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TOURISM AND TERRORISM IN EGYPT

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Statement of Authorship

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this dissertation thesis and that I have not used any other sources than those identified as 'informants' and those listed in the bibliography and identified as references. I further declare that I have not submitted this thesis at any other institution in order to obtain a Ph.D. or any other academic degree.

Pilsen, the 25th of August, 2022 _____

Abstract

This research thesis deals with tourism and terrorism, together, at their points of intersection. The thesis strives to contribute to existing research on terrorism and tourism and to continue the discussion of both the theoretical premises and the practical execution of anthropological research of this phenomenon. The main research objective is quite simple: what is the role of terrorism in shaping a tourism destination? The choice of Luxor as a tourist destination was indisputable; only few places in the world have such a concentration of important historical monuments and such a long history of organized tours as this provincial town in Upper Egypt. The city of Luxor was also chosen for its connection to both booming tourism and tragic terrorist events.

This thesis is divided into four main sections. The first, entitled *In Search of an the Anthropology of Terrorism in Tourism*, introduces the reader to the theoretical issues of research on terrorism in the tourist phenomenon by introducing theoretical concepts on which the research itself is based. The second section, *Research Design* deals with the practical aspects of research. It introduces ethnography as a research method and justifies its use in tourism research in general. The second part of this section is devoted to the ethical issues of my research, in particular with regard to informed consent, which turned out to be one of the major issues during my research. The last two sections contain the actual ethnographic research in Egypt and particularly Luxor: The section entitled *Egypt, the Showcase of Terrorism in Tourism* reviews different groups of terrorists, related to them transferring their attacks against tourists and tourist infrastructures. Finally, *Luxor Between Tourism and Terrorism* seeks answers to the questions raised in the theoretical section while allowing to position terrorism as a phenomenon linked and intertwined with modern tourism.

Keywords: ethnography, anthropology of terrorism, anthropology of tourism, Egypt, Luxor

Contents

INTRODUCTION

Tourism and terrorism are two phenomena that intrigue me. While terrorism is a "complex and ever-changing phenomenon" (Bakker, 2012, p. 69), so is tourism; both are influenced by predictable world events as much as unexpected ones; they fill both the front pages of dailies and journals of academic articles. Both have been around for many centuries and they did not seem to have anything in common. Ontologically, they are quite contrary to each other – while tourism brings joy and pleasure, terrorism stands for bloodshed and destruction; the first goes hand in hand with prosperity while the latter springs from misery and political discontent. The two merged into a distinct phenomenon when terrorism entered tourism during the course of the 20th century, targeting both tourists and touristic infrastructure. It is hard to imagine that terrorist groups that perpetrated attacks on foreign visitors to their country, did so without predicting that such an action will cause a great domestic and international stir. The well-thought-out actions always led to damage in terms of economic gain, which has been, in the cases of most countries based on tourism, a true catastrophe.

This study researches tourism and terrorism, together, at their crossing points. What better place to do so than in Egypt, one of the oldest tourist destinations in the world with sadly a long history of terrorist attacks targeting, among others, the tourism venues and the tourists themselves? Home to over 100 million inhabitants, Egypt is also the ancient home of the powerful ancient empires. The legacy of technologically advanced and culturally mature kingdoms, coupled by the hot climate void of torrential rains that would dissolve the sand-made structures and the wind that buried them under the sand resulted in the conservation of pyramids, tombs and temples. The quantity as well as the quality of the tangible witnesses to the times of Tutankhamun, Hatshepsut and other rulers the children across the world learn about in school meant that Egypt was the most sought-after destination for explorers long before the modern era. The modernity that brought with itself the advancement in technology and thus facilitated world travel, only intensified this trend. Today's visitors of pyramids in Cairo and temples in Luxor still come to explore and discover, learn about and marvel at the beauty of millennium-old paintings, the preciseness of the pyramid builders

and the elegance of royal statues. Visiting Egypt and seeing its monuments, especially the Pyramids is on the bucket list of millions across the globe.

While Egypt's tangible history is a source of motivation for foreign travelers, it is a source of money for Egypt. Profiting not only from the historical monuments but also the great coastline and colorful desert, Egypt continually invests in expanding its already quite well-developed tourism infrastructure. Millions of Egyptians work in hotels, and at the cruise ships, they are guides, drivers, and receptionists. Their job in tourism means many more millions of their relatives are provided for. Any interruption of tourism operations means that these millions of Egyptians suddenly don't get paid their salaries as well as that the national treasury loses billions of dollars, a great portion of the country's income. Such an interruption is often inevitable as tourism is sensitive to a whole range of influences, be it the weather conditions, political events across the globe, pandemics or others.

Terrorist acts always influence tourism regardless of their target; the more when they are targeted at tourists and tourism infrastructure. There is no better example of this phenomenon than Egypt. Egypt has experienced terrorism in tourism repeatedly, including some of the deadliest attacks on tourists ever. Both historic sites and coastal destinations were targeted, to kill tourists of certain nationalities (for example the Israeli tourists in the Sinai) as well as tourists of different nationalities in general. Many research papers have been written about terrorism in tourism, many devoted to the case of Egypt. Most of them discuss this phenomenon from the economic point of view, assessing the damage to the Egyptian economy and predicting the return of tourism. As will be discussed later, the predominant approach to the study of both tourism and terrorism is applied to the study of terrorism in tourism.

