08/visualizing-global-studies/ (accessed 1 May 2017).

Holman, S. (2013) Harvard at the Kumbh Mela: A Photo Essay, *Harvard Global Health Institute*

Holman, S. and Shayegan, L. (2014) Toilets and sanitation at the Kumbh Mela. *Urbanization*, pp. 1–24. Harvard Global Health Institute. Available at: https://caseresources.hsph.harvard.edu/files/case/files/2013_kumbh_mela.pdf (accessed 10 March 2017).

Hooykaas, C. (1973) *Religion in Bali* (Vol. 10). Brill, London.

Illiyas, F., Mani, S., Pradeepkumar, A. and Mohan, K. (2013) Human stampedes during religious festivals: a comparative review of mass gathering emergencies in India. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 5, 10–18.

Koch, K. (2013) Tracking disease in a tent city. *Harvard Gazette.* Available at: http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2013/03/tracking-disease/ (accessed 11 March 2017).

kumbhmelaallahabad.gov.in (2013) Available at: http://kumbhmelaallahabad.gov.in/english/about_kumbh.html (accessed 28 March 2017).

Laing, J. and Frost, W. (eds) (2015) *Rituals and Traditional Events in the Modern World*. Routledge, London.

Lochtefeld, J.G. (2002) *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hinduism: AM (Vol. 1)*. The Rosen Publishing Group, New York.

Maclean, K. (2003) Making the colonial state work for you: The modern beginnings of the ancient Kumbh Mela in Allahabad. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 62(3), pp. 873–905.

Malhotra, J. (2013) A sea of humanity in Kumbh Mela holds clues to how we behave. *The National*, 20 February, pp. 1–7. Available at: http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/a-sea-of-humanity-in-kumbh-mela-holds-clues-to-how-we-behave (accessed 19 March 2013).

Mallet, V. (2015a) The Ganges: holy, deadly river, *Financial Times*. Available from: https://www.ft.com/content/dadfae24-b23e-11e4-b380-00144feab7de (accessed 21 March 2017).

Mallet, V. (2015b) Obama and Modi bury the hatchet to strengthen US–India ties. *Financial Times*. Available at: https://www.ft.com/content/9c46613a-a1ea-11e4-b176-00144feab7de (accessed 12 April 2017).

Mehrotra, R. (2014) Constructing the world's biggest (disassemblable) city. *Works that Work* 4. Available at: https://worksthatwork.com/4/constructing-the-worlds-biggest-disassemblable-city (accessed 6 December 2017).

Milner, A. (2005) Historians writing nations: Malaysian contests. Nation-building: *Five Southeast Asian histories*, pp.117–161.

Nelson, D. (2013) Ganges hit by alarming pollution levels during the Kumbh Mela. *The Telegraph*, 23 February. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/9891059/Ganges-hit-by-alarming-pollution-levels-during-Kumbh-Mela.html (accessed 19 March 2017).

Paginton, H. (2013) Environmental impacts of events. *Prezi Inc.* Available at: https://prezi.com/kkzsrfqqf9mh/environmental-impacts-of-events/ (accessed 20 March 2017).

Pais, A.J. (2013a) Dip of faith: 'You become part of a very large humanity'. *India Abroad*, p.10.

Pais, A.J. (2013b) No answer to the phenomenon – medical arrangements at the Maha Kumbh amaze experts. *India Abroad*, p.12.

Palmer, B. (2014) The shortest route to God – why religious pilgrimages are incredibly dangerous. *Medical Examiner*. Available at: http://www.slate.com/articles/health_and_science/medical_examiner/2014/06/dangers_of_the_hajj_kumbh_mela_and_other_religious_gatherings_fire_mers.html (accessed 17 March 2017).

Parthasarathy, S. (2016) Conversion and freedom of religion (updated edn). *The Hindu*, 7 April. Available from: http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/conversion-and-freedom-of-religion/article6716638.ece (accessed 1 May 2017).
Quinn, B. (2013) *Key Concepts in Event Management*. Sage Publications, London.
Raj, R. and Morpeth, N.D. (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management – An International Perspective*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK.
Reader, I. (2015) *Pilgrimage: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
Ritchie, J.R.B. (1984) Assessing the impact of hallmark events: conceptual and research issues. *Journal of Travel Research* 23(1), pp. 2–11.
Schaefer, R. and Lamm, R. (1994) *Sociology*. McGraw Hill Education, New York.
Schultz, E. and Lavenda, R. (2009) *Cultural Anthropology – A Perspective on the Human Condition*. Oxford University Press, Inc., New York.
Sharma, A. (2013) What is the history and significance of Kumbh/Maha Kumbh melas among Hindus? *Quora*. Available at: https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-history-and-significance-of-Kumbh-Maha-Kumbh-melas-among-Hindus (accessed 10 April 2017).
Sharma, V., Bhadula, S. and Joshi, B.D. (2012) Impact of mass bathing on water quality of Ganga river during Maha Kumbh 2010. *Nature and Science* 10(6), 1–5.
Shinde, K. (2015) Ganesh festival: a ten day extravaganza: a life full of meanings. In: Laing, J. and Frost, W. (2015) *Rituals and Traditional Events in the Modern World*. Routledge, London, pp. 23–38.
Shone, A. and Parry, B. (2013) *Successful Event Management: A Practical Handbook* (4th edn). Cengage Learning EMEA, Andover, UK.
Singh, S. (2009) *Pilgrim culture of tirtha in India: enculturation of new age movements within age-old rituals. Domestic Tourism in Asia: Diversity and Divergence*. Earthscan, London, pp. 81–105.
Singh, R.P. (2012) The Ganga River: Images, Sacrality and Salvific Places. *Geographical Review of India*, 74(4), pp. 314–338.
Singh, R.P. (2013) *Hindu Tradition of Pilgrimage: Sacred Space & System*. Dev Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi.
Singh, S.K. and Bisht, A. (2014) Environmntal management in mass gatherings: a case study of Maha Kumbh Mela 2013 at Prayag, India. *International Journal for Innovative Research in Science & Technology* 1(7), 107–115.
Skuy, D. (1998) Macaulay and the Indian Penal Code of 1862: the myth of the inherent superiority and modernity of the English legal system compared to India's legal system in the nineteenth century. *Modern Asian Studies* 32(3), 513–557.
Sridhar, S., Gautret, P. and Brouqui, P. (2015) A comprehensive review of the Kumbh Mela: identifying risks for spread of infectious diseases. *Clinical Microbiology and Infection* 21(2), 128–133.
Stone, C.D. (1972) Should Trees Have Standing – Toward Legal Rights for Natural Objects. S. CAl. l. rev., 45, p.450.
Subbarao, S. (2007) *Hindu Wedding Rituals – Symbolism and significance*. Aardvark Global Publishing Company, LLC; USA.
Tarlow, E. (2002) *Event Risk Management and Safety*. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York.
The Guardian (2017) New Zealand river granted same legal rights as human being. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/16/new-zealand-river-granted-same-legal-rights-as-human-being (accessed 27 January 2017).
UN.org (2016) United Nations – Member States. Available at http://www.un.org/en/member-states/ (accessed 6 December 2017).
United Nations (2013) *22/20 Freedom of Religion or Belief*. General Assembly – Human Rights Council. Available at: https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G13/136/50/PDF/G1313650.pdf?OpenElement (accessed 17 March 2013).
Verma, R.K., Gupta, A.K. and Paptel, A. (2013) Kumbh Mela: its significance (positive and negative aspects). Central Institute of Medical and Aromatic Plants, India: CIMAP. Available at: http://52.7.188.233/sites/default/files/webform/anand%20poster%20Kumbh.pdf (accessed 9 March 2017).
Vukonić, B. (1996) *Tourism and Religion*. Elsevier Science Ltd, Oxford, UK.
Winter, K. (2014) Inside India's Kumbh Mela festival where holy men (and women) reach the gods with a little help from some marijuana and technicolour make-up. *Daily Mail*, 8 April. Available at: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2599719/Inside-Indias-Kumbh-Mela-festival-holy-men-women-reach-gods-little-help-marijuana-technicolour-make-up.html (accessed 14 March 2017).
Wriggins, S.H. (1998) *Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road*. Westview Press, Colorado.

12 Terrorists and the Dehumanization of the Other

Maximiliano E. Korstanje*
University of Palermo, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Introduction

Religious tourism and festivals represent one of the growth areas for underdeveloped economies and entice millions of visitors each year. Anthropologically speaking, religious festivals not only play a crucial role in revitalizing the social trust of a community, dissipating fears and renewing communion with God, but also offer fertile ground for terrorism. In recent years, policy makers have emphasized the importance of enhancing security at these festivals (Amorin *et al.*, 2014). So why are religious festivals targeted by terrorists? What are their goals? Do they want to destroy civilization entirely? Why is tourism necessary for them to achieve their aims? In order to implement efficient policies to prevent terrorism, it is first necessary to understand what terrorism is and how it intersects with leisure and tourism. This chapter discusses the roots of terrorism and its effects in a globalized world. The media portray geographically disconnected events within the space of a few seconds, and we may be inclined to gain a misleading perspective/image of terrorism as a result.

Firstly, some studies within the main literature are placed under scrutiny. The problems states have in keeping fear under control and avoiding domestic chaos are examined. Secondly, the intersection of Islam and terrorism is examined, in order to expand the current understanding of this issue. Thirdly, the problem of instrumentality, which is ingrained in our Western psyche, is addressed. The nature of terrorism is explored and its targeting of innocent tourists and international travellers. No definitive answer is offered, but an all-pervading diagnosis might help officials and policy makers in their quest to find a solution to the problem.

Terror in a Global Age

Some decades ago, before 9/11, international terrorism targeted police or important officials in order to cause instability within society. Examples of this are the IRA, Hezbollah and ETA. Nowadays, as Rashid Moten (2010) states, movements target more vulnerable agents/groups – journalists, tourists and other lay-citizens. To some extent, this is because we have become desensitized to terrorism, so more radical tactics are employed to gain the attention of the public. The message of the terrorists now is that nobody is safe, anywhere at any time. Crocker *et al.* (2009) draw attention to the new security challenges that have arisen in response to international affairs, accelerated by 9/11. Anti-Western sentiment has

*Address for correspondence: mkorst@palermo.edu

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

flourished across the Middle East (Tessler and Robbins, 2007). The policies of intervention to prevent attacks, promoted by the USA in the region, have not proved successful but instead have aggravated the problem, causing further political instability. Arab nation-states are not consolidated structures of power but temporal assemblies of different groups with multiple interests. One of the errors committed by the USA in intervening in undemocratic countries has been its promotion of democracy as the best form of government. This form of government takes time to build, and the Pentagon's spin doctors could never have imagined that events would turn out as they have. This does not mean that democracy is bad, but that it has come about after centuries of internal civil war. Once 'authoritarian' regimes are removed by the USA, the dogs of war are unleashed, with entirely unpredictable consequences.

Some voices have proclaimed that the collapse of the Soviet Union opened the door to a set of new conflicts, from genocide to terrorist attacks (Brown, 2009). According to the textbooks, the doctrine of 'preventative attack', based on the axiom of preemption, offers sound opportunity to anticipate future strikes (Bellamy, 2007; Ignatieff, 2013; Korstanje, 2013), but as Crenshaw (2009) puts it, Westerners started from the erroneous premise that terrorists are formed in undemocratic states or fundamentalist religious doctrines; however, scholars ignore the role played by globalization in the expansion of terrorism. The economic expansion of central powers is often based on the imposition of restrictive policies that lead to local exploitation and resentment. Furthermore, the tourism and media industries provide opportunities for terrorists to plan their attacks. The problem with terrorism in the Middle East started in the 1990s. Islamic leaders issued a fatwa against the Clinton administration in 1998 because of its reluctance to evacuate troops from Saudi Arabia. The USA was selected as the main threat by Al-Qaeda, a cell organized, paradoxically, by the FBI and the CIA to struggle against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. According to Chalmers Johnson (2000), it represented a real blow to the USA and a profound miscalculation in international affairs.

Revel (2003) focuses on the anti-American sentiment forged by Europe. Instead of cooperating with other powers to eradicate incipient terrorist cells, European powers cynically conspired to restrict the actions of the USA in the Middle East. Current anti-American sentiment represents a discourse calling for America to stifle terrorism, while at the same time promoting the autonomy and self-determinacy of the invaded countries. Many point to a cultural clash between two civilizations (Huntington, 1992, 1997; Sunstein 2002; Keohane and Zeckhauser, 2003; Ayoob, 2009; Friedman, 2011); others discuss to what extent fear is manipulated by governments in order to introduce new liberal policies that would otherwise be rejected by the citizenry (Chomsky, 1989; Achcar, 2002; Altheide, 2002, 2006; Baudrillard, 2003; Ray-Griffin, 2004; Skoll, 2007, 2010; Chávez, 2008; Fuller, 2012; Howie, 2012; Skoll and Korstanje, 2013; Korstanje, 2015).

Finally, Australian sociologist Luke Howie (2012) provides an interesting conceptual discussion to expand the current understanding of societies along with challenges and problems of terrorism for the coming decades. He argues that terrorists do not seek the obliteration of society, as the media would suggest; rather they administer and instil terror in order for their claims to be accepted by states. The publicity given by the mass media after an attack amplifies fear in the public mind and is conducive to the terrorists' goals. In this vein, Eid (2014) coined the term *terroredia* to indicate the interaction of terrorism with the media. The paradox lies in the fact that the media accept 'the terror-inspiring message' in order to stimulate attention and gain further profit from investors, but in so doing they feed the cycle of violence; both journalism and terrorism aim to target a wide audience to survive. On closer examination, specialists and experts who appear on mainstream TV programmes point out that Islam and its concept of religiosity are key factors that determine the rise of terrorist cells. In the next section we discuss the Eurocentric view that blames Islam for the formation of jihadists. To what extent this is an accurate assessment is open to discussion.

Terrorism and Islam

One of the most authoritative voices in Islamic issues in the West, Bruno Etienne, explains that the Muslim world, historically, has organized

around a message of peace and tolerance. This has caused a fragmentation of meaning with respect to the terms *umma* (community), *takfir* (traitor) and *jihad*, which represents a spiritual struggle for improving the soul, the environment and the other (Etienne, 1996). As a result of this, jihad is invoked each time a foreign power imposes its presence in the Middle East. Rashid Moten hypothesizes that Allah has demanded justice but has not given any hint as to how it may be achieved. Alhough the Islamic conception of justice includes all aspects of freedom, making a substantial contribution to humankind, no less true is that changes are often intellectualized as threats to Muslims. It has resulted, almost half a century after independence, in states as incomplete leviathans (failed states) (Moten, 2013). After the consolidation of Umayyad's regime, as has been documented by Crone and Hinds (2003), the *Sunnah* of the Prophet was invoked as a symbolic resource to justify revelry. Many scholars consider Shiites an ethnic minority that struggles against the Sunnites, but according to Crone and Hinds, this is a great error. Islam has been built on a Shiite conception of power while Sunnites played a deviant role in their attempts to decentralize the Umayyad's legitimacy and authority to impose more universal and wider goals. To date, cells such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda are centred on a Sunnite vision of the world, not only with regard to their abstract goals but also because these groups are divorced from the roots of Islam, which bans forced conversion. This begs a pungent question: Is Islam a doctrine inherently hostile to Christianity?