The city of Luxor was chosen as a research field for this study due to its connection to both booming tourism and tragic terrorism events. As it will become evident in the following pages, the research itself was no easy task; what preceded it was rather a lengthy process of establishing theoretical grounds within the anthropological research on tourism and

terrorism, followed by a search and justification of a suitable methodological approach to the phenomenon. The research itself brought additional challenges, unique to the place and topic researched. This study thus comes as a result of several years of academic endeavor, but even many more years of tourism practice, including working as a tour guide in Luxor itself. Despite its many limitations and imperfections, it strives to contribute to the existing scholarship on terrorism and tourism and continue the discussion as to both the theoretical premises and practical execution of the anthropological research of this phenomenon.

Research Goals

The primary reason for conducting anthropological research on terrorism in tourism was my assumption that there is not enough such research in the academic sphere, based on my inability to find academic texts that would prove otherwise. The excitement about an apparent gap in scholarship that I could fill in was, however, soon coupled with the realization of how much of a challenge this might be: if there are no research studies on tourism and terrorism, there will most likely not be much of theoretical background that I could start with and base my research on. Another challenge proved evident as I delved into possible points of departure within the anthropologies of tourism and terrorism – how do one study a phenomenon that happened in the past, without having access to the agents of this phenomenon?

The main research goal of this study is a quite straightforward one: What is the role of terrorism in shaping a touristic destination? In other words, does terrorism change the place that tourists visit? Does it change the actions of the tourism workers and does it change the forms and types of tourism the destination practices? Before this goal is reached, however, several other goals must be met. Concerning the absence of theoretical concepts dealing with terrorism in tourism, the first goal of this thesis was to establish them. This was, I believe, done through an extensive search for concepts both in the anthropology of tourism and

anthropology of terrorism that could be applied to my study. Once this in no way the easy task was completed, another challenge came to my attention: how to go about actual research of a destination that experienced both long-term touristic interest and destructive terrorist attacks? The choice of Luxor as a touristic destination was an unquestionable one; only a few places in the world have such a concentration of important historic monuments and such long history of organized travel as this Upper-Egyptian provincial city. It also has had its share of terrorism, especially in the 1990s and it gained the world's attention after the infamous Luxor Massacre in 1997 more than ever before. Luxor, thus was for me the number one place to research terrorism in tourism, yet how to conduct such research so that it brings out some valuable and valid data? Thus, after coming to terms with the theory, my goal was to find the appropriate method and methodology for successful execution of my research. Only then was it possible to go back to my original aim and assess whether the whole project is, at all, doable?

Having come to terms with theory and methodology, I embarked on a journey, both literally and physically, to research terrorism and tourism in Luxor. In the example of Luxor, I would attempt to illustrate the role of terrorism in modern tourism in general. More specifically, this meant to describe and interpret the modern city of Luxor as a centuries-old tourist destination, deeply affected by terrorist attacks, that aimed not only to paralyze but also directly stop the further development of tourism. To what extent, if at all, did these attacks change the identity of the city? To answer these questions, three other questions were asked: 1. To whom does the city of Luxor actually belong, drawing on the concept of hosts and guests by John Urry (2002), intending to determine the role of terrorists in this dichotomy, 2. How do the tourism workers define safety and to what extent do they participate in creating its impression and reality, and finally, 3. How and to what extent have the tragic events of the 1990s been incorporated into the image of Luxor's glorious past and successful tourism implementation in the 19th century? The hypothesis I work with here is that the Luxor Massacre and other attacks in Luxor finally become part of the narrative that motivates the crowds to visit the city and its surrounding area. I believe that ultimately, terrorism with its manifestations is absorbed by tourism and transformed into a product that helps the

destination attract new tourists. Terrorism thus cannot cause the destination to cease its existence, but rather promote it.

The Structural Outline of This Study

This study is divided into four main sections. The first one called Searching for Anthropology of Terrorism in Tourism presents to the reader the theoretical challenges of the research on terrorism in tourism phenomenon by introducing theoretical concepts on which the actual research is subsequently built. It is indeed a search, or a quest because there is no such anthropological sub-field as terrorism in tourism. Therefore, I commence the section with a review of the anthropology of terrorism, where I argue that this approach to terrorism is a valid one despite much of the research on terrorism being done within other scientific fields. I move then to the anthropology of tourism when I point out some of the concepts I find useful for my research, such as the dichotomy of hosts and guests, staged authenticity, and accumulation by dispossession, in an attempt to find their application to the phenomenon of terrorism in tourism. Finally, I look at where the anthropology of terrorism and the anthropology of tourism intersect, citing some of the previous research on destinations that have experienced attacks on tourists as well as providing the data on the last 35 years of terrorism in Egypt.

The second section, Research Design deals with the practicalities of the research; it introduces ethnography as a research method and justifies its usage in the research on tourism in general. The second part of this section is devoted to the ethical issues of my research, especially when it comes to informed consent which proved to be one of the major issues while working on my research. The last two sections contain the results both of my textual and practical research on terrorism and tourism, both in Egypt in general and in Luxor in particular. The section called Egypt, the Showcase of Terrorism in Tourism goes through different terrorist groups, duly listing their attacks on tourists and tourist

infrastructure while also briefly mentioning both the governmental response and the reasoning of one of the groups when it comes to attacking tourism. Finally, Luxor Between Tourism and Terrorism is the content of my ethnographic research in Luxor. This section seeks answers to questions raised in the theoretical section while attempting to position terrorism as a phenomenon linked and intertwined with modern-day tourism.

I. SEARCHING FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF TERRORISM IN TOURISM

Positioning the phenomenon of terrorism in tourism in anthropology is a logical first step in the attempt to proceed in its study in a meaningful manner. Here, I strive to demonstrate that this is not a straightforward task. I shall therefore begin my quest for the anthropology of terrorism in tourism by dividing the two terms and allowing the time and space to study each term on its own. What is the anthropology of terrorism and how can it contribute to the study of terrorism in tourism is my first concern, before moving on and asking the same set of questions about the anthropology of tourism. After carefully examining the two phenomena on their own, I will proceed to look at where tourism and terrorism meet, as a point of departure for my research.

1 ANTHROPOLOGY OF TERRORISM

The study of terrorism does not, most of the time, take the realm of tourism into account. At the same time, the study of the impact of terrorism on tourism mostly considers the economic impacts and provides predictions on the time frame of its reparation. There are only a few attempts so far to study terrorism as a way of seeing the world and a way of life that "involves adopting an idiom, a language, and a collective identity" (Miller, 2013, p. 5-6). This chapter deals with three approaches to the study of terrorism, each one justifying its existence and importance in its terms: the traditional approach, Critical Terrorism Studies, and the study of discourse in terrorism. While summarizing the main arguments of each approach, I will also try to see whether any one of the three approaches has relevance to the study of terrorism in a particular tourist destination and thus can provide theoretical background for this particular research.

1.1 Traditional Terrorism Research

Research on terrorism has boomed in the last few decades, especially under the umbrella of political and economic sciences. While this traditional approach undoubtedly brings important data, it leaves out a whole range of topics. In 2011, Schmid identified 50 such topics, either under-researched or not researched at all. Among these topics, some fall under political sciences, such as topics dealing with counter-terrorism theory and practice. Other topics, focused on civil society, immigration and diasporas would most likely be best researched under the labels of sociology. Media studies specialists have yet a lot to cover in terms of topics interconnecting terrorism with media, the internet, freedom of speech, and the spread of conspiracy theories. The questions of extremism and radicalization from a psychological point of view are yet another pool of interesting and under-researched topics. The religious aspects of terrorism as far as both the terrorists and their victims are concerned, and the rise of Antisemitism and Islamophobia can be studied by scholars of religious studies. International relations are likewise influenced by the phenomenon of terrorism and it would be of many benefits to look closely at the way terrorism has strengthened or worsened the relations among particular countries. How legislation of individual countries is shaped by the reality of terrorism may be picked up by legal specialists while the future of terrorism may be discussed and predicted by all the above-mentioned fields and its scholars.

One break away from conventional terrorism research is what de la Corte labeled as the psychosocial approach. Such an approach includes looking at terrorism as a method of influence, both socially and politically, stressing the importance of social interaction and an extreme ideology in shaping the attributes of terrorists, analyzing the terrorist organizations as social movements, and understanding the access to resources as one of the conditions for terrorism. These aspects, rather than the individual psychological profile of individual terrorists or an influence of the social environment provide answers to the questions on the existence of terrorism (De la Corte, 2007).

What is the role of anthropology when it comes to terrorism? Schmid (2011) mentions such under-researched topics as careers of ex-terrorists, their life after being released from prison or the grievances of terrorists. All three of these topics point to the possibility of anthropological research. Schmid, however, failed to mention other non-state, private actors in terrorism, namely the victims themselves as well as all those affected: the civilians who lose their jobs and ways of sustaining themselves and their families as a result of an act of terrorism; needless to say, the realm of tourism is not taken into consideration as an under-developed area of terrorism studies at all. An update list was produced in 2018, including 14 categories and up to 150 topics to be yet paid attention to. Neither topics nor the categories mentioned anything to do with tourism while again, some topics might have an anthropological aspect to them (Schmid, 2018). The above-mentioned lists of topics point to the traditional way terrorism has been studied. The traditional approach is actor-centered, with both the assumption about the existence of objective truths concerning terrorism as well as a belief that understanding terrorism equals understanding the terrorist. Terrorists are then portrayed as inhuman, lovers of death and destruction, having adopted universal motives to do evil (Hülsse and Spencer, 2008).

1.2   Critical Terrorism Studies

Probably the greatest critique of the conventional approach to studying terrorism comes from Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS). CTS emerged in 2010 when Richard Jackson produced a seminar paper dealing with the main principles of the new science vis-a-vis "the poor state of terrorism-related research" since the turn of the millennium (Jackson, 2010, p. 3). It claims to be operating on diverse traditions, encompassing a broad range of perspectives across the theoretical spectrum, including Foucauldian discourse, Deridaen deconstruction as well as more traditional positivist and realist approaches.

Critical Terrorism Studies breaks away from the traditional (orthodox, as Jackson calls it) terrorism studies both in terms of concepts, theories, and methods as well as what its

proponents regard as insufficient academic integrity, failure to define terrorism, reliance on secondary sources, a-historicity and acontextuality (Jackson, et al., 2007, p. 4-5). Criticizing Jackson's stress on the novelty of the CTS approach as an overstatement, Horgan and Boyle (2008) believe it to be rather "reinventing the wheel" (p. 55) than a truly revolutionary way of looking at terrorism. They oppose the attempt to position the traditional way of studying terrorism as the "straw man" (p. 58) with little relevance to the actual causes of terrorism, calling it an overgeneralization and a failure to fully grasp the nature of their research. Even these two authors, however, laud the formal establishment of Critical Terrorism Studies for its potential to contribute to the study of such a complex phenomenon.