Although for some voices, in particular that of Samuel Huntington (1992), Islam and Christianity are centred around incompatible values, the fact is that both religions have peacefully coexisted for a very long time. In a seminal book, Fuller (2012) poses an interesting question: What would happen if Islam would never have existed? Fuller responds that, probably, the geopolitical landscape would be much the same as it is today. The anti-Western sentiment would have been developed by the Byzantine Empire due to attempts by Rome to control Asia. It is not unreasonable to posit that, from its onset, Islam adapted to other, conflicting, beliefs, negotiating with its neighbours a peaceful solution for coexistence. At first glance, once Mohammed died, his followers imposed a bloody boundary between believers and non-believers; however, it has not represented an obstacle for Christianity because of its roots in the Abrahamic faith. In popular parlance, within the Muslim community, Islam represents a polished and refined version of the Talmud (New Testament); but, as Fuller adds:

> Islam, as a new geopolitical force, inherited not only much of the anti-Rome views that grew over time within the Byzantine Empire itself. While Byzantium drew its deepest identity from the belief that it was perpetuating the true tradition of the Roman Empire, it increasingly came to view the Western Church as a geopolitical rival whose power was ultimately as threatening to Byzantine power and identity as Islam itself.
>
> (Fuller, 2010, p. 68)

Other than with Rome and its imperial interests, Islam never struggled against Christianity over religious incompatibilities. The political dispute between Rome and the Byzantine Empire made the province of Syria its first epicentre. This long-suffering province had some problems regarding paying tribute to Byzantium. With the passage of time, a gradual hostility between East and West escalated to a higher level and paved the way for the expansion of Islam. The message of Mohammed was as a ring on the finger of oppressed peasants. Huntington's diagnosis rests on a fallacy that Islam forced the Middle East to convert to its faith; rather, its expansion was due to filling a gap left by years of controversies and ruptures between Rome and Constantinople. What Fuller deftly explores is the likelihood that if Islam had never taken hold in the Middle East, other social forces would have filled the void. It is necessary to reconsider whether the clash of civilizations would be an unquestionable reality. A second point in this discussion, which has remained unchecked by the specialized literature, seems to be associated with the role played by instrumentality, which means extortion during the colonial order in the 19th century. This raises two further questions: 'Who has invented the logic of terrorism?' and 'What is the meaning of "taking hostages"?'

Professor Walid Amin Ruwayha (1990) showed that the practice of taking hostages has been imported by the colonial powers (British Empire) to the Middle East. The Muslim literature

exhibits rich volumes of studies that not only denounce the arbitrariness of colonialism but also indicate the ethnocentric position of Europe in understanding terrorism. Following this discourse, terrorism represents an act of inhumanity that defies any understanding and respect for life. The terrorist, unlike the perpetrator of the *crime passionnel*, calculates their attack against vulnerable targets in order to cause political instability. The merit of Ruwayha consists in triggering a hot debate about the roots of terrorism as it is understood today. The main thesis of his book seems to be that the so-called 'free world' is only free if consumers opt not to be capital owners. Put simply, the dictatorship of copyright confers not only legal protection on the owners but also activates a legal jurisprudence that encourages consumption. The myriad products fabricated in Western societies are to be consumed by the workforce. At the time, some groups attempt to change this dialectic relation, and conflict results. The concept of the terrorist is used by the status quo to highlight those pressure groups that may cause damage to its privilege position. Abroad, capitalist societies expand their hegemony by exerting violence as their main mechanism of indoctrination. Terrorism seems to be an excuse to consolidate a climate of the demonization of Islam. Offering a fresh explanation, Ruwayha concurs that both mechanisms work together by disciplining the international audience. Colonial powers (e.g. UK, France) developed a system of kidnapping (choosing sometimes hostage-takers) with the aim of creating a myth. The resulting stories were aimed at discrediting some cultural values while exacerbating others. This is the reason why we have to discuss in depth how, in the West, the notion of instrumentality has been structured, as well as its influence in the terrorist's mind. Whatever the case may be, following Ruwayha's findings, one might speculate that instrumentality and extortion were cultural values imported to the Middle East from Europe. Is instrumentality the root of terrorism?

The Instrumental Reason

Pragmatism, a philosophical trend coined in the USA during the advent of modernity, not only revolutionized the already existing discussion about truth and reality but also, as Richard Rorty puts it, reconceptualized the role of language as the platform on which philosophy is configured. Far from being pure, philosophy, or philosophical dilemmas, that cannot be expressed in words does not exist. Everything that can be represented is rooted in language. One of the contributions of pragmatism is the removal of the sacred veil of scientific knowledge, because there is no such thing as rational thinking or scientific truth. Reality can be defined as an internal disposition or projection of inner emotions, which can only be questioned when doubt arises. Human inquiry leads to temporal answers in order for the earlier state of tension – doubts generated in the cognitive system – to come into balance (Rorty, 1982). Some detractors of pragmatism, Riles (2011) observes, see pragmatism as a cultural project paving the way for the consolidation of rational thinking, which brings 'instrumentalism'. The idea that answers or theories are instruments to resolve questions, instead of alternative ways of reaching truth, corresponds with the adoption of instrumentality in the market. This means that the neoliberal market and pragmatism are inextricably intertwined. However, questions surface such as, 'To what extent is instrumentality forging terrorism?' 'In what way is instrumentality part of the solution or the problem?'

Max Weber was a pioneer in exploring the limitations of rational instrumentality in the industrial world. Although instrumentality offers some benefits for humankind, Weber has a pejorative view of technocrats. Instrumentality can be defined as the coordination of the means of achieving planned goals. Instrumentality, based on rational-legal logic, leads people to feel a sense of depersonalization in which trust in the 'other' declines. Versed in erudite texts, Weber acknowledges that capitalism is a cultural model that has been created in Europe. Though civilizations maintained competitive economies, England was at the helm because it developed 'rational thought'. However, Weber warns, the expansion of capitalism puts individual liberties in an iron cage, because people will become automatons. The process of secularization, where the legitimacy of religion is downtrodden, was accelerated by a capitalist ethos (Weber, 2009). Among other authoritative voices on the conception of instrumentality was Jacques Ellul, who alerted us to the dangers of a technological society.

The division of labour, and other exploitation, is key to understanding the logic of rationality. Through technology, humans create an artificial infrastructure that subordinates the natural world. Technology conjoined with technocracy represents an all-encompassing phenomenon in modern civilization, defining a powerful force ordained by economy and the concept of efficiency. Speculation, extortion and exploitation are rechannelled towards the market (Ellul, 1964, 1973). Jean-Pierre Dupuy, in his book *Le Panique* (1991), asks how society keeps united and why crises liberate repressed fears? He acknowledges that society's smooth functioning depends on an invisible hand to fill a gap. This type of collective consciousness is imposed to avoid the collapse of society. When social trust is undermined, panic serves to achieve social cohesion. Unlike other scholars who see fear as the result of sudden events, Dupuy observes that panic is invoked whenever events cannot be explained. The sentiment of panic is rooted in the market in the same way as violence is the touchstone of civility. According to his vision, terrorism (as an agent of panic) sublimates some psychological deprivations produced by the market in order for society not to disintegrate. This explains, to some extent, why financial crises are conducive to radical discourses against terrorism, which sometimes weaken the powers of negotiation of unions. In earlier studies, Korstanje *et al.* (2014) pose a polemic thesis that scrutinizes academia. Far from being a peaceful activity, tourism resulted from a disciplined and mitigated form of terrorism. Historically, the first steps in unionization and workforce benefits were subject to violent tensions that were redeemed by the state offering tourism as a valid platform for leisure consumption. Aside from this, what remains is a strange fascination of modern jihadists for festivals, celebrations, tourism and other cultural spectacles. This is a much deeper issue worthy of further discussion.

Religious Festivals as the Target for Terrorism

The advance of modernity introduced substantial change in the daily life of the medieval peasant. The theocentric viewpoint of the universe gave place to the idea that humans should advance in the field of knowledge in order to enhance their safety. Scientific and technological breakthroughs defied religion and the Bible. Science accelerated the process of secularization and threatened attachment to religion (Turner, 1985).

Though the legitimacy of the Catholic Church has been undermined during the last decades, pilgrimages, religious festivals and other celebrations have multiplied worldwide. The paradox of religion and tourism was widely addressed by Dean MacCannell (1976), who wrote that religiosity is for tribal communities what tourism is for industrial societies. Most certainly, industrialism evolved on the basis of the division of work and leisure. Since capitalism derives from an evolutionary but irreversible force, tribal cultures would be doomed to become commodities to be consumed by tourists. In this context, tourism, like the totem pole in primitive communities, revitalizes the frustrations and alienation among urban societies. Not surprisingly, Marx denounced the oppression suffered by the worker. None the less, leisure, far from being an ideological mechanism of control (as in Marxism), prevents social disintegration (MacCannell, 1976, 1984). Whatever the case, Raj and Griffin (2015) continue to discuss the dilemma left open by MacCannell with respect to staged authenticity. Some critics have viewed tourism as an activity that produces 'pseudo-events', in which case spectacle triggers mass consumption and the commoditization of culture. In view of this, even though religion plays a crucial role in generating the attractiveness of some sacred sites, their religious significance may well be diluted by the standardization that tourism triggers. Secular travel is conceptually pitted against sacred travel. Korstanje and George (2012) provide an alternative reading that helps answer how sacredness is formed. Far from being attractive, sacred spaces are distant from mass tourism. This is the case with the Malvinas (Falkland Islands), which hold symbolic, sacred significance for Argentina that cannot be enhanced by increased numbers of visitors. Starting from the premise that these islands remind us how important democracy is for Argentina, mass tourism is not a good option. This sacred space is immortalized as a sanctuary where lie the bodies of those who sacrificed their lives for the homeland.

Rotherham (2015) observes that while mass tourism suggests high levels of consumption, religion appeals to austerity. These activities seem hard to reconcile. The fact is that at sites of religious tourism, though visitors may originally be on a quest for novelty, authentic religious experiences can be obtained. It is vital to understand how the concept of attractiveness is why terrorist cells select religious festivals as their main targets. The fact is that spiritual tourists have a fascinating attachment to story or ancient founding myths. Festivals and pilgrimages are based on the need for spiritual purification, constituting one of the most important reasons to travel (Trono, 2015). These sacred spaces of renovation correspond to what anthropologists refer to as 'rites of passage', which are very important in order for society not to collapse.

Ethnology and anthropology have created a substantial background to understand how a rite of passage is performed. As a part of the world of rituals, rites of passage signal to a celebration that happens whenever a member of a community leaves a former group to join a new one. In his book *Les rites de passage*, Van Gennep (2011) argues that each community has its own rites of passages where peoples, roles and gifts are exchanged. One of the aspects that define these rituals is the need for physical displacement, which sometimes places the candidate in temporal isolation, to be reintroduced, later, in a new group. This isolation is based on two types of separation – the distinction between male and female, and between profane and sacred (Van Gennep, 2011). According to Van Gennep, Victor Turner established a pertinent model to understand the connection between passage and liminality. He writes that the rite of passage should be divided into three stages: pre-liminal (separation), liminal (transition), and post-liminal (re-incorporation). The role of liminality is crucial to determine the new status of candidates. In a state of limbo, candidates are tested to achieve a much deeper sentiment of *communitas* (Turner, 1995). Not surprisingly, rites of passage are not limited to aboriginal or tribal organizations; rather, there are clear examples in the West – baptism, religious tourism, graduate trips, Christmas or New Year celebrations, among many others (Korstanje and Busby, 2010, p. 107).

Dayan and Katz (1994) reconfirm that celebrations, media events and festivals are vital for society, not only to reduce internal conflict, but also to revitalize trust between different constitutive agents. This represents a collective act of sublimation, where people renovate their identities placing faith in the social rules. These rites, or media events, which go beyond any political manipulation, have the power to insert a message and create networks, stimulating in lay people a sense of pride in belonging to an 'in-group' (Dayan and Katz, 1994). Celebrations and festivals exhibit a symbolic encounter between humans and their gods, a type of sacred meeting point where the one gives thanks to the other for received protection. The cycle of renovation is often accompanied by dancing, music, and food and drink, in many cultures, attracting many neighbours. However, against popular perception, any failure of or disruption to the performance of these rites wreaks havoc in the social imaginary. The rites of passages, whatever their nature, confer on society a veil of protection with respect to life, economy and fortune. The performance is conceived as a type of tribute offered to gods, a type of gift exchange between divinity and a profane world. If something turns out wrong, the gods' rage will bring unimagined misfortune. Though reactions among tribal or industrial societies are very different, the same discontent remains. Officials are interrogated whenever the performance or the rite of passage are not achieved. In an earlier, empirically rich, study (Cromañón Sanctuary), Korstanje and Skoll (2015) document how a process of demonization against political and economic power begins in the moment when a disaster cannot be explained, disciplined or intellectualized. This explains why officials are particularly preoccupied with the security at these events. Their legitimacy or authority may be seriously called into question if people cannot be protected in a sacred rite of passage.

In recent years ISIS has declared a jihad on tourism, leisure consumption and the Western style of life. This includes religious festivals and any other media events that can be conducive to producing political instability or social discontent. Rashid and Robinson (2015) have sought to improve existing education, pre- and post-trip, on the web, in order that tourists can find constructive feedback with regard to their security. They are vulnerable agents for terrorism because they are unfamiliar with the geography

visited. Furthermore, acts of terrorism are today disseminated by journalists and the media in real time. Paradoxically, the same digital technology that can be useful for protecting tourists can act as a channel to show the effects of terrorism to the Western world, sometimes even amplifying those effects, and this constitutes an obstacle to consolidating safety-related policies in the context of festivals and celebrations. One of the most troubling aspects for policy makers in orchestrating efficient programmes of prevention is the lack of information on what terrorism is as well as how the psychological profile of terrorists has evolved.

Understanding Terrorism

These days, terrorism has, sadly, cast a shadow over Europe, to the extent that lay persons question what terrorism is. One of the limitations of applied research is the lack of empirical information to understand the terrorist's psychological profile. If interviewing terrorists, fieldworkers are required by the state to reveal their sources, which violates professional practice (Howie, 2012; Martin 2015). A closer look reveals that terrorism seeks to cause political instability by the introduction of fear in society. As Skoll (2007) noted:

> The import is that the greatest fear monger today is the American Empire. It generates massive fear throughout the world with its own military and economic power, and it broadcasts fear within its territories by its alerts against terrorist attacks, secret surveillance, infiltration, and so on.
>
> (Skoll, 2007, p. 125)

Advances in psychology reveal that the recruitment of terrorists is achieved through the acceptance by peers, through the desire for status or the need to belong. Terrorists are not maniacs or hatred-filled, but their decision to join a group is often based on emotional factors – friendship, social status or the quest for identity (Wilson *et al.*, 2013). The process of radicalization, described by McCauley and Moskalenko (2008), indicates that terrorists feel they belong to a superior group that has been mistreated historically. This sense of victimization leads them towards the most important element of the issue – *depersonalization*, which means indifference to others' suffering. To some extent, the goals of these cells are more significant than the means adopted. Groups are successfully radicalized by the presence of a sentiment of grievance; in small groups where interactions are face-to-face, the probability is that radicalization moves faster and goes higher than in larger groups. Members of these groups share the following mechanisms: (a) personal victimization, (b) political grievance, (c) a tendency to escalate to join other groups, (d) extreme cohesion in the face of external danger, (e) hatred, (f) competition with the state.

James Piazza (2008) considers that terrorism and democracy are inextricably intertwined. Far from what the social imaginary would suggest, terrorist cells are formed by groups that can be joined voluntarily or secretly, or have not a majority to instigate their ideas through elections. Democracy plays a crucial role in educating the terrorist's mind.

Summary

We have defined terrorism as a dialectical hermeneutics of hate between the state and a group of dissidents, where the more vulnerable 'other' is instrumentalized. Through the monopoly of the state or any other group, terrorism produces a confrontational atmosphere that often leads to human rights violations. Since the state is unable to forecast where the next blow will occur, individual liberties and rights are suspended. Korstanje *et al.* (2014) wrote that tourism seems to be terrorism by other means. This polemical thesis was validated by an in-depth exploration of unionization (influenced by European anarchism) and the historical formation of capitalism. The first union leaders attacked police and officials to impose their claims to improved working conditions. Many of them were killed, jailed or deported, but a second group (anarcho-syndicalists) adopted more peaceful means, which crystallized many social benefits for the workforce, even the right to strike. If we start from the premise that modern tourism surfaced as a result of unions' claims, one may accept that tourism and terrorism are historically linked. Beyond cruelty and violence, even terrorism and unionization have some commonalities such as using

extortion as a means for negotiating with the state, the surprise factor, and the instrumentalization of the 'other', which means taking hostage more vulnerable groups to struggle against the stronger state. Stranded abroad because of a strike by airport staff, travellers are used as hostages in order for unions to achieve their ends. Needless to say, the same logic applies to terrorism. Here is where the processes of depersonalization and instrumentalization converge; for terrorists, the 'other' is a commodity, a means to manipulate the state and achieve their goals. Terrorism is aimed at administering fear in order for individual needs to be satisfied. In this respect, Del Búfalo (2002) explains that 9/11 was planned and perpetrated according to the ideals of neoliberalism, expressed throughout a management guidebook. The rationality of how goals are fixed and fulfilled corresponds more with those in the West than with Islam. Neither cultural incompatibilities between Christianity and Islam nor cultural asymmetries between East and West are the key factors that determine the inception and consolidation of international terrorism today; rather it is formed as a result of depersonalization conjoined with the instrumentality of the other – two longstanding values embedded into Western consciousness.

References

Achcar, G. (2002) Le choc des barbaries: terrorismes et désordre mondial. Editions Complexe, Paris.

Altheide, D.L. (2002) *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis*. Transaction Publishers, New York.

Altheide, D.L. (2006) Terrorism and the politics of fear. *Critical Methodologies* 6(4), 415–439.

Amorin, A., Tarlow, P., Gandara, J. and Korstanje, M. (2014) *Event management, risk and security*. *International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism* 6(1), 42–51.

Ayoob, M. (2009) State making, state breaking, and state failure. In: Crocker, C., Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P. (eds) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC, pp. 83–114.

Baudrillard, J. (2003) *The Spirit of Terrorism*. Verso, New York.

Bellamy, A.J. (2007) Dirty hands and lesser evils in the war on terror. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 9(3), 509–526.

Brown, M. (2009) New global dangers. In: Crocker, C., Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P. (eds) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC, pp. 39–51.

Chávez, N. (2008) Cuando Los Mundos Convergen, terrorismo, narcotráfico y migración post 9/11. FLACSO, Ediciones Abya Yala, Quito, Ecuador.

Chomsky, N. (1989) *The Culture of Terrorism*. South End Press, Boston, Massachusetts.

Crenshaw, M. (2009) Terrorism and global security. In: Crocker, C., Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P. (eds) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC, pp. 67–80.

Crocker, C. Hampson-Osler, F. and Aal, P. (2009) Leashing the dogs of war. In: Crocker, C., Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P. (eds) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC, pp. 3–13.

Crone, P. and Hinds, M. (2003) *God's Capiph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Dayan, D. and Katz, E. (1994) *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

del Búfalo, E. (2002) La reestructuración neoliberal y la globalization. In: Ceceña, A.E. and Sader, E. (eds) *La guerra infinita: hegemonía y terror mundial*. Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, Buenos Aires, pp. 17–38.

Dupuy, J.-P. (1991) *Le panique*. Laboratoires Delagrange, Paris.

Eid, M. (ed.) (2014) *Exchanging Terrorism Oxygen for Media Airwaves: The Age of Terroredia*. IGI Global, Hershey, Pennsylvania.

Ellul, J. (1964) *The Technological Society*. Vintage Books, New York.

Ellul, J. (1973) *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. Vintage books, New York.

Etienne, B. (1996) *El islamismo radical*. Siglo XXI de España Editores, Madrid.

Friedman, G. (2011) *The Next Decade*. Doubleday, New York.

Fuller, G.E. (2010) A world without Islam. New York, Little, Brown.
Howie, L. (2012) *Witnesses to Terror: Understanding the Meanings and Consequences of Terrorism*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK.
Huntington, S.P. (1992) If not civilizations, what? Paradigms of the post-cold war world. *Foreign Affairs* 72, 186.
Huntington, S.P. (1997) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Penguin Books, New York.
Ignatieff, M. (2013) *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
Johnson, C. (2000) *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*. Macmillan, New York.
Keohane, N. and Zeckhauser, R. (2003) The ecology of terror defense. *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 26(2–3), 201–229.
Korstanje, M.E. (2013) Pre-emption and terrorism: when the future governs. *Cultura: International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology* 10(1), 167–184.
Korstanje, M.E. (2015) *A Difficult World: Examining the Roots of Capitalism*. Nova Science Publishers, New York.
Korstanje, M.E. and Busby, G. (2010) Understanding the Bible as the roots of physical displacement: the origin of tourism. *E-Review of Tourism Research* 8(3), 95–111.
Korstanje, M.E. and George, B.P. (2012) Falklands/Malvinas: a re-examination of the relationship between sacralisation and tourism development. *Current Issues in Tourism* 15(3), 153–165.
Korstanje, M.E. and Skoll, G. (2015) From disaster to religiosity: Republica de Cromañon Buenos Aires, Argentina. In: Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (eds) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An international Perspective* (2nd edn). CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 267–278.
Korstanje M.E., Skoll, G. and Timmermann, F. (2014) Terrorism, tourism and worker unions: the disciplinary boundaries of fear. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 2(1), 1–12.
MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
MacCannell, D. (1984) Reconstructed ethnicity tourism and cultural identity in third world communities. *Annals of Tourism Research* 11(3), 375–391.
Martin, G. (2015) *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. Sage Publications, London.
McCauley, C. and Moskalenko, S. (2008) Mechanisms of political radicalization: pathways toward terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20(3), 415–433.
Moten, A.R. (2010) Understanding terrorism: contested concept, conflicting perspectives and shattering consequences. *Intellectual Discourse* 18(1), 35–63.
Moten, A.R. (2013) Social justice, Islamic State and Muslim countries. *Cultura: International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology* 10(1), 7–24.
Piazza, J.A. (2008) Do democracy and free markets protect us from terrorism? *International Politics* 45(1), 72–91.
Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (2015) Introduced to sacred and secular journeys. In: Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (eds) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* (2nd edn). CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 1–15.
Rashid, T. and Robinson, N. (2015) Pilgrimage, diversity and terrorism. In: Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (eds) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 93–102.
Ray-Griffin, D. (2004) *The New Pearl Harbor: Disturbing Questions about the Bush Administration and 9/11*. Olive Branch Press, Northampton, Massachusetts.
Revel, J.F. (2003) *Anti-Americanism*. Encounter Books, New York.
Riles, A. (2011) *Collateral Knowledge: Legal Reasoning in the Global Financial Markets*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.
Rorty, R. (1982) *Consequences of Pragmatism*. University of Minneapolis Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Rotherham, I.D. (2015) Sacred sites and the tourist: sustaining tourism infrastructure for religious tourists and pilgrims – a UK perspective. In: Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (eds) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* (2nd edn). CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 37–56.
Ruwayha, W.A. (1990) *Terrorism and Hostage-taking in the Middle East*. Editons JCI, Paris.
Skoll, G.R. (2007) Meanings of terrorism. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law: Revue Internationale de Sémiotique Juridique* 20(2), 107–127.
Skoll, G.R. (2010) *Social Theory of Fear: Terror, Torture, and Death in a Post-capitalist World*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Skoll, G.R. and Korstanje, M.E. (2013) Constructing an American fear culture from red scares to terrorism. *International Journal of Human Rights and Constitutional Studies* 1(4), 341–364.

Sunstein, C.R. (2002) *Risk and Reason: Safety, Law, and the Environment*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Tessler, M. and Robbins, M.D. (2007) What leads some ordinary Arab men and women to approve of terrorist acts against the United States? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(2), 305–328.

Trono, A. (2015) Politics, policy and the practice of religious tourism. In: Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (eds) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* (2nd edn). CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 16–36.

Turner, J. (1985) *Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland.

Turner, V. (1995) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*. Transaction Publishers, New York.

Van Gennep, A. (2011) *The Rites of Passage*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Weber, M. (2009) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

Wilson, M.A., Bradford, E. and Lemanski, L. (2013) The role of group processes in terrorism. In: Wood, J.L. and Gannon, T. (eds) *Crime and Crime Reduction: The Importance of Group Processes*. Routledge, London, pp. 99–117.

13 Hospitality, Tourism, Terrorism: Creating a Security-conscious Culture

Cyril Peter*
Wellington Institute of Technology, New Zealand

Introduction

Regardless of geography, foreign policies, political viewpoints, or religious beliefs and alignment, no nation in this current age can claim to possess immunity from terrorism. Terrorism is rarely selective; it treats everyone equally, with contempt. Any individual, business or country that believes themselves to be safe from terrorism is not acting in a responsible manner. This is especially so when it involves the lives of people within their duty of care. Being security-consciousness is more than merely being aware of possible dangers; it is about knowing, understanding and, in some ways, respecting imminent dangers. It is about preparing for, and taking corrective and evasive action to mitigate, the threat. And, very importantly, it is about understanding the ramifications of incorrect actions.

The hospitality and tourism industry must work towards creating and ingraining a security-conscious culture within its institutions, where a duty of care towards tourists is paramount. Many countries depend on tourism and hospitality as their main source of revenue, and so they cannot afford to ignore anything that threatens to destroy it. Once a destination is affected by terrorism it will be very difficult for it to recover fully. Also, all surrounding destinations, even if they are in another country, are likely to suffer the same fate. Tourists will shun them. Nobody wants their holiday spoilt by delays and cancellations, nor do they want to put their lives and the lives of their loved ones in any danger. Tourists will always opt for safe destinations, away from troubled regions. Post *et al.* (2014) argue that terrorism is changing and evolving rapidly. The actors, and the ages of the actors, are changing; they are younger and include women. Also, communication methods, notably the internet, have changed the way terrorism is being spread. Individuals are able to be radicalized via the internet; they are able to create and participate in various networks that encourage terrorism.

Types of Tourism

There are various definitions of tourism, but they all describe a similar activity, just in very different ways. Baldigara *et al.* (2013) quote the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO): '[T]ourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment, for leisure, business and other purposes.' UNWTO also state that the duration of stay should be less than one year for it to be considered tourism.

*Address for correspondence: Cyril.peter@weltec.ac.nz

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

Individuals and groups travel to other destinations for a variety of reasons. Tourism has been categorized into several groups according to specific activities: medical tourism, ecotourism, cultural tourism, sport tourism, culinary tourism, disaster tourism, religious tourism, dark tourism (black tourism), sex tourism, extreme tourism, halal tourism, amongst others. These are just a sample of the types of tourism available. Some of them are relatively unusual, like disaster tourism, which is about visiting destinations that have been recently hit by disasters such as typhoons, floods or earthquakes. Dark tourism, which is also known as grief or black tourism, is about visiting a place specifically because it is an ex-war zone or because it has been hit by other tragedies. This tourism is about death. Halal tourism is about Muslim travellers looking specifically for destinations and hotels that cater to their specific needs in terms of food and other facilities.

Religious tourism

Religious tourism, possibly one of the earliest forms of structured tourism, is about visiting holy cities and sites, either individually or in groups. Faith-based tourism includes every major religion and it takes place all year round. Mecca, Jerusalem and Rome are just a few of the more popular destinations. However, there are many other sites, such as the birthplaces of religions, to which devotees flock in large numbers throughout the year. According to the UNWTO (2014), religious tourism accounts for between 300 million and 330 million visitors worldwide annually. This is a highly lucrative industry that provides huge economic benefits to the destinations and cities concerned. Tourists may visit a particular city for religious purposes but they may also participate in other activities, thereby contributing to the local economy.

Tourism in the Era of Terrorism

The attacks of 9/11 in the USA introduced many other 'spectacular' terrorist attacks that have left many feeling fearful. Terrorism has been around for a long time but the incidents are becoming more frequent and the terrorists seem to be playing to the media more and more with each incident. Terrorists are getting more innovative in their planning and thinking. Certain countries and cities are regularly in the news, such as Pakistan, Israel, Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey, Nigeria and Somalia.

Table 13.1 shows some post-9/11 terrorist attacks that have caught the attention of the

Table 13.1. Tourism in the era of terrorism.