The core concept of the CTS is its rejection of terrorism as a brute fact. Instead, it is argued that the nature of terrorism depends on context and circumstance, as well as "social, cultural, legal and political processes of interpretation, categorization, and labelling" (Zuleika and Douglass, 1996, p. 74). The violence produced by terrorist acts is given social meaning when different intellectual and political labels are applied, and such labels can dramatically change, therefore they cannot be considered objective facts. What CTS is therefore interested in, is discourse that produces these labels (Jackson, 2007). One other, and very important distinction which Jackson's paper postulates, is the relationship between the CTS and the state. CTS claims to reject state-centrism and rather focus on individual human beings in the process. This approach, among other advantages, ensures greater independence of the state institutions and ensures greater integrity of the researchers (Jackson, et al., 2007). While state and state actors might remain the focus of the research, ending "avoidable human suffering" is seen as the ultimate goal of CTS research. The well-being of the individual is, however, far more important than state security. Furthermore, the human being concerned here is not only on the side of the victims but also the terrorists who are being recognized as "human behind the terrorist label" (Booth, 2008, p. 73), rather than the "deviant, evil or sick terrorist" amid the "population of normal people" (Jackson, et al., 2007, p. 7).

For anthropologists, Critical Terrorism Studies is an umbrella, both thematically and methodologically. In what can be called a handbook of this field, Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda (2009), the chief editor Richard Jackson devoted a chapter precisely

to the relationship between CTS and anthropology. Penned by Jeffrey Sluka, the chapter defines the key role in anthropological research of terrorism, that is "applying our core concept – culture – to the debate, developing new conceptual models of state terrorism and 'cultures of terror' where fear becomes a 'normal' or everyday part of people's way of life" (Sluka, 2009, p. 140), thus widening the definition of terrorism to include new concepts and meanings, proving that any labels given to this phenomenon by political actors are limiting and unstable. Moreover, an anthropological approach allows for "a cross-culturally comparative and holistic perspective; an ethnographic approach based on long-term fieldwork and direct participant-observation in the community studied; a scientific commitment to both objectivity and getting as close as possible to the subject, participants' or emic point of view; an appreciation of the impact of ethnocentrism and cultural relativity" (Sluka, 2009, p. 138).

1.3   The Study of Discourse in Terrorism

Quite a different way of looking at the phenomenon of terrorism is through the study of discourse. The notion of discourse has been used and defined by linguists as well as social theorists, such as Foucault (1969). Fairclough (1985) understands discourse as the language (spoken or written) as well as non-verbal communication and visuals which is a socially and historically situated mode of action. In a society, various coexisting, competing, and contrasting discourse practices can be sustained. These can be understood as concrete manifestations of the shared culture (Farnell and Graham, 1998) as culture emerges from the constant interaction and negotiation among people (Urban and Sherzer, 1988). The instances of language use, which Fairclough (1985) calls discursive events are likewise various and in a mutual complex relationship which means that these events do not necessarily adhere to conventions and appropriateness.

Since the word terrorism first entered the media vocabulary in the 19th century, the discourse on this phenomenon has changed considerably. The greatest change can be seen

after the attacks of September 11 that ushered in the new era of discourse on terrorism and conflict (Hoffman, 2004), building upon the former discourses of terrorism and intersecting with, for example, the discourse on Islamism. This is done through the study of easily accessible data, mostly texts from the media. Basing their premises on a constructivist perspective, the discourse scholars treat terrorism as a social construction, and as such, it is a social fact produced in discourse (Hülsse and Spencer, 2008). The discourse-centered approach to the study of terrorism claims that terrorism is above the individual discourse participants (Hansen, 2006). This means, in the words of Hülsse and Spencer, that "the terrorist itself can no longer be the primary source for terrorism scholars. Terrorist is a consequence of discourse, rather than vice versa. Hence, the primary source of terrorism research must be the discourse in which the social construction of terrorism takes place, that is, the discourse that constitutes a particular group of people as 'terrorists'" (2008, p. 576). In this respect, it differs both from the traditional as well as the other approaches.

Hülsse and Spencer believe that the discourse-centered approach provides for much deeper insight, bringing the researchers "much closer to the heart of terrorism than conventional [approaches]. Interviewing a terrorist would hardly help us to find out if and how terrorism has been effective – that is, whether it has attained its self-declared goal of creating a state of terror. If it is true that terrorists' main goal is to creep into our heads, then we become a valid primary source of terrorism research. Only we – how we think, how we talk, and how we act, that is, our discourses – can provide evidence about whether or not terrorism actually works" (Hülsse and Spencer, 2008, p. 588). Moreover, besides the deeper insight of the discourse-centered approach, textual research puts the researcher at no risk that is associated with field research on terrorism.

Advocating for discourse-centered research, Hülsse and Spencer criticize not only the conventional approach but also the Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS). According to Hülsse and Spencer, both conventional and critical approach share their interest in the terror actor, with the only difference being that they either seek to explain (the traditional approach) or understand (CTS) the terrorists and their actions. In their opinion, both approaches thus fall under the umbrella of cultural anthropology, though the traditional scholars tend to be the

veranda anthropologists while the scholars of CTS go to the field. At the end, however, they only interpret the self-interpretation of the terrorists while even the cultural anthropology has long shifted its focus from explaining and understanding to our construction of the other (p. 588).