Post-9/11 attacks	
11September 2001	Attacks on the World Trade Center and other government institutions
12 October 2002	Bali bombings
5 August 2003	Jakarta Marriott Hotel bombing
27 February 2004	Sinking of *SuperFerry 14* in the Philippines
11 March 2004	Madrid train bombing
1 September 2004	Beslan school hostage crisis (Russia)
9 September 2004	Australian embassy bombing (Jakarta)
7 July 2005	London bombings
1 October 2005	Bali bombings
2 March 2006	Bomb outside the Marriott Hotel in Karachi
11 July 2006	Mumbai train bombings
26 November 2008	Mumbai bombings
17 July 2009	Bombing of Marriott and Ritz-Carlton Hotels (Jakarta)
15 April 2013	Boston marathon bombing
7 January 2015	Paris attacks
18 March 2015	Bardo Museum attack (Tunisia)
26 June 2015	Sousse tourist resort attack (Tunisia)
19 December 2016	Berlin attack

world either because of their location or their brutality. A brutal attack on a Western icon will stay in the media for weeks and in the minds of the public even longer. Destinations that have been attacked need to put up a brave front and continue functioning, knowing full well that it will take them a long time to recover.

Bonham *et al.* (2006) explained the importance of tourism and they describe the impact that terrorism has on tourists and affected destinations. They describe tourism as an industry that is fragile. Paraskevas and Arendell (2007) categorically state that it is no longer a case of 'if' but 'when' terrorists will strike. They discuss the preparations that the industry should make. In a study based on Singapore, Henderson *et al.* (2010) explain the effects of terrorism on the city and also how Singapore would be considered a 'desirable trophy' for terrorists. Not only are terrorists looking to cause chaos, carnage and mayhem, but they also want to attack iconic sites. This has a lot to do with media coverage.

Prior to 9/11, there was no real necessity to dwell on security issues as such. Even though terrorist attacks had occurred, they did not specifically target tourists; instead they focused on military installations and government buildings. Now, terrorists' thinking has shifted towards 'soft targets'.

Need for security

Describing Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory, Bartol *et al.* (2008) explain that one of the most important and fundamental needs of any human being is the need to feel safe and secure. Physical safety has become more important in recent years with terrorism an almost daily occurrence.

A hotel that is forward-thinking and prepared to go the extra mile to ensure guests' safety and security will be the preferred choice for many. As long as the price differential is not excessive, guests will not mind paying extra for their safety. They will understand that security is an expensive add-on, but one that is vital. Hymanson (n.d.) explains the steps hotels need to take in order to provide comprehensive security. Given that not all hospitality venues are geared to provide a high level of security, those that do will have a competitive advantage. A sustainable competitive advantage is about superior performance that creates value for which guests are willing to pay. Having such a competitive advantage can reflect positively on profit (Hill *et al.*, 2007).

Duty of care

Tort

The *People's Law Dictionary* defines 'Duty of care' as:

> [A] requirement that a person act toward others and the public with the watchfulness, attention, caution and prudence that a reasonable person in the circumstances would use. If a person's actions do not meet this standard of care, then the acts are considered negligent, and any damages resulting may be claimed in a lawsuit for negligence.
>
> (Hill and Hill, n.d.)

There is an expectation that the host is ultimately responsible for those under their care and that they must do everything within their means to protect guests. The key is that the host must take reasonable care, but that standard of care is undefined. There is no fixed universal standard of care for hospitality guests.

Hubbard *et al.* (2010) remind us that it is important for the hotel or industry to foresee the possibility of damage and harm to their guests or their property. Given that there have been many documented cases in recent years of hospitality venues being targeted, it would be reasonable to assume that terrorists have long considered hotels to be 'soft targets' and that they will continue to attack them. Peter (2011) put together a list of hotels that have been attacked. This list is by no means exhaustive – many more properties have been attacked since the list was produced. The hospitality industry is fully aware of the threat to themselves but they perhaps ignore it because they are unsure of what needs to be done and how to do it, and they are also confused about whose responsibility it is to protect guests. Further, they are concerned about the financial cost of providing security.

Staff security screening

Employers are expected to conduct or commission some form of reasonable security vetting of

any prospective employee. Without conducting such checks it would be difficult for employers to have any assurance that the person they hire will perform her/his duties well and not cause harm to themselves, their colleagues, their employer and the guests (in the case of a hotel). Employers generally will check social media to get an idea of the candidate and they will also screen the candidate for drug use, since that would be a warning sign that the candidate may not be suitable (McDonald, 2006; Dwoskin *et al.*, 2014; Thomas *et al.*, 2014).

Many candidates have stated that they do not like the invasion of their privacy, and some have withdrawn their job application as a result (Park, 2014; Stoughton *et al.*, 2015). Faccini (2013) discusses the use of short-term contracts by employers to screen the employee before deciding on a longer-term appointment. This is currently a common procedure.

Unfortunately, hospitality is an industry where employees need to be screened to ensure that undesirable persons do not gain access to the industry. This is necessary purely for security reasons and to protect guests.

Possible terrorist targets

Data (Table 13.2) from a CNN article by Bergen (2015) provides a snapshot of the hotels attacked by terrorists on a regular basis. This list is by no means exhaustive but it is provided here to demonstrate the popularity of hotels as terrorist targets.

Table 13.2. Hotels attacked by terrorists.

Date	Property	Casulaties
2002	Sheraton Hotel, Karachi	12 killed
2003	J.W. Marriott Hotel, Jakarta	12 killed
2004	Hilton Hotel, Sinai	31 killed
2005	Grand Hyatt, Jordan	60 killed
2005	Radisson Hotel, Jordan	
2005	Days Inn, Jordan	
2008	J.W. Marriott Hotel, Islamabad	54 killed
2008	Taj & Oberoi Hotels, Mumbai	166 killed
2009	J.W. Marriott Hotel, Jakarta	7 killed
2009	Ritz Carlton Hotel, Jakarta	
2015	Radisson Blu Hotel, Mali	20 killed
2015	Corinthia Hotel, Tripoli	10 killed

Hotels, by their very nature, try to be welcoming and inviting, while at the same time stating, explicitly or implicitly, that they will take care of their guests. This is a sacred duty that they take very seriously, and they will endeavour to provide the best security possible.

Hotels are considered soft targets for a variety of reasons including the size of the property (generally large), the number of unsecured entry and exit points, the relatively small number of security guards and the large contingent of casual workers. These factors make the penetration of such a facility relatively easy, either by an external terrorist element or by a staff member who has been recruited by the terrorists. For example, internal operational information about the Marriott Hotel in Jakarta (attacked in 2009) was provided by a flower vendor who was situated outside the hotel. He was not a hotel employee but he knew the hotel and staff well. He gained their confidence and collected data for the terrorists. He had had access, over a number of years, to all the public areas of the hotel (Murdoch, 2009).

Food and beverage outlets

Restaurants, cafes, clubs, pubs and other entertainment outlets are also targeted by terrorists regularly. They target the venues that are mainly patronized by Westerners or affluent locals who tend to embrace Western culture.

Alvarez and Perez-Pena (2016) provide information about an attack on a nightclub in Orlando, Florida, which took the lives of 50 people including the perpetrator who was shot dead by police. The perpetrator, a Muslim security guard, seems to have been well prepared. It is not clear whether this incident is fully classified as a terrorist incident or a hate crime, the venue being a gay nightclub.

Marszal and Graham (2016) describe a terrorist attack in a restaurant in an affluent part of Dhaka, Bangladesh, where the dead included an American, an Indian, several Italians, several Japanese and some locals. While many of the hostages were rescued, 20 of them were not so fortunate. The terrorists decided who they were going to kill by ordering all the hostages to recite verses from the Koran. This was to separate the Muslims from non-Muslims. Their target was non-Muslims.

Sports events

Sport, in general, represents good health, well-being and competition. Participants in sport are generally healthy, forward-looking and aspirational, and represent countries that possess the same characteristics. For these and other reasons, terrorists have attempted to disrupt sporting events the world over. They made 168 attempts between 1972 and 2003 (Taylor and Toohey, 2007). Between 2003 and 2017, there have been many other disruptions including the Boston marathon and the Stad de France (Paris) attack. Approximately 50 people were killed during a rugby match in Uganda in 2010 (Lee, 2013). There are many more incidents – too many to cover in this chapter.

The number of attacks on sporting events will continue to grow. Despite this, the competition to host major sporting events is intense because of the economic and other gains for the host country (Burgan and Mules, 1992; Barclay, 2009). Sport is known to have healing properties after a major national traumatic event (Brown, 2004). It tends to bring a country together again.

A National Association of Sports Commission report (Schumacher, 2012) states that sports tourist spending was in excess of $7.68 billion in the USA in 2011. This does not include the cost of hosting or broadcasting the events; the quoted figure is for tourist spending on accommodation, meals and tours, amongst other things. It states that there were almost 24 million sports tourists in 2011 alone.

Concerts, fairs, movies

Events with large audiences are also favoured targets for terrorists, the logic being that they could kill more people with a single strike. Terrorists want to ensure that they get 'good value' from their meagre resources; they try to make every effort or strike count. Two examples are provided: the Easter attack in Lahore, Pakistan, and the 2016 Berlin attack at Christmas.

Basit (2016) discusses an attack at Easter in Lahore, Pakistan, which killed 72 people and injured another 300. This 'soft' target attack on 27 March 2016 clearly targeted Christians and it was carried out at a park popular with children. People were celebrating Easter or just enjoying a day off. Killing innocent children got the terrorists their desired international media coverage. It probably made parents more cautious about letting their children out of their sight. Terrorism is not only about killing people; it is about creating fear in the public mind.

Parfitt (2016) describes the terrorist incident in Berlin where a truck was driven through a Christmas festive market killing 12 people. The authorities, it appears, were aware that an attack was imminent but were unable to prevent it. The attractions for the terrorists here were the large crowd and the event (Christmas). This incident would have not only dampened spirits in Germany but also in neighbouring countries – exactly what the terrorists wanted.

Maritime/cruises

The cruise industry is growing within tourism and many countries are trying their best to secure a share of the trade. Machan (2014) states that the cruise industry is worth $117 billion annually. This amount is set to increase as bigger ships are commissioned. According to Chanev (2015a, b), currently the largest vessels are the *Allure of the Seas* and the *Oasis of the Seas*. They are both owned by the Royal Caribbean International Group and have a capacity in excess of 8000 passengers and crew. These large entities are very difficult to monitor and protect. Out at sea they are vulnerable and attractive as terrorist targets.

The attraction of cruises is that they represent 'all-in-one' holidays. Passengers pay a single amount covering food, entertainment, transport and other activities. Plus they get to visit several countries and cities within the price.

While there have not been any major terrorist attacks on maritime vessels, the fact remains that terrorists consider cruise ships and other maritime vessels very attractive soft targets. Greenberg *et al.* (2006) claim that cruise ships are iconic and they represent wealth and affluence. They also note that they hold a large number of tourists, most of which will be Westerners and non-Muslims. They also claim that seaport security vetting is less stringent and cruise ships only vet their own staff, not their suppliers' and contractors' staff.

Destination

Some destinations seem to be more popular with terrorists than others, either because those destinations are also popular tourist destinations or because they are very easy to infiltrate and attack. Bali, Bangkok, Phuket and Paris are some examples of destinations targeted by terrorists.

Bali, made up of mainly Hindus, is part of the largest Muslim nation, Indonesia. It is well known for its temples, art, beaches, entertainment and nightlife, which attract scores of tourists every year. This makes it attractive for terrorists also. Terrorists do not have to leave Indonesia to target Westerners; Westerners come to them. Consequently, there have been many attempts by terrorists to attack Bali. In explaining how Bali's businesses and vendors have been affected by terrorism, Baker and Coulter (2009) highlight the two 'successful' attacks, in 2002 and 2005; but several other unsuccessful attempts have been made over the years.

Thailand is another popular tourist destination with its long history, rich culture, great food and non-stop shopping and entertainment. Some of the popular destinations within Thailand are Bangkok, Phuket, Pattaya, Hua Hin and Koh Samui. In examining terrorism trends in Thailand, Rappa (2015) states that there have been about 20 bombing incidents over an 18-month period between 2014 and 2015. This is highly destabilizing and it has taken its toll on tourism. Collins (2016) describes the carnage seen after the incidents in Phuket and Hua Hin, a tourist seaside resort. Cunningham (2015) describes the 2015 bombing of the Erawan Shrine in Bangkok, which killed 20 people and injured a further 125. The Erawan Shrine is popular with locals as well as tourists.

France has also seen its fair share of terrorism over the years. Paris saw a day of sustained, coordinated attacks in November 2015 when 128 people perished and many more were left injured and/or traumatized (Aljazeera, 2015). It was a totally unexpected attack, and many were left wondering how an incident of this size could have occurred. It must have taken a lot of planning, coordination and resources.

Attacks like these leave an indelible impression on destinations and tourists alike.

Methods of attack

There are several methods of terrorist attacks, some used more than others. A few of the methods have been picked out and are explained here. Not only are terrorists constantly identifying new targets but they are also identifying new methods of attack and torture, like ISIS burning people alive (Webb, 2016). The purpose of these new methods of attack is to surprise, and also to gain extended media coverage. Terrorists use the media extensively to showcase their causes.

Suicide bombings

Suicide bombings are one of the most effective and cheapest methods of causing mayhem and carnage. There is, it seems, no shortage of volunteer suicide bombers. Individuals are readily offering themselves as suicide bombers to the extent that there are more volunteers than missions. These volunteers, male and female, often come from respectable families and are well educated. This dispels the notion that volunteers are poor and uneducated, and offering themselves in order that their families can receive money and be taken care of.

Female suicide bombers are also becoming more common; either they believe in the cause or they seek revenge for the loss of loved ones. They are very effective because people do not suspect them in the way that males are suspected, and this allows them to get closer to the intended target, as was the case with the murder of the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 (Bloom, 2005).

Terrorists prefer to use suicide bombers because they are easy to conceal and can more easily track a target. They are mobile bombs with the capability of getting very close to the target, thereby increasing the chances of success. Terrorists have become quite adept at making and detonating bombs and bomb-making experts exist in all terrorists groups.

Kidnapping and hostage-taking

Unlike other methods, this method places more value on the victims, and terrorists assume that a ransom will be paid, either by the families, the employers or the governments of the countries from which the hostages originate (Abuza, 2010).

However, the ransoms demanded are often exorbitant and in many cases the money is never raised. Also, many governments have decided against negotiating with terrorist groups because it is their belief that this will only encourage more kidnappings and therefore endanger citizens or tourists even more. If a particular country pays a ransom, terrorists will see that country as one that is willing to pay ransoms in the future. Over the years, many hostages have been killed by their kidnappers to show that they are serious about their demands. A common method of killing hostages is beheading. This method tends to attract high media coverage. According to Glavin (2016), in recent years terrorist organizations are estimated to have made about $200 million in ransoms.

Kidnapping is a very effective method, as family, friends, colleagues and employers will lobby their government representatives to intervene to rescue the victims. This gives the kidnappers control, while causing uncertainty and chaos, and keeping the issue in the media for an extended period.

Kidnappings are very common in the Middle East and also in some parts of Asia, such as east Malaysia and the Philippines. The terrorist organizations present in these areas are the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), Jema'ah Islamiyah (JI) and the New People's Army (NPA). JI is also very active in parts of Indonesia. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is trying its best to get a firmer foothold in that region through various splinter groups. South-east Asia is expected to be the next hotbed for terrorism (Chalk *et al.*, 2009).

Food contamination

While there have been some isolated terrorist incidents regarding food, they have not received much media coverage. However, the risk of deliberate food contamination still exists and that poses a problem for the authorities. If news is released that a particular food item/supply has been compromised, and terrorists have managed to contaminate it, there is likely be a public outcry and widespread fear. Recovery from a food terrorism attack would be difficult because building trust and confidence will take much time and effort. Affected companies and the governments will have to spend on media campaigns to let consumers know that the threat is over and their food is again safe.

Food terrorism is a relatively easy method for the terrorist. They only need to identify the access point to the food supply and enter the process chain. The most common poisons used are ricin, anthrax and arsenic. They are hard to detect, relatively cheap, and easy to acquire.

The other important issue that can encourage food terrorism is the casual nature of employment. The industry is highly dependent on casual and part-time labour, and many employees are not security vetted.

Improvised explosive devices (IEDs)

These are bombs assembled using materials gathered or scavenged from various places. The IED requires a switch, a fuse, a charge, a container and a power source. Sometimes they are concealed in backpacks that are easy to transport and are dropped off at the designated point. Aside from the charge (explosive material) itself, most of the other items are easily acquired. This makes this particular method very popular. It is highly effective and has been used on many occasions by terrorists.

Another oft-used, improvised device is the pressure cooker bomb, which was used in the Mumbai train bombing and the Boston marathon (Rajput, 2013). According to Deshpande and Samervell (2015), in the Mumbai train blasts, 188 people died and a further 829 were injured. A series of seven improvised pressure cooker bombs were planted and detonated in sequence.

The Boston marathon bombing used improvised pressure cooker bombs, which killed three people and injured a further 264, including spectators. Parascandola *et al.* (2013) claim that pressure cooker bombs are popular among terrorists because the components are easy to acquire, and the pressure cooker itself is strong, designed to hold a lot of pressure, and they are easy to assemble.

Another terrorist incident that utilized an IED was the Grand Hotel bombing in Brighton, UK, in 1984, where five people lost their lives. It was an assassination attempt on the then prime minister Margaret Thatcher. Mann (2015) claims that the improvised bomb was set in place with a long timer some three weeks before. While

IEDs are effective, the disadvantages are that a lot more planning is required and that they are fixed (stationary) bombs. Once set, they are rarely moved.

Lone wolf

Influenced by various ideologies or enraged by certain events, lone wolves are a very dangerous phenomenon. They carry out their attacks independently, without a handler or command structure. They do not report to, or take instruction from, anyone. One infamous lone wolf was the Norwegian Anders Behring Breivik, who, according to Turner-Graham (2014), is idolized by many. In July 2011, he single-handedly killed 77 young people. His supporters are in awe of his success and have used the internet to communicate with each other and discuss it. This, in itself, is a dangerous development.

Lone wolves get their inspiration via the internet, but generally they plan their attacks, research and make all decisions themselves,. According to Bajekal (2014), they do not appear to have any links to established terrorist groups, and this type of attack is on the increase. While the damage and carnage they create may be relatively small and limited compared to some other forms of attack, lone wolves are very hard to locate or detect because their operations are small-scale. They do not belong to large established groups operating from a number of cells. They mainly use small arms to carry out their attacks and they accumulate their weapons and ammunition over time.

Risk Perceptions

There is an element of risk with all travel, but post-9/11, the risk has increased many-fold, because there are many more attacks against hospitality properties. Terrorism is a phenomenon that tourists did not have to consider previously, and there is no universal solution to the problem. The incidents are all unique. According to Sönmez and Graefe (1998), tourists may suffer psychologically, as well as in terms of time cost, if they visit destinations that are deemed unsafe. Psychological costs may be witnessing certain events involving fatalities, which will be traumatic; and time cost could refer to missed flights and changed travel plans. Any changes to their itinerary at short notice will cause unnecessary hardship for the traveller. In the event of a major terrorist attack, booking a flight to leave that destination will be very difficult. It would be even more difficult if a tourist was unfamiliar with the area and the local protocols. Sönmez and Graefe emphasize that if a tourist has to choose between two destinations, they will always tend to choose the safer, less costly, option.

Olofsson and Rashid (2011) explain that women are more risk-averse and have a higher perception of risk. Due to men's position in society and their world-view, they have a lower perception of risk, and this is often referred to as the 'white male effect'.

Garg (2015) states that tourists only visit destinations that are already known to them and which are deemed to be safe and free from threats such as political instability or high crime rates. Tourists tend to research various destinations before deciding on which to visit and which route to take. They generally get their information from their own network of friends and family, online, or from guidebooks.

Conclusion

Tourism will continue to be one of the top revenue generators in many countries. For some, it will be their main income. As nations become more affluent and people become better educated, international travel becomes more accessible for all and, in some cases, a necessity. People travel for a variety of reasons including rest and relaxation, to expand their experiences and knowledge of the world, and also for work purposes.

Tourism will also continue to be an attractive 'soft' target for terrorism. As tourism increases, the level of terrorist activity will also increase. This chapter has explained the types of possible attack; the events, businesses and services that will be targeted; and the manner in which terrorist attacks will be carried out. It emphasizes the need for:

1. hospitality properties to be designed with security in mind;
2. staff to be trained to handle terrorist incidents;

3. security vetting of staff, contractors and suppliers; and
4. policies and manuals to educate in handling security threats/incidents.

The number of terrorist groups is increasing at a steady pace. Many of these groups are splinter groups that have broken away from larger groups due to philosophical or operational differences. Each group tries to outdo the other, and so they strive to be innovative and make a name for themselves. The riskier and more ruthless they are, or appear to be, the more feared and/or revered they will become. They are all jockeying for position within the terrorism arena. This chapter asserts, and has illustrated that, a security-conscious culture is absolutely necessary and that security is everyone's responsibility, not just the security agencies. Every member of the hospitality industry should practise security-consciousness at all times. Their ultimate aim must be to protect their guests in addition to serving them.

References

Abuza, Z. (2010) The Philippines chips away at the Abu Sayyaf Group's strength. *CTC Sentinel* 3(4), 11–13.

Aljazeera (2015) Fear and confusion in Paris after deadly attacks. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/11/reports-shooting-restaurant-central-paris-151113211237312.html (accessed 5 February 2017).

Alvarez, L. and Perez-Pena, R. (2016) Orlando gunman attacks gay nightclub, leaving 50 dead. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/13/us/orlando-nightclub-shooting.html?_r=0 (accessed 5 February 2017).

Bajekal, N. (2014) The rise of the lone wolf terrorist. Available at: http://time.com/3533581/canada-ottawa-shooting-lone-wolf-terrorism/(accessed 13 December 2017).

Baker, K. and Coulter, A. (2009) Terrorism and tourism: the vulnerability of beach vendors' livelihoods in Bali. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 15(3), 249–266.

Baldigara, T., Štambuk, A. and Mamula, M. (2013) Contributing to e-tourism demand modelling. *Informatologia* 46(4), 343–352.

Barclay, J. (2009) Predicting the costs and benefits of mega-sporting events: misjudgement of Olympic proportions? *Economic Affairs* 29(2), 62–66.

Bartol, K., Tein, M., Matthews, G.,Sharma, B., Ritson, P. and Scott-Ladd, B. (2008) *Management Foundations: A Pacific Rim Focus* (2nd edn). Sydney, McGraw-Hill.

Basit, A. (2016) The Lahore attack: limits of Pakistan's counter-terrorism policy. *RSIS Commentary* 84.

Bergen, P. (2015) Why terrorists target hotels. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/20/opinions/bergen-hotels-targeted-terrorists/ (accessed 20 January 2017).

Bloom, M. (2005) Mother. Daughter. Sister. Bomber. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 61(6), 54–62.

Bonham, C., Edmonds, C. and Mak, J. (2006) The impact of 9/11 and other terrible global events on tourism in the United States and Hawaii. *Journal of Travel Research* 45, 99–110.

Brown, R. (2004) Sport and healing America. *Society* 42(1), 37–41.

Burgan, B. and Mules, T. (1992) Economic impacts of sporting events. *Annals of Tourism Research* 19(4), 700–710.

Chalk, P., Rabasa, A., Rosenau, W. and Piggott, L. (2009) *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia: A Net Assessment*. RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California.

Chanev, C. (2015a) *Allure of the Seas.* Available at: http://www.cruisemapper.com/ships/Allure-Of-The-Seas-662 (accessed 20 January 2017).

Chanev, C. (2015b) *Oasis of the Seas.* Available at: http://www.cruisemapper.com/ships/Oasis-Of-The-Seas-690 (accessed 20 January 2017).

Collins, D. (2016) Programmed to kill: Thailand terrorists used mobile phone bombs hidden in plant pots to kill four and cause maximum damage during three-pronged attack. Available at: https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1600519/thailand-terrorists-used-mobile-phone-bombs-hidden-in-plant-pots-to-kill-four-and-cause-maximum-damage-during-three-pronged-attack/ (accessed 5 February 2017).

Cunningham, S. (2015) Bangkok Shrine bombing – case (pretty much) closed. Available at: http://www.forbes.com/sites/susancunningham/2015/12/23/bangkok-shrine-bombing-case-pretty-much-closed/#336ec5ce2564 (accessed 5 February 2017).

Deshpande, S. and Samervell, R. (2015) 2006 Mumbai train blasts: death for 5 bombers, life term for 7. Available at: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/2006-Mumbai-train-blasts-Death-for-5-bombers-life-term-for-7/articleshow/49164388.cms (accessed 19 January 2017).

Dwoskin, L.B., Squire, M.B. and Patullo, J. (2014) Skeletons in the closet? Legal developments in screening applicants and employees. *Employee Relations Law Journal* 39(4), 24–48.

Faccini, R. (2013) Reassesing labour market reforms: temporary contracts as a screening device. *The Economic Journal* 124(1), 167–200.

Garg, A. (2015) Travel risks vs tourist decision making: a tourist perspective. *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Systems* 8(1), 1–9.

Glavin, T. (2016) Canada does not pay ransom to terrorists…except when we do. *National Post*, 27 April.

Greenberg, M.D., Chalk, P., Willis, H.H., Khilko, I. and Ortiz, D.S. (2006). *Maritime Terrorism: Risk and Liability*. RAND Corporation, Center for Terrorism Risk Management Policy, Santa Monica.

Henderson, J.C., Chew, S., Huifen, L. and Xiang, L.L. (2010) Tourism and terrorism: a hotel industry perspective. *Journal of Tourism, Hospitality & Culinary Arts* 1(2), 33–46.

Hill, G.N. and Hill, K.T. (n.d.) *Collins Dictionary of Law.* Available at: http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/duty+of+care (accessed 21 January 2017).

Hill, C.W., Jones, G.R., Galvin, P. and Haidar, A. (2007) *Strategic Management: An Integrated Approach* (2nd edn). John Wiley & Sons, Milton, Australia.

Hubbard, J., Thomas, C. and Varnham, S. (2010) *Principles of Law*. Pearson, Auckland, New Zealand.

Hymanson, M. (n.d.) *Hotel Security: Security Challenges and Solutions for Today's Hotel Owners and Operators.* Available at: http://hotelexecutive.com/business_review/2869/hotel-security-security-challenges-and-solutions-for-todays-hotel-owners-and-operators (accessed 21 January 2017).

Lee, J.J. (2013) Seven other sports related attack. *National Geographic*. Available at: http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2013/03/130415-sports-marathon-olympics-bombers-culture/ (accessed 20 January 2017).

Machan, T. (2014) Global cruise-industry boom continues. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/cruises/news/Global-cruise-industry-boom-continues/ (accessed 20 January 2017).

Mann, A. (2015) October 12, 1984: five die as Brighton bomb blast rocks Conservative Party conference. Available at: http://home.bt.com/news/world-news/october-12-1984-five-die-as-brighton-bomb-blast-rocks-conservative-party-conference-11364009905041 (accessed 19 January 2017).

Marszal, A. and Graham, C. (2016) 20 hostages killed in 'Isil' attack on Dhaka restaurant popular with foreigners. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/01/gunmen-attack-restaurant-in-diplomatic-quarter-of-bangladeshi-ca/ (accessed 5 February 2017).

McDonald, L. (2006) The criminal records bureau and its registered bodies: new regulations for a 'disparate and unwieldy' customer network. *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law* 28(3–4), 359–366.

Murdoch, L. (2009) Inside information from flower seller who had run of five-star hotels. Available at: http://www.smh.com.au/world/inside-information-from-flower-seller-who-had-run-of-fivestar-hotels-20090723-dv03.html (accessed 20 January 2017).

Olofsson, A. and Rashid, S. (2011) The white (male) effect and risk perception: Can equality make a difference? *Risk Analysis* 31(6), 1016–1032. DOI:10.1111/j.1539-6924.2010.01566.x

Parascandola, R., Evans, H. and Hutchinson, B. (2013) Boston marathon bomb devices were pressure cookers filled with nails, ball bearings: report. Available at: http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/boston-marathon-bomb-devices-made-pressure-cookers-filled-nails-ball-bearings-report-article-1.1318278 (accessed 19 January 2017).

Paraskevas, A. and Arendell, B. (2007) A strategic framework for terrorism prevention and mitigation in tourism destinations. *Tourism Management* 28(6), 1560–1573.

Parfitt, T. (2016) Berlin terror attack: Angela Merkel was warned of Christmas massacre just weeks ago. Available at: http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/745360/Berlin-terror-attack-Christmas-market (accessed 5 February 2017).

Park, S. (2014) Employee internet privacy: a proposed act that balances legitimate employer rights and employee privacy. *American Business Law Journal* 51(4), 779–841.

Peter, C. (2011) Implications and impacts of terrorism on sporting events: Is the hospitality industry prepared and equipped to host mega events? Unpublished Master's in International Hospitality Management thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand.

Post, J.M., McGinnis, C. and Moody, K. (2014) The changing face of terrorism in the 21st century: the communications revolution and the virtual community of hatred. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 32, 306–334.