1.3.1   Media and Discourse of Terrorism

It is without a doubt that the discourse-centered approach has its legitimate place among the various approaches to the study of terrorism. Although not exclusively, its main source of data is the media. However, media does not play a neutral role as merely a provider of material for academic purposes. After all, the media and terrorism are uniquely linked to each other: as Zeng and Tahat put it, the media and terrorism share a relationship of mutual benefit in which terrorists seek the media out for free publicity of their existence and their cause and at the same time media enjoy the attractivity of terrorism newsworthiness (Zeng and Tahat, 2012). The symbiotic relationship of terrorists and journalists posits that "both a symbolic event and a performance that is staged for the benefit of media attention" (Weimann and Winn, 1994, p. 123). Sönmez stresses that there are benefits on both sides: "Oddly and despite different motives, the media and terrorists converge to aid each other in the effort to communicate with the audience; the media achieves higher ratings and terrorists achieve their goal of publicity" (Sönmez, 1998, p. 417). Picard stresses the importance of media in defining terrorism and the meaning of its acts of violence and thus influencing its perception (Picard, 1993, p. 78). Studies by Altheide (1992, 1997) suggest that media take an active role in the production of the discourse of fear when it comes to terrorism. Cultural specifics when it comes to depicting terrorism have been thoroughly researched as well (Noelle-Neuman, 2002), contrasting the visual frames in different types of the press (Fahmy, 2010). Apart from the research of the press itself, some authors focused on speeches, eg. the ones delivered by U.S. presidents when it comes to terrorism (Graham, Keenan, and Dowd, 2004), comparing the discourse of different presidential administrations (Sarfo and Krampa, 2013). The importance of this research cannot be understated; media coverage of terrorism is unique as both the source of information as well as interpretation

for the general public which is apt to rely on media for an understanding of terrorism (Weimann and Winn, 1994, p. 42).

In this respect, it is interesting to look at the way media frame the image of terrorism in the countries where terrorism happens. One of the most widely read newspapers in Egypt is Al Ahram. Al Ahram is a government-owned daily which has been continually published since the 19th century. Besides being the daily with the largest readership in Egypt, Al Ahram reaches far beyond the country's border as the most widely-spread Arabic written news outlet. It can be without a doubt called one of the main opinion influencers in Egyptian society. In a comparative study by Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern (2007), Al Ahram has been analyzed alongside such media outlets as The New York Times (USA), The Guardian (United Kingdom), and Al Jazeera (Qatar). The study focused on the internet news sites of this media revealed a whole array of differences between these newspapers in sources, tonality, and frames with concerning the terrorism and Iraq war coverage. Al Ahram was found to have relied exclusively on government sources while at the same time (in the same articles) citing journalists and military personnel. One-third of the coverage about the war in Iraq was negative (as opposed to the neutral tone of the coverage by The New York Times and The Guardian) while the military conflict frame and the violence of war frame were prevalent. At the same time, Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern found more stories about human suffering and cost in Al Ahram and Al Jazeera than in the other two news outlets (Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern, 2007, p. 160-164). Findings by Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern (2007) were further confirmed by Elmasry (2012) further elaborating on the basic features of Al Ahram newspaper: its content featuring mostly government-based stories and stories on international relations, both in Mubarak's era and afterward. Al Ahram rarely, if ever, features opposition or Islamic groups' point of view. The problems in Egyptian society are portrayed with a solution proposed by the government with government officials often quoted on various issues discussed. Photos of the country's president and government officials are very likely to accompany the individual articles (Elmasry, 2012, p. 14).

Going back to my initial quest for theoretical background on the study of terrorism, or rather its impacts on the city of Luxor, I dare say that the traditional approach would not bring any

results. For one, the topic of tourism is not among the main research topics of this approach; at the same time, my focus is rather on the outcome than the cause of terrorism. On a practical level, I have neither access to the traditional source of data such as the perpetrators themselves, nor the direct witnesses of either of the attacks in Luxor. Likewise, I am not much interested in quantitative research on the topic. Therefore, I will attempt to use Critical Terrorism Studies as my thematic and methodologic umbrella, with a short preliminary study of the discourse, using the Al Ahram newspaper and its treatment of the Luxor Massacre. Before I do that, however, I will have a look at the anthropology of tourism and its main concepts for a further lead in the establishment of the theoretical background on the research of terrorism in tourism.

2 ANTHROPOLOGY OF TOURISM

Tourism has been at the center of academic interest since the 1970s yet for a long time, it struggled to establish itself as a serious subject matter. Thus, for a long time, it was considered to be a mere "by-product of more scholarly work" (Shepherd, 2002, p. 184). Among the first topics treated by the early anthropological works on tourism is that of authenticity in its staged form (MacCannell, 1973), the question of ethnicity and cultural identity vis-à-vis tourism (MacCannell, 1984) as well as theoretical conceptualization of tourism and definition of the main tourism actors (tourists, tour guides, etc.). The 1990s brought a new perspective on tourists and their perception of a holiday destination. The research conducted by Urry (1990) introduced the concept of the *tourist gaze* which authors have since identified as mutual (Maoz, 2006), romantic (Urry, 1990), and intratourist (Holloway, Green, and Holloway, 2011).

The great milestone in the research of tourism from an anthropological perspective came with the turn of the century; the shift from the synchronic to diachronic approach to tourism, emphasizing the process of emergence of social patterns and break-down of conventional binary concepts (Cohen and Cohen, 2012). This development brought a whole array of new topics into the discussion, based on the richness of cross-cultural interactions which in existence in tourism (West, 2008). Půtová (2019) distinguishes six main pillars of contemporary anthropological research on tourism and that being the typology of tourism and tourists, tourist imagery and authenticity, image and branding of tourist destination, typology of souvenirs, and the interaction of hosts and guests along with the socio-cultural impact of tourism on a destination. While all the above-mentioned topics deserve an in-depth commentary as they have, more or less, connection with the topic of this thesis, the greatest attention will be given to the last of Půtová's main topics in anthropology of tourism and that is the interaction of hosts and guests in the destination.