Rappa, A.L. (2015) Bangkok bombings: New trend emerging? *RSIS Commentary* 175.
Rajput, R. (2013) Pressure cooker bombs: how Boston blasts are similar to Mumbai 7/11 train bombings. Available at: http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/pressure-cooker-bombs-how-boston-blasts-are-similar-to-mumbai-7-11-train-bombings-519502 (accessed 19 January 2017).
Schumacher, D.G. (2012) *Report on Sports Travel Industry*. National Association of Sports Commissions, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Sönmez, S.F. and Graefe, A.R. (1998) Influence of terrorism risk on foreign tourism decisions. *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(1), 112–144.
Stoughton, J.W., Thompson, L.F. and Meade, A.W. (2015) Examining applicant reactions to the use of social networking websites in pre-employment screening. *Journal of Business Psychology* 30(1), 73–88.
Taylor, T. and Toohey, K. (2007) Perceptions of terrorism threats at the 2004 Olympic Games: impications for sport events. *Journal of Sports and Tourism* 12(2), 99–114.
Thomas, L.Y., Kitterlin, M. and Moll, L. (2014) Pre-employment drug testing for hospitality sales positions: Who's buying in? *Journal of Human Resources in Hospitality & Tourism* 13(1), 297–322.
Turner-Graham, E. (2014) 'Breivik is my hero': the dystopian world of extreme right youth on the internet. *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 60(3), 416–430.
UNWTO (2014) Tourism can protect and promote religious heritage. Available at: http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2014-12-10/tourism-can-protect-and-promote-religious-heritage (accessed 23 January 2017).
Webb, S. (2016) Burned Alive. ISIS execution video shows sick thugs burning two Turkish soldiers alive after capturing them in Aleppo. Available at: https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2465322/isis-execution-video-turkish-soldiers-aleppo/ (accessed 6 February 2017).

14 A Risky Delight: The Dangers of Being a Participant in a Maltese *Festa*

George Cassar* and Dane Munro
University of Malta

Introduction

Malta is renowned for its feasts. Summer is feast season *par excellence* in this traditionally Catholic archipelago in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea. Religious celebrations honouring the patron saint of every town and village of the Maltese islands Malta and Gozo are a true mix of the spiritual and the secular. These charged events create a space for locals and tourists to mingle, to admire and absorb the vibrant atmosphere, and to enjoy themselves. Maltese festivities are long, noisy, colourful and hectic; yet they are, at the same time, organized, established and annual rituals – they are as traditional as they are contemporary (Cassar, 2015).

Undoubtedly *festas* can also be a risky business; spectators, along with participants, can, at times, be in peril, usually without them being aware. This may be truer in the case of spectators who are tourists, as they are not generally conscious of the realities of the *festa*.

The local feasts are typically announced and celebrated with a distinctive display of fireworks, sometimes with animal races, always with band marches and, invariably, with a devout procession accompanying the statue of the patron saint who is the subject of the feast day. Fireworks in Malta are the domain of the *dilettanti tan-nar* (fireworks enthusiasts), a group of zealous individuals, mostly men, who create fireworks out of passion or obsession, most probably both. Fireworks light up the night sky with colour and artistry, but spectators can become victims when firework factories explode or, more rarely, when a *murtal* (petard) accidentally bursts close to the crowd. Malta is one of the few places where ground fireworks are set off with people standing just a few metres away. This, clearly, poses dangers.

Some feasts also include equestrian races in the programme. These are held on public roads, usually without barriers or crowd control measures. They are characterized by the same passion and obsession that is found in the fireworks enthusiasts. However, no one would dream of curtailing the *festa* tradition, a cultural treasure for the majority of the Maltese. Not only did they not wane, as Boissevain (1965) originally predicted, but they have intensified and expanded, as the same author had to acknowledge some years later (Boissevain, 1992). Such practices raise issues of safety for visitors and tourists (as well as locals) who are usually unaware of the potential dangers concealed behind the colours, sounds and emotions. Moreover, popular band marches, a joy for many, can also be occasions for drunkenness, exposure to harsh sunlight, convergence

*Address for correspondence: george.cassar@um.edu.mt

 Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events.
M.E. Korstanje, R. Raj and K. Griffin (eds)

of unrestricted large crowds, and unhealthy rivalry and competition between the *festa partiti* (competing feast groups). The Maltese *festa* is well documented in video footage and is readily accessible on the internet. The viewer can appreciate the 'unity of opposites' – safety risks interwoven with a sense of community.

The Maltese *Festa*

In a Malta Tourism Authority (n.d.) e-brochure describing the Maltese *festa*, tourists are informed that: 'During at least one long weekend per year, every village in Malta and Gozo throws rambunctious celebrations in honour of its patron saint' (p. 17). The adjective 'rambunctious' says it all; it is neither a bombastic portrayal nor a cliché. On the contrary, it captures the temperament of the bubbly Mediterranean character, which the Maltese reflect in their *festas*. As one travel guidebook (Rix, 2016, pp. 33–34) describes it:

> Several days before the big day, the church is decorated with red damask, and the festa statue – a more-than-life-size painted figure of the saint – is brought out of its shrine … to stand in the main body of the church. Other statues are set up on pedestals outside the church and the exterior of the building is decorated with strings of light. … Festa eve … is fireworks time. Most parishes have their own tiny fireworks factory … and there is vehement competition for who can put on the best show. … As well as, or as a part of, the religious procession, there are band marches … usually accompanied by considerable secular celebration and often quite a lot of alcohol; they can occasionally become raucous.

The people of the festive villages and towns feel the *festa* in their veins and sinews, and externalize the devotions, emotions and adrenaline in a manner that is somewhat typical of the Maltese character as it is displayed throughout the year.

Fireworks: high emotions versus health risks

The importance of the 107 annual primary and secondary village and town *festas* honouring saints – nearly all of them including fireworks celebrations – cannot be overstated. *Festas* are a reason for joy and celebration, for the devotee as well as the spectator. However, they also raise environmental concerns. Scientific tests have shown how fireworks leave behind them a considerable amount of chemicals and metallic salts that are spread all over the environment in the form of dust particles (Vella *et al.*, 2015), while the smoke produced can also have a negative effect on one's health when inhaled (Camilleri and Vella 2010). Those watching fireworks from a point along the fortifications of the walled city of Mdina, sited on high ground and offering a wide-angle panoramic view of the rest of the island, will notice great clouds of smoke slowly drifting over the landscape. This harmful smoke is generated through ground and air fireworks produced locally by around 35 licensed factories.

The village *festa* – experiences of an involved resident

From an interview in 2013 with a tourist guide who has been residing in Mqabba (a small village of about 3000 inhabitants with a strong fireworks tradition) all her life, one gets a grassroots account of the *festa* in honour of the Assumption of St Mary, the patron saint of the village. Her family members have been living in the village, possibly for centuries, and have enjoyed the *festa* for the same number of years:

> *I grew up in the world of the village* festa. *My male relatives are all involved in the band club and most of my cousins play with the band club. The music itself is taught by the village maestro. My family members spend a great deal of time every week on music, visiting the band club, having meetings with government officials about fireworks permits, insurances and other organizational matters. My family, with some other families, form the hard core, or the clan, of the band club, for a good number of generations now.*

In many cases in Malta, the people that manufacture fireworks in a town or village are directly linked to a local band club. The club would incorporate a fully-fledged band and a fireworks group, if not a fireworks factory.

The respondent spoke of her love for the village *festa* and the fireworks, 'because without fireworks, the *festa* feels kind of incomplete; after all, fireworks are part and parcel of the Maltese culture and tradition'. Keeping abreast

Fig. 14.1. Ground fireworks which are artistically beautiful but can also become dangerous to both their makers and the spectators (photo credit - Victor B. Caruana).

Fig. 14.2. Participants in the morning band march are enthusiastic and are mostly young people who drink alcohol to pump up their zeal (photo courtesy of St Mary's Philharmonic Society, Mosta, Malta).

Fig. 14.3. Maltese *festas* attract crowds of people who seek fun and participation (photo courtesy of St Mary's Philharmonic Society, Mosta, Malta).

with local research on fireworks, she admits that there are pockets of opposition due to pollution and safety considerations, '… but I do not think we can do without it! We are simply emotionally attached to it, part of our identity and religiosity.' She considers the success her village has achieved in fireworks festivals locally (Timesof-Malta.com, 2016) and abroad (Fenech, 2004) to be an asset, as this fame now attracts tourists to Mqabba during the feast days, and the village 'is usually forgotten for the rest of the year'. Being a fireworks enthusiast in the extreme, this Mqabbija (as a woman from Mqabba is called) cannot stay away from the field from where the petards are launched. Such places are relatively distant from habitations, and anyone who is not part of the fireworks team is normally not allowed there during the feast days. 'However, we, the clan members, stand closer by in the field from where it is fired. Close, but safe, I can assure you, although we need special permission … there is a certain privilege to it.'

The passion is too overwhelming to control and it escalates with every minute that passes and every petard that is shot into the sky. The respondent narrates how enthused she is with the mood prevailing in the field:

> *During the fireworks, from close range, you can say that we engage all our senses, which includes tasting the residue of the explosives on my tongue, getting covered with speckles of orange of the petards, shredded paper and carton of the cartridges. When the wind is wrong we get engulfed in the smoke, but then we do a step back, but not too far. I guess we suffer from the same Mediterranean madness which makes possible the bull runs in Pamplona. Being close to the fireworks also leaves a sensation in my stomach, as the explosions reverberate through my whole body.*

Asked about the perils, she admits that she is not bothered too much about the danger or the long-term effects of the chemicals and the 120+ decibel noise of the exploding fireworks. As one study has argued, it is accurate to proclaim that:

> [T]here is no *festa* without fireworks. They constitute part of its multisensory *Gesamstkunstwerk*: their penetrative power means that they purvey *festa* to individual bodies; their sound structures its temporality; there is much sonic rivalry between different *festa* groups; and they spatialise *festa* in a way that renders their location ambiguous.
>
> (Falzon and Cassar, 2014, p. 143)

Fig. 14.4. Fireworks during a festa in Malta.

The Mqabba tourist guide looks at her village *festa* as a special occasion, an event that gives her a sense of identity. She considers the *festa* with all its trappings to be part of her cultural heritage, inherited from her forebears to be passed on to her descendants. She affirms: *'I am one of many generations growing up with this phenomenon of the* festa*, and I am going to continue*

this tradition. My children are still young, but they are already familiar with the whole tradition of fireworks. They do not blink an eye when they hear loud explosions suddenly, they know what it is.'

The village *festa* – the views of a prominent figure on the local and national scene

Speaking to an official, a person with standing in the community, one gets a more detached, though no less enthralling, narrative that contrasts with the responses in the preceding interview.

This official, a member of Parliament at the time of the interview in 2013, opines that, 'a *festa* is a dual celebration; first we celebrate the saint as hallmark of God's goodness, and at the same time the community is celebrating its own existence'. The respondent continues that it concerns faith itself and the saints; 'people need to make their religion tangible'. This involves symbols and symbolisms that act as tools to bring forth the likeness and qualities of their village saint. The feast is still very much a main element on the local scene as 'it is the shop window of what is quintessentially Maltese'. The respondent underlines the fact that the community celebrates its faith and its bond with the patron saint, and that the *festa* is still going strong despite the phenomena of globalization and secularization. Indeed, Rountree (2010), from a close look at Malta's religious realities, picks up the attachment of the Maltese to the village patron saint, which, she observes, permeates people's identities through their names. For example, it will be no accident that parents from Qormi would name a son George, in honour of one of the patron saints of the village. The town of Qormi is divided into two parishes – St George, which is the older, and the more recent one dedicated to St Sebastian. And if a daughter is born on 15 August she may well be named Mary/Marija or one of its variants. In times past they might have called her Assunta. The feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (Assunzjoni) falls on 15 August. The name Assunta or Sunta is today generally considered more or less archaic.

The official describes the local band club – a presence that cannot be missed in the majority of towns and villages – as a second home for many youths. Through various activities these youngsters are able to become familiar with the cultural identity of the locality. They will grow to love the feast, to consider it a reason for living. They work for the feast all year round, by learning and practising drapery, painting, carving and gilding, and by engaging in fundraising, participating in activities, learning music and playing an instrument in the club's music school in preparation to join its band.

Speaking about fireworks, this respondent is emphatic: 'Fireworks is an expression of popular devotion; take that away and there will be a revolution, no matter the concerns for air pollution and damage to hearing because of loud explosions.' He underlines the attraction of fireworks, which, he says, affect 'your five senses, the ultimate goal of all arts'. This is more so as fireworks are now combined with other artistic expressions such as laser images in the smoke, sound effects and dance. The MP notes that fireworks are 'a universal language' and one finds them in politics, sports, religion, entertainment and art.

There is a long tradition of how the *festa* is organized, and fireworks mark the stages of the *festa* from beginning to end through a code that is well known to those acquainted with these manifestations. Fireworks announce and accompany the statue while it is taken out of the church for its tour around the village during daylight. This moment is announced by loud bursts of petards called *tal-bomba*, which make explosive sounds and inform those near and far about what is taking place. With the onset of darkness, fireworks become colourful and euphoric; they greet the statue of the patron saint as it returns to the parvis and escort it into the church. But before that, the statue is turned around to face the crowd, to thank the audience for their efforts and faith. It is thought that the saints, through the presence of the statue, are showing their gratitude for the fireworks. While the statue is taken into the church, a barrage of fireworks takes place, an inferno, an Armageddon, called in Maltese the *kaxxa infernali*. The MP concludes that the intricate and brilliant patterns creating rhythm and explosive designs in the sky is 'religiosity in fireworks'.

A deadly pastime – victims of *festa* fireworks

The joy and awe of fireworks in the night sky has been tempered, in many instances, by accidents, disasters and deaths. The perils of fireworks for those who spend their lives working in firework factories have been experienced again and again. These people know the dangers and live with fear every minute that they are in contact with fireworks – manufacturing, carrying and launching fireworks of all types. Since 1882, 169 people, including 9 children, have died during firework-related incidents, while others have been wounded or maimed. Between 1980 and 2010, the number of deaths was 67 (Bartolo, 2010). In the period 2011–2014, another 14 were hit and either killed or wounded (Curmi, 2015).

With all these firework-related accidents, regulations have, periodically, been reviewed to address, as well as possible, various deficiencies and abuses. In 2014, yet another version of the regulations was introduced, which included new safety rules, in the hope that this would encourage a tighter safety regime. In the words of one chemistry expert, 'many [fireworks enthusiasts] lack scientific knowhow when dealing with volatile chemical compositions'. The new rules proposed an extension in the period of training of these *dilettanti* from two to five years. This, it was argued 'is either a brave or a very foolish decision. Only time will tell' (TimesofMalta.com, 2014). However, in 2016 a further four men were injured after a firework explosion (*Malta Independent*, 2016).

A government official, interviewed in 2013, reflects that:

> *Producing fireworks is a dangerous pastime. Firework factories in Malta consist of volunteers, who are rather professional in their methods and knowledge. They are also very passionate about their hobby, with some people bordering on the obsessive. Over the centuries, many people have fallen victim to the manufacturing and discharging of fireworks. When a factory explodes there usually are a number of victims. When this happens, people become more religious. Their widows are made a fuss about for a few days, then forgotten. Many of these women see it as the ultimate sacrifice made by their husbands to their saint. Such manufacturers are totally dedicated to it, also because there is a ring of heroism to it. When a serious explosion occurs close to the feast, the external feast is cancelled in honour of the victim. A funerary procession takes place, but is in fact a solemn pilgrimage, with loudspeakers strung up along the road, the members of the fraternities are in full regalia, but there are no further festivities.*

The interviewee believes that the firework makers are kept in high regard. He describes how, at the end of the feast, the firework enthusiasts are expected in church, and when they enter, all dirty and covered in soot, they are celebrated as heroes. A ceremony takes place during which they place flowers in front of the statue and give thanks while the parish priest blesses them and gives thanks to God 'that there were no victims to mourn'. The interviewee continues:

Fig. 14.5. Monument for the victims of fireworks.

> *In some villages and towns the emotions are so strong that they have a monument dedicated to the firework victims. Some very sad stories can be gleaned from the inscribed text. As an example, a small boy went to bring his father's lunch to the fireworks factory, when it exploded. Both father and son were killed during this incident.*

Some safety precautions include insurance cover, which is obligatory. All organizers, the licensed members of the Malta Pyrotechnic Society, band clubs, parish priests and anybody else involved in the organization of fireworks for the *festa* must be covered by a third-party liability insurance.

One fireworks critic, a neighbour of a widow of a fireworks victim, has aired her concern about what she considers to be the irresponsibility of the men engaged in fireworks:

> *They know it is dangerous, but they do not care, they think they are heroes. But if the whole thing blows up, they leave wife and children behind, they do not think about that. They also drag their sons into the business, endangering them. For the men, when a number of them die in a fireworks accident, they see them as heroes who have sacrificed their lives for the cause. What is the cause? The feast of the patron saint, the band club, fireworks, social standing . . . but we, the women, have to deal with the widows and the fatherless children. There is no status in that. Next year, the men are commemorated, the women and children forgotten. How stupid can it be to die for a hobby and accept it as the will of God? The men claim that those who died have the support of the patron saint to get them into heaven.*

This woman, visibly intrigued by the mentality of these enthusiasts, marvels at how some of the *dilettanti*, after losing fingers, a hand or an eye in a fireworks accident, continue to produce fireworks. Some of them, she continues, are illiterate and meddle with chemicals about which they know nothing. The interviewee concludes:

> *I agree with the parish priest who, during a funeral of two victims, said that although they made people happy with their fireworks, their death made us very sad. Personally, I was sad, but I was also very, very angry at them, cocky to show off their skills and pride. The parish priest also appealed to the sense of responsibility of husbands and fathers: Why knowingly and willingly plunge your family into grief?*

It is an established fact that many of these enthusiasts are practically addicted to the manufacture of fireworks. They cannot stop, and many a time they would only do so after a fatal accident that may end their lives. Fireworks have become a cultural tradition engrained in the *festa* heritage of the Maltese islands, a detail that is not easily overturned. Furthermore, the spectators expect to see fireworks during the event, and their enthusiasm reinforces this feature of the Maltese *festa*. Little do these spectators know that they, too, may be exposed to danger, such as when unexploded petards fall in the vicinity of people, or when children pick them up, unaware of the danger. The testimony of one who has had a nasty experience with fireworks puts the hazardous reality in context:

> *As a spectator, fireworks can be dangerous, too. During one of the local feasts, ground fireworks were let off. Ground fireworks are usually a number of flag masts temporarily planted in front of the church. On these masts, mechanisms are fastened, which are propelled by fireworks. We were standing at quite a distance, with a group of family members and friends. There were mothers with children in prams, and some of the little ones were on the arms of their father or mother, to have a look. A man who was standing next to me was holding a newborn baby in his arms. Suddenly, a daisy wheel came flying off one of the masts, flying directly towards our group. People around us panicked and ran away, but in the process they knocked over the man with the baby. He managed to protect the baby with his body, but he was bruised and beaten by the incident, as people stampeded over him.*

Similar accidents have sometimes ended with victims suffering nasty burns. Notwithstanding the danger, young men especially want to be as close as possible to the ground fireworks, possibly to prove their manliness. Many have been injured over the years during the manufacturing, transporting or firing of fireworks, and this includes innocent passers-by and spectators. It is not unknown for people to find unexploded fireworks on their roofs.

Ground fireworks are meant as a salute to the saint being celebrated. They are nice to watch, and the manufacturers do their utmost to create complex, attractive patterns in the air. They are also an opportunity for their designers to show off, because through their work they boast of their skill and courage to the 'spies' of the neighbouring towns, the rival *partiti*.

Band clubs and dangerous band marches – *pika* in extremis

Typically, in every village and town *festa* all over the Maltese islands, there are band marches that give a 'voice' to the rejoicing locals and their guests, be these tourists or Maltese from outside the locality. Also, characteristic of Maltese everyday affairs, there is rarely only one philharmonic society in a village, even when it is small in terms of population. Indeed, it is much more common to find two or even three band clubs. Usually, the more recently founded philharmonic society is an offshoot of the original club, which has emerged as a result of pique or some other divergence among the members. These clubs rarely coexist in harmony and their rivalry escalates during the weeks leading up to the *festa*, when preparations are in full swing, with each party doing its best to outdo the competition. When the two sides meet, friction is inevitable, and may at times spiral into something worse. The peak of this rivalry is reached during the band marches, especially those that take place during the morning of the feast day.

Part of the 2013 interview with the government official focuses on the situation in the sister island of Gozo. He points out that 'In Gozo, the pika [pique] can be very intensive at times.' This can be traced back to the early 20th century when 'very tangible tensions' between the two Rabat (Victoria) parishes of St George and St Mary developed. The spirit of defiance is evident, for example during the feast of the Assumption of St Mary celebrated in the Gozo Cathedral. On 15 August, the feast day, the morning band march takes the route from one of the band clubs via the city of Victoria to the *Ċittadella* (the hilltop, fortified old town) where Gozo Cathedral (the parish of St Mary) is situated; then, at around noon, it finds itself in the square in front of the Basilica of St George (the other parish of Rabat), and at this time the rivalry that has been brewing boils over. The respondent describes the recurring annual scene thus:

> *The Santa Maria band club, called the Leone band club (or Soċjetà Filarmonika Leone), positions itself in front of the building of the La Stella band, the competitor, and stays there for half an hour, playing provocative hymns. Supporters from the La Stella can no longer bear the insult, rush up the belfries of the basilica and start tolling all the bells, their sound drowning the Leone band, which then is forced to move on with their procession. The following year, things are better organized, although the same thing happens, but this year the La Stella is silenced. When the supporters race up the stairs to the belfry they realize that all the clappers of the bells have seemingly been 'kidnapped'. In 2012, an exchange of words ensued over copying of music and hijacking of hymns.*

This is not an isolated or unusual case; one could describe it as a relatively normal reality applying to many localities in the Maltese islands. One example is Hamrun, where rivalry between two band clubs is a decades-long acrimonious affair and clashes are always on the cards during the *festa* of St Cajetan. A climax was reached in 1987, with people recounting 'angels flying across the high street'; that is, the statues of angels that lined the street became part of the collateral damage resulting from the crossfire of the two opposing *festa partiti* (Carabott, 2012). An eyewitness testimonial is offered through an interview done in 1998 with a member of the St Cajetan Band Club of Hamrun, whose societal colour is red. This club came out of the older St Joseph Band Club, which uses blue as its brand colour, and from then on, rivalry became the norm:

> *In 1987 the rivalry between the two groups was extremely violent during the feast of St Cajetan. Our fraction* [sic] *of the band club, the reds, and the other fraction* [sic], *the blues, engage in our usual morning band march, at St Joseph High Road. As we approach the others, and we are very close, people started to throw handheld firecrackers at us, to give us a fright. It is possible that one of us threw back his can of beer. In any case, beer cans start flying and nearly hit me. The other guys, in their blue t-shirts and blue-painted faces are coming at me and want to hit me. Luckily, my friends notice and we all are punching and pounding the other group, one big mass of blue and red t-shirts. More beer cans fly through the air, more people get hurt at first, then they get angry and a massive fight breaks out. It is a mess, but our feast usually is a mess. The blues are pulling over our statues of saints and angels, including the wooden pedestals, and everyone is bashing each other with the papier-mâché body parts, plastic bar chairs and beer cans. Many people got hurt. The wide street is littered with the debris of statues, wooden pedestals, beer cans, confetti and the lot. Tens of statues are damaged during the riots. As a result, the parish priest cancels the feast. Both sides lose.*

After this incident the ecclesiastical authorities did their best to bring the two sides into line and start behaving honourably and with dignity. The interviewee expressed his satisfaction that the blues and the reds were back on speaking terms and affirmed: 'I love my feast … it takes just one idiot to set off a mass fight. We have to think about the children, women, the elderly, who are all there for the feast, not for a fight.'

In the town of Żabbar the situation is quite similar, and may be illustrated by the incidents of 2004 during the *festa* of Our Lady of Graces when an agreement between the two band clubs going back to 1992 was broken and the clashes between supporters of the competing clubs resulted in slight injuries to around 12 people, including six policemen. The fight had come about when supporters of Maria Mater Gratiae Band Club wanted to pass through Sanctuary Street, the main street of Żabbar, but the supporters of St Michael's Band Club decided that they would not allow them through (Fenech, 2004). This incident had its roots in a longstanding rivalry, but more immediately in incidents that happened three years before and which seem not to have abated. An eyewitness described the turmoil of that evening as a 'stampede'. He continued: 'Suddenly the air was filled with bottles hurtling in all directions, and pandemonium broke out as people started running to get away from the melee.' This same witness tried to administer first aid to one of the victims of the rumpus, who had suffered lacerations to his face (*Malta Independent*, 2004).

The following year, the small village of Għaxaq underwent a similar fate when, during the secondary feast of St Joseph, supporters of the rival band club found cause to clash, and bottles were hurled, injuring one policeman in the face (timesofmalta.com, 2005). Then there were Żurrieq, Qrendi, Marsa – the list goes on.

In 2009, a Maltese Church draft document proposed a process by which, it was hoped, it could bring the *festa* back under ecclesiastical control, as it was felt that it had got out of hand. One particularly worrying moment was the morning band march, which the Curia found to be excessively steeped in exaggerated passions, no doubt fuelled by alcohol. The *festa dilettanti* got drunk and this usually led to violence and clashes with the opposing club supporters. *Festa partiti*, as Boissevain has called them, were the principal source of trouble. The Maltese Curia document underlined the Church's aim 'to control exaggeration, including the manner of dress, the songs and words that are chanted, the consumption of alcohol and the duration of the marches'. The Church proposed addressing the 'troubling habits' relating to the lyrics of songs chanted during the marches by having the lyrics approved, so as to ensure that these were not insulting to others and provoking hostilities. It was proposed that the custom of what the enthusiasts call *sorpriżi* (surprises) during the morning march should be abolished as these were a source of further rivalry, and the throwing of water was also to be banned. The *festa* spirit was thus to be expressed through the use of flags and balloons. The duration of the morning march had to be compressed into four hours while the rival bands were not to pass in front of the other's club. If this could not be avoided, no stopping for any reason was to be entertained (Calleja, 2009). The Maltese Church, through its parish priests and archpriests, does its best to remind all revellers that they should abide by the religious respect due to the saint and the spirit of the religious occasion – the main and only reason, after all, why the *festa* is held.

The government official interviewee mentioned above describes the daytime band marches as 'the feast of the youth', and continues:

> *Both sides all dress up in their own colours and paint their faces in the club colours, too* [often it is the reds against the blues, or the greens against the yellows]. *Lots of alcohol is consumed and they dance and sing on the street, in the sweltering sun. The rowdy spirit enhances the band march, whereby everybody is drunk and to provoke onlookers from the other band clubs. They mostly mean well, though. After all, the youth is as much part of the feast as everyone else. There is no vandalism on the statues or graffiti applied; the statues are theirs, too; they have ownership of the feast. Such feasts are authentic, and there is no judgement of right or wrong, but it is simply them, they put their heart and soul in it, not in drugs!*

It is evident that band music, which first appeared in Maltese feasts in the 19th century and has continued and intensified, is today too intricately ingrained in the texture of the *festa* for anyone to do anything much about it. One might try to mitigate the near fanaticism of the enthusiasts, generally the younger generation, by emphasizing at club committees the need for

restraint and more respect for others, but that, too, may prove to be an uphill struggle. The pressure from the mass of people present during the band marches, and especially on the morning of the feast day, is a headache both for the police and for the ecclesiastical authorities, but all attempts to curtail it have proved futile. The spirit of competition and the urge to show how great one's *festa partit* is are too overwhelming to be controlled efficiently; they have become more and more irresistible to the participants who get carried away at the slightest hint of challenge.

Festas and horseracing

Horseracing is quite a popular pastime in Malta and Gozo. At times, horseracing and religion are intertwined. A number of villages and towns organize horse races as part of their *festa* celebrations. On the island of Gozo, for example, a number of localities hold *festa* races – in Rabat (Victoria) for the *festa* of St George, in Ta' Sannat for the *festa* of St Margaret, and for the *festas* in Għasri, Nadur, Xagħra, Xewkija and Żebbuġ (VisitGozo, 2017).

Along with the above, there are also the races organized on 15 August, the Ascension of Mary, or Assunta – probably the most important and popular *festa* day of the year. This *festa*, celebrated in Victoria, Gozo, includes various races held along Republic Street up to the main square, Pjazza Indipendenza. In the past, the street was aptly called Racecourse Street and is still popularly known as such. During the races, it is a dangerous place to be; there are no safety barriers, people stand along the street, and horses race past within inches of the spectators. To get a better view, supporters stand in the middle of the road and jump aside just as the horses are about to run into them, meanwhile cheering them on. Besides horseback racing, there are races where the rider sits on a sulky (a light, two-wheeled, horse-drawn vehicle). Such races start four abreast, but as the road leads up to the main square, it becomes narrower and there is only room for two abreast. One can imagine that while these are rather spectacular, they are also very dangerous. A more comical race is with young men or young women on donkeys, charging their animals not with whips but with plastic water bottles. No one appears to mind; the police do not seem bothered with safety, and the authorities let things be. People have pursued these activities for centuries, and any change to the status quo would undoubtedly lead to unrest.