The goal of the following in-depth commentary is to look closely at the existing premises in the field of tourism anthropology. Do they hold their ground, fifty years after they were first worded, in the context of such a tourist destination as Luxor? Can any of the core

concepts in the anthropology of tourism be applied to a terrorism-struck destination or do they face challenges vis-à-vis potential new players on the scene, the terrorists?

2.1   Hosts and Guests: Impact of Tourism on Local Communities

Hosts and Guests is the title of one of the seminal books on anthropology of tourism from 1977. Its first edition was published as a compilation of sixteen studies on the important tenets of world tourism with further modification in both the number and content of individual chapters in later editions. It was in this very piece where Nelson H. Graburn described tourism, with the excitement, renewal, and self-fulfillment it brings, as a sacred journey (Graburn, 1977). Likewise, *Hosts and Guests* includes a paper in which Dennison Nash likens tourism to imperialism (Nash, 1989) and besides these rather theoretically conceptualized chapters, the book includes several case studies of tourism destinations all over the world. Altogether, this compilation brings one of the first concise looks at at the two key groups which meet in the world of tourism and their intricate relationship: the host on one side and the guests on the other.

A precise definition of both groups reveals much about individual players in the tourism playground. One of these definitions is put forward by Canziani & Francioni (2013): The category of hosts consists of tourism personnel, entertainers, providers of services, and tourism business owners. These persons may and may not be originally from the tourist destination while their residency in the destination is imperative (Canziani & Francioni, 2013). The category of guests is a diverse one: besides the tourists themselves it is also composed of people involved in selling services, tours and other tourism products, tourism workers, and mediators, the community of expats, and migrants, media, and press professionals.

The host-guest interaction leaves an impact on both sides of the equation, yet this impact is far from equal. Tourism might influence the guests and their life both during their stay in the destination and after they return to their homes, yet it leaves no tangible impact on the environment that the guests come from. On the other hand, tourism impacts both hosts and their home environment, i.e. the tourist destination. The impact of tourism can

be seen in terms of economic, social, cultural, environmental, and behavioral change it causes in the host communities. The economic and environmental impact that tourism leaves on host communities is closely linked with social changes. These changes come as a result of an increase in some of the hosts' income, leading to tourism-fueled social stratification which might be in disharmony with the natural social development and thus can lead to "exacerbating social conflict" (Stronza, 2001, p. 269).

The economic impact of tourism on the local communities has not always been understood as positive. Tourism contributes not only to the economic growth of the destination, but also causes the rise and development of drug trafficking, prostitution, and the black market, leading to social changes, rendered undesirable. The economic development caused by tourism has likewise been known to subdue the existing economic pursuits, such as subsistence activities of small producers while at the same time raising the living costs for the locals. Stronza (2001) also stresses the seasonality of tourism economic activities. The economic impact of tourism goes hand in hand with the environmental one, once again in negative connotations. Tourism activities contribute to pollution through the construction of hotels and other tourism infrastructure, while the presence of guests leads to increased consumption of packed products and thus increase of trash, which can create a substantial problem in societies where recycling is not a standard as of yet.

2.2 Commodification, Staged Authenticity and Pseudo-Experiences

The cultural impact of tourism is understood within the realm of intercultural contact which happens between hosts and guests of distinct cultures. This impact on the local culture has been interpreted both as positive and negative. It has been argued that tourism stimulated the revival of local interest in cultural tradition and can actually lead to cultural bonds while at the same time bringing economic benefits to local actors (McKean, 1989). Picard takes a slightly more critical approach when he claims that this is only possible wherever the local actors distinguish between sacred and profane, i.e. between the part of cultural heritage which is not to be open to tourism and the part which can be used in tourism through the process of commodification (Picard, 1996).

Many anthropologists agree with Lévi-Strauss's statement that "travel books and travelers [contemporary tourists] serve only to 'preserve the illusion of something that no longer exists; genuine travel has been replaced by movement through a 'monoculture' in a fruitless search for a 'vanished reality'" (Lévi-Strauss, 1972, 39-40, 45). The 'vanished reality' is, thus brought to life again, only for the pleasure of tourists in the process of commodification. Initially defined by Davydd Greenwood, commodification is a process of transformation of tangible and intangible historic and cultural heritage into touristic commodities as tourists desire them. The features of culture become, in fact, merchandise and through this process, the culture itself adjusts to the demands of tourism (Greenwood, 1989, p. 178). The danger of commodification is two-fold: it destroys the authenticity of both cultural products and human relations and leads to the loss of meaning of commodified cultural phenomena to the locals while at the same time preventing the tourists who search for authenticity from finding it (Cohen 1988, p. 372) while at the same time it is an inevitable process (Shepherd, 2002, p. 185). On a broader level, it leads to the emergence of a monoculture, a process that Ritzer and Liska call the 'Disneyfication' (1997, p. 97-101). On a broader level, tourism commodification leads to social changes in the local community, namely drug addiction, prostitution, crime, and pollution (McLaren, 1998, p. 28).