The same applies to Malta, where some races take place on *festa* days. The most renowned are the annual races that are held on the *festa* of St Peter and St Paul on 29 June. These are centuries-old races that go back to the time when the Order of St John (1530–1798) ruled Malta, and even before (as the earliest date when these races are mentioned is 1460 (Dingli, 2007)). This feast is known as *l-Imnarja* and includes much merrymaking, eating, animal and agricultural shows, and folkloric singing (locally called *għana*) in the *boschetto* (the wood around the Verdala Palace in Rabat). In past times the winners of the equestrian races used to be given a trophy in the form of a coloured banner called a *palju*. These are very popular races and are ingrained in the cultural traditions of the Maltese. One description speaks of these traditional horse and donkey races, commenting: 'An amusing feature of these races is that the animals are ridden bareback and the jockeys have to grip their mounts with their knees, while driving the animals forward with a short stick' (Sheehan, 2006, p. 110). Other horse races used to take place on the occasion of the *festa* of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Mdina. These races were popular among the small population of the old city of Malta (Galea, 1989) and were still being organized in the early 21st century.

Animal races have been raising concerns for many years, and especially since animal rights groups focused on them. Problems that persist and need to be addressed include the slippery tarmac on which the horses run (as the competitions are held on the streets) and the fact that they take place in the early afternoon when the heat in summer is unbearable. A further concern is the lack of protective barriers to ensure public safety (Carabott, 2016). In 2010, during the *Mnarja* horse races, one horse smashed into the barrier and hurt a man who had ventured past the protective boundary. In one day there are around 100 horses dashing along the streets (Martin, 2013). The Animal Welfare Department has assured the public that it monitors the races to see that the law is not abused. However, this does not seem to be a deterrent to everyone.

In 2016, a spectator, during the Santa Marija races on 15 August in Victoria, recounted that she was witness to a blatant challenge to the law. She recounted: 'I can assure you that in this race, whips were used, and their noise still resounds in my head. Our children were as shocked as we were.' The rules governing protective barriers that separate the horses from the public were also ignored. The witness concluded, 'As surreal as it may sound, for some races, a van preceded the horses at top speed, sounding the horn to get people out of the way' (Borg, 2016).

Conclusion

Malta has managed to preserve its authenticity in many ways. To a certain extent, even the dangers inherent in fireworks, band marches and animal races during the Maltese *festas* are part of this authenticity. Communities are tied by loyalty and devotion to common symbols that unite them. The *festa* may be described as a dialectical reality and socially cohesive. On one hand there is the ever-present pique, rivalry, peril and contrast between *festa partiti*, and on the other the feeling of being united for their saint and the village. The community of the town or village may be divided through competitive and sentimental realities, but it emerges united when it opposes or challenges another town or village. Risk and danger are always present, sometimes in the background, sometimes a necessary part of the adrenaline to keep the *festa* going. This is the charm of the Maltese *festa* – always enticing, but often dangerous.

References

Bartolo, E. (2010) Highest number of deaths by fireworks in the last 30 years – regulation means we have to look closer at fireworks manufacturing. *Malta Today*, 12 September. Available at: http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/comment/blogs/372/highest-number-of-deaths-by-fireworks-in-the-last-30-years#.WM0VjlWcHUN (accessed 13 December 2017).

Boissevain, J. (1965) *Saints and Fireworks: Religion and Politics in Rural Malta*. Athlone, London.

Boissevain, J. (1992) On predicting the future: parish rituals and patronage in Malta. In: Wallman, S. (ed.) *Contemporary Futures: Perspectives from Social Anthropology*. Routledge, London, Ch. 4.

Borg, J. (2016) Some Victoria race jockeys face action by Animal Welfare. *TimesofMalta.com*, 18 August. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20160818/local/some-victoria-race-jockeys-face-action-by-animal-welfare.622329 (accessed 13 December 2017).

Calleja, C. (2009) Church draws the line on unruly band marches – church calls for progress on fireworks regulations. *TimesofMalta.com*, 6 October. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20091006/local/church-draws-the-line-on-unruly-band-marches.276220 (accessed 13 December 2017).

Camilleri, R. and Vella, A. (2010) Effect of fireworks on ambient air quality in Malta. *Atmospheric Environment* 44(35), 4521–4527.

Carabott, S. (2012) Rivalry lives on at feast of St Cajetan. *TimesofMalta.com*, 13 August. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20120813/local/Rivalry-lives-on-at-feast-of-St-Cajetan.432625 (accessed 13 December 2017).

Carabott, S. (2016) Common sense to hold Santa Marija horse races in the morning. *TimesofMalta.com*, 15 August. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20160815/local/common-sense-to-hold-santa-marija-horse-races-in-the-morning.622085 (accessed 13 December 2017).

Cassar, G. (2015) The Maltese festa: a crossover of traditional and contemporary cultural realities. In: Azzopardi, A. (ed.) *Young People and the 'Festa' in Malta*. Society of St Mary and King George V Band Club, Mqabba, Malta, pp.1–18.

Curmi, A. (2015) Insuring against firework accidents in Malta: a study. BA (Hons) dissertation, University of Malta. Available at: https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/bitstream/handle/123456789/5528/15BISR002.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=n (accessed 10 March 2017).

Dingli, P. (2007) *Rabat – Historic Treasures, Mystic Legends, Culture and Folklore*. Self-published, Malta.

Falzon, M.A. and Cassar, C.M. (2014) What's in a bang? Fireworks and the politics of sound in Malta. *Space and Culture* 18(2), 143–155.

Fenech, N. (2004) Żabbar feast to go ahead without band marches. *TimesofMalta.com*, 12 September. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20040912/local/zabbar-feast-to-go-ahead-without-band-marches.112701 (accessed 13 December 2017).

Galea, B. (1989) *L-Imdina ta' Tfuliti*. Pubblikazzjoni Bugelli, Malta.
Malta Independent (2004) Mayhem at midnight does not stop festa. *Malta Independent*, 12 September. Available at: http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2004-09-12/news/mayhem-at-midnight-does-not-stop-festa-68436/ (accessed 13 December 2017).
Malta Independent (2016) Updated (6): Marsaxlokk feast held in spite of fireworks blast that injured four. *Malta Independent*, 30 July. Available at: http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2016-07-30/local-news/Fireworks-explosion-in-Marsaxlokk-as-village-holds-feast-6736161784 (accessed 13 December 2017).
Malta Tourism Authority (n.d.) *Malta & Gozo: The Sacred Islands in the Heart of the Mediterranean.* Available at: http://go.epublish4me.com/ebook/ebook?id=10024660#/0 (accessed 13 December 2017).
Martin, I. (2013) Mnarja races 'are a safe and humane tradition'. *TimesofMalta.com*, 1 July. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20130701/local/Mnarja-races-are-a-safe-and-humane-tradition-.476107 (accessed 13 December 2017).
Rix, J. (2016) *Malta and Gozo* (3rd edn). Bradt Travel Guides, Chalfont St Peter, UK.
Rountree, K. (2010) *Crafting Contemporary Pagan Identities in a Catholic Society*. Routledge, London.
Sheehan, S. (2006) *Malta*. Marshall Cavendish, New York.
TimesofMalta.com (2005) Ghaxaq feast called off after rival band supporters clash. *Timesof Malta.*com, 5 June. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20050605/local/ghaxaq-feast-called-off-after-rival-band-supporters-clash.88118 (accessed 17 March 2017).
TimesofMalta.com (2014) New fireworks regulations. *TimesofMalta.com*, 25 June. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20140625/editorial/New-fireworks-regulations.524931 (accessed 13 December 2017).
TimesofMalta.com (2016) Spectacular fireworks show at Mqabba. *TimesofMalta.com*, 10 August. Available at: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20160810/social/Spectacular-fireworks-show-at-Mqabba.621550 (accessed 13 December 2017).
Vella, A., Chircop, C., Micallef, T. and Pace, C. (2015) Perchlorate in dust fall and indoor dust in Malta: an effect of fireworks. *Science of the Total Environment* 521(1), 46–51.
VisitGozo (2017) Horse racing. Available at: https://www.visitgozo.com/what-to-do-in-gozo/escape/horse-racing/ (accessed 13 December 2017).

YouTube videos of feasts, fireworks and horseracing

https://youtu.be/5ohWAaBn9Mo
https://youtu.be/2qqAEyX5Xls
https://youtu.be/LEMhDiUpgSQ
https://youtu.be/_uv30gYr4oM
https://youtu.be/52WJ32h8Daw
https://youtu.be/FTzI8kUdCH4
https://youtu.be/Id_-HOgLrvU
https://youtu.be/VSXZ9_bWwt0
https://youtu.be/BTYzkODz0Ys
https://youtu.be/ZWbsCB33Bnc
https://youtu.be/onIx6nNzw8M

15 Discussion Questions

Maximiliano E. Korstanje, Razaq Raj and Kevin Griffin

Chapter 2

- Who defines what is good and/or bad?
- Apart from Islamaphobia, what other folk devils can you identify?
- How difficult is it to change commonsense perceptions?

Chapter 3

- Identify and discuss the key Health and Safety regulations a religious festival organizer needs to consider in the planning of an event?
- Critically evaluate the 'risk matrix' and discuss five benefits of applying the matrix to risk identified at a religious event.
- Discuss and explain in chronological order the five steps to risk assessment that religious festival organizers need to develop.
- Create a risk assessment form highlighting each risk in order of potential or significant impact to customers attending a major religious event.

Chapter 4

- How do international terrorism and hate crimes differ from ordinary crime in the way they affect the tourist's mindset?
- Discuss the similarities and differences between hate crimes and terrorism.
- Why are acts of terrorism widely reported whereas hate crimes often go unreported?
- What are the main risks of crime, hate crime and terrorism in relation to tourism?

Chapter 5

- What are the main risks for the traveller who wishes to engage in medical tourism?
- What is the relationship between medical tourism and religion?
- Identify a destination that is actively promoting medical tourism and explore their attention to issues such as culture, religion and race.
- How can a medical tourism destination address a range of religious risks?

Chapter 6

- Discuss why terrorists target tourists in their attacks.
- How does terrorism erode the basis of hospitality in Western civilization?
- Review some of the potential conflicts in the development of tourism in a setting where there are a number of historically

significant sites linked to different religions or sects.
- Explore ways in which religious tourism might develop synergies to prevent the process of radicalization, which is conducive to terrorism.

Chapter 7

- Consider and discuss the potential strategies to minimize risk in the mega-event of Hajj.
- Critically discuss different event models to simulate the actions and behaviours of pilgrims.
- Review and suggest how psychological, physical and mechanical factors of crowd behaviour impact on the mega-movements of the Hajj.
- Critically evaluate whether the mega-movements of the Hajj are perilous due to their complex nature and scale of crowd, or is it crowd behaviour that challenges the Hajj ritual movements and becomes the potential reason for any catastrophe?

Chapter 8

- Considering the varied interests in pilgrimages, should the distinction between a physical and spiritual journey of faith, and a tour or leisure experience be taken into account when planning safety and security measures?
- Should sacred sites provide improved crowd control measures to reserve most religious spaces for religious pilgrims and their religious observance and participation in religious ceremonies?
- Would pilgrimage routes with fewer religious pilgrims still contribute to the personal enrichment of experience-seeking secular tourists?
- How can local residents contribute to the improvement of a safe environment along pilgrimage routes and at the same time benefit from their efforts?

Chapter 9

- Critically analyse how crowd and risk management have been employed at religious festivals to minimize casualties.
- Discuss and identify all key hazards that may affect attendees, staff or concessionaires.
- Evaluate the practical and logical approach to key areas that require risk assessment within the religious event space.
- Identify and explain general risk factors and the provision of samples of risk documentation that can be used.

Chapter 10

- Discuss the negative effects of terrorism on religious tourism.
- What is the nature of terrorism?
- Review some of the potential conflicts in developing religious tourism in the Middle East.
- In what ways do host and guest encounters affect the performance of religious tourism? Is resentment the key factor in terrorism?

Chapter 11

- Discuss and explain how this event is a fundamental ritual in the life of a Hindu.
- Critically explain how risk management will protect both the attendee and the integrity of their religious pilgrimage rituals.
- Discuss the right to freedom of religion and to partake in religious rituals or events in India.
- Explain and debate the important element of successful risk management for Kumbh Mela.

Chapter 12

- Why do we say that terrorism leads to the dehumanization of other?
- Is terrorism a consequence of religious fundamentalism?

- What were the reasons why 9/11 caused panic in the global audience?
- Explore and discuss how destinations are affected by terrorism.

Chapter 13

- Whose responsibility is it to protect tourists – the government or the private sector?
- How will terrorism change hospitality and tourism and what are the long-term impacts?
- How can hospitality and tourism businesses use security preparedness as a sustainable competitive advantage?
- Research and discuss tourists' risk perceptions based on their age, gender, income and marital status.

Chapter 14

- When tradition and religion are seemingly clashing with modern concerns about safety, welfare of animals, sustainability and environment, what solutions can be sought to serve both sides?
- How can the tradition of fireworks, and their dangerous manufacturing process, be reconciled with modern health and safety standards?
- To what extent does science need to prove the health risks of fireworks at close range before fireworks enthusiasts take heed?
- Are modern ideologies and ideas of crowd control and crowd safety applicable in small communities that are swamped with visitors once a year?

Index

Note: Page numbers in **bold** type refer to **figures**
Page numbers in *italic* type refer to *tables*

Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events

Edited by **Maximiliano E. Korstanje**, **Razaq Raj** and **Kevin Griffin**

Travellers today face many challenges due to risk and safety issues. Focusing in particular on risk and safety issues faced by visitors to holy sites, this book looks at the unique challenges raised when religious festivals involve mass gatherings lasting for days, with large crowds requiring detailed disaster management plans. Beginning with a general section on risk management, covering areas such as disaster management, terrorism, crime and security, the book then delves deeper into specific issues and challenges. It reviews important topics such as understanding the behaviour of crowds, how to perform a risk assessment for a sacred space, and travelling in what some would regard as an increasingly hostile world.

Critically examining risk and safety challenges in this area of management, the book:

- Includes a full section of global case studies, as well as discussion questions for each chapter, encouraging readers to translate theory into good practice.
- Offers critical thinking on risk, vulnerability and long-term development for mass gatherings.
- Covers the importance of disaster management practices and offers practical advice for ensuring attendees' safety.

Mitigating risk at mass gathering events and festivals is an area that needs further research, but this book brings together current thought and provides a valuable reference for those studying religion, tourism and events, as well as event organizers, emergency and hospital services, and local authorities.