French naval officer and novelist Pierre Loti visited Luxor in 1908 and gives a concise description of the results of tourism commodification:

> "An hour later, we arrive in Luxor. And there, what a hoax! What we perceive from two leagues, what dominates this tour, is the Winter Palace, a hasty product of modernism that has sprouted on the banks of the Nile since last year, a colossal hotel, visibly a sham, built from plaster and mud, on an iron framework. Two or three times higher than the admirable Pharaonic Temple, its impudent facade rises, brushed with dirty yellow. And of course, it is sufficient for one such thing, to pitifully disfigure all the surroundings; the old Arab town may still be standing, with its white houses, its minaret, and its palm trees; the famous temple, the forest of the heavy Osirian columns, despite being mirrored as before in the waters of its river. Luxor has come to its end!" (Loti, 1908, p. 57).

As the local population returns the gaze by meeting the expectations of the guests, they engage in behavior and activities which might be estranged from the authenticity. Dean MacCannell labels this behavior as *staged authenticity* (1973). The staged authenticity is, in fact, the behavior as the tourists expect, or, as Kulick and Wilson (1992) put it, "re-enacting their image of our image of them" (Kulick and Wilson, 1992, p. 143). The reason for this particular behavior is summed up by Peck (2010):

"Indian artisans rely upon tourists for income while, on the other hand, they must endure a litany of unbearable questions in the process (i.e. "Is this a real dream catcher?" or worse, "Are you a real Indian?") Very quickly, these artisans realize that the only way to survive – and thrive – in the touristic exchange is to play the role expected of them." (Peck, 2010, p. 296)

Besides staged authenticity, there is another concept that is discussed when it comes to the tourism experience. It is called the pseudo-experience and it is produced by controlling the nature of conditions in the destination. These include the existence of developed tourism infrastructure: accommodation, transportation, attractions, and guidebooks geared precisely towards the visitors. All of these factors contribute to the insulation of the tourist from the real landscape and people (Boorstin, 1962). Despite the fact that tourism leads to the dissolution of authenticity and the creation of pseudo-experiences, Western tourists themselves continue to seek authenticity while traveling. Shepherd notices what he calls a two-edged paradox when it comes to the Western attempt to salvage authenticity. On one hand, he claims, most of the authentic cultural life of the past has been lost. On the other hand, however, the present is seemingly farther away from authenticity than the past is since it is the past, not the present which is believed to be the source of authenticity (Shepherd, 2002).

While using the term "Western tourists" explicitly, it needs to be noted that not all present-day tourists are from the West, and their perception of authenticity, or rather, the need for it, may differ. Shepherd illustrates this fact by the example of the Great Wall of China and two different approaches to it by the tourists:

"Foreign tourists in search of the 'real' Great Wall are inevitably disappointed with what they take to be the 'fake' Great Wall they are presented with by their tour guides at the tourist site of Badaling, a few hours north of Beijing. This is because the Chinese Ministry of Tourism has invested significant resources into transforming Badaling into what it apparently believes a modern tourist site should look like, complete with parking lots, shops, restaurants, and a restored section of the Great Wall. Tourists who locate authenticity in the past of China are no doubt taken aback by the touts, buses, newly cemented bricks, and the recently completed 'Great Wall roller coaster: the site/sight has been, it seems, desacralized, ruined, corrupted, cheapened. Conversely, the domestic tourists I have observed, traveled with, and spoken to on my own visits to Badaling as a resident, tourist, and study abroad leader have seemed largely untroubled by such concerns, concentrating instead on getting suitable pictures certifying their presence at the Wall." (Shepherd, 2002, p. 191-192)

Commodification, staged authenticity, and pseudo-experiences come as a result of the interaction of hosts and guests. While they are rather negative in nature, they are a natural consequence of this interaction; also, they are not the only phenomena that can be observed in destinations. The other three concepts I wish to discuss are, in my opinion, much more negative, if not destructive, and could possibly be the trailblazer for terrorism in tourism. These two are neocolonialism, indigenous as inferior, and accumulation by dispossession. While the first two are based on a worldview and are interconnected, accumulation by dispossession is an action based on that view.

2.3   Tourism as a Form of Neocolonialism

Colonialism and tourism share the desire for an exotic experience and tourism to Third World countries is deeply rooted in colonialism (D'Hauteserre, 2004). While the age of colonialism has ended, it does not mean that its legacy is gone. Rather, it is present through imperialism in what many would call the age of neocolonialism (Hardt and Negri, 2001). It is worth stressing that neocolonialism, rather than postcolonialism, is a term used. This is because, as Wijesinghe argues, the term postcolonialism refers to the departure of colonialism while the term neocolonialism stresses its ongoing nature

(Wijesinghe et al., 2017). Neocolonialism is characterized by subtle, rather than visible domination, controlling the countries through global organizations and enterprises rather than nation-states and former colonizers. Tourism, then, is a form of neocolonialism through the way its activities are managed, carried out, and through the impact it has on indigenous communities (Nash, 1989).

The colonial myths of the exotic translate into myths about a destination in tourism. Third World touristic destinations are being viewed as a paradise with plenty of sunshine, created for both leisure and pleasure. These images may be created in one place but used largely for any destination since exotic places are treated as universal, albeit each with its indigenous cultural inscription (D'Hauteserre, 2004, p.237). While the indigenous destination remains as exotic as it was during its time as a colony, the touristic infrastructure differs little from the display of colonial power. Jaakson (2004) paints a very vivid picture in this respect:

"Visualise a cruise ship that has arrived in a port on a small Caribbean island that is heavily developed with hotels and resorts. The ship is spectacularly large, one of the recently built gargantuan vessels accommodating several thousand passengers. As viewed from shore, the cruise ship is gleaming white and larger than any built structure on the island. All the passengers are white. To an unemployed black West Indian man or woman on the shore, gazing at the white cruise ship of white tourists, the imagery and associations generated by the vision of the cruise ship may not be very different from what it would have been like some 150 years ago when gazing at a large sailing ship recently arrived at the colony from the mother country, with flags flying, cannons gleaming in the tropical sunshine, and officers on board pompously costumed in imperial finery" (Jaakson, p. 178).

There are two ways the superiority of tourism is demonstrated. One is by seizing control of the destination economically while the other is by the type of gaze that tourists demonstrate. In the subsequent chapters, both of these will be discussed in detail.

2.4   Indigenous as Inferior

Inferiority is one of the driving forces behind neocolonialism domination. The desire for the exotic, which colonialism and tourism share, comes with an inherent feeling that exotic is inferior. There are several ways that the inferiority of the exotic is demonstrated in the attitudes and actions of tourists and tourism services providers. First of all, the inferiority of the exotic place is demonstrated by the fact that tourism does not accept it as it is but transforms it into what the Western user considers standard. Therefore, while the purpose of travel may still be in the discovery of the exotic, the discovery takes place in the comfort of western standard of accommodation, board and transportation services (D'Hauteserre, 2004).

Schmid's example of first travelers to Egypt who rarely sought approval from local authorities for their visits is one way that the belief in one's superiority over the local population is demonstrated. Such behavior, as Schmid argues, led to domination or power inequality, to say the least (Schmid, 2015). In practice, this meant, for example, rubbing the inscriptions on statues as an English reverend Richard Pococke would do on the west bank of Luxor in 1737 despite the villagers pulling him away (Pococke, 1743) or entering ancient tombs while the villagers threw stones as the explorer James Bruce of Kinnaird experienced in 1769 (Bruce, 1790). Having little regard for the local population living in the proximity of these sites, the early explorers would feel no obligation to either ask for permission or pay a fee for enjoying their discovery. This led, at times, to more than a mere disruption when the locals and foreigners would engage in a fight. This happened, for example, when navy captain Frederick Lewis Norden refused the demands of locals for a tip while drawing the colossi of Memnon, and his party went as far as to threaten to kill the sheikh of the village while aiming at him with their guns to scare the local party away (Norden 1757).

2.5 Accumulation by Dispossession

Accumulation by dispossession is a theory first developed in 2003 drawing on Karl Marx's concept of primitive accumulation. The goal of primitive accumulation is simply accumulating capital, yet not by the creation of surplus value through gains in productivity, but rather through incorporating new aspects and squeezing the surplus value out of them. Examples of primitive accumulation include privatization, commodification, displacement of farmers, and appropriation through colonialism, just to name a few. David Harvey takes Marx's concept of primitive accumulation and labels it as *accumulation by dispossession*. Dispossession, in his understanding, is not unique to socialism or capitalism. It is a destructive activity which leads to loss of access to resources that once used to belong to a specific group of people (Harvey, 2003).

Karl Schmid applies this definition of accumulation by dispossession to tourism and claims that tourism accumulates capital, but not only that: "As Harvey points out, biopiracy is a form of dispossession; dispossession includes situations when people's cultural repertoires are used or appropriated and when outsiders benefit from representations and appropriations for their careers and reputations" (Schmid, 2015, p. 117). Tourism, but also exploration and research strip the place of their tangible and intangible possessions.

Schmid cites the city of Luxor as an example of accumulation by dispossession through the rise and practice of tourism. In terms of the accumulation of capital, this was done mostly in the time of Thomas Cook and his monopolization of tourism in the last decades of the 19th century. By privatizing all the steamers on the Nile, building hotels and establishing a network of travel agents, the British enterprise stripped the local dragomen of their livelihood and Luxor as such of the income from tourism. All the above-mentioned phenomena, whether it is the commodification, accumulation by dispossession or staged authenticity, they all point out to what Půtová (2018) concludes about the relationship between the hosts and the guests: from the early on, the discourse on their interaction was mostly in negative connotation, with the two groups being in a clear binary opposition to each other (Půtová, 2018). I argue that the reason behind this opposition lies in what Urry (1990) labeled as the *tourist gaze*.

2.6   The Forms and Shapes of the Tourist Gaze

The tourist gaze was first coined by John Urry in his monography *The Tourist Gaze* in 1990 to describe the visual, image-saturated nature of the tourist experience. Thanks to the unusual visual sensations the holiday destination provides, the exotic smells, new tastes, and unique sounds are placed in a different frame than the one known from the home environment. Furthermore, senses stimulated by the new and unexpected allow for mundane activities such as strolling or swimming to be viewed as special (Urry, 1992). The visual consumption is incomplete without the signs, however. Culler (2001) claims that the gaze captures more than the obvious – the sea view, the colorful houses of the indigenous populations, or the exotic sounds of local musical instruments. What the tourists are looking for, are "a sign of Frenchness, typical Italian behavior, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs" (Culler, 2001, p. 127). Culler captures Foucault's concept of the medic gaze here: the tourist gaze is the kind of seeing that is learned and organized (Foucault, 1963).

The tourist gaze is organized by those who work in tourism, such as travel agents, tour operators, and guides, but also by writers, bloggers, photographers, painters, and academics (Urry, 2002). Thanks to these organizers, the places being gazed upon have already ingrained their image on the tourists before the place is even visited. Consequently, a tourist who arrived at the destination and is taking photos and reading guidebooks becomes the personalization of the tourist gaze (Larsen, 2004). Tourist gaze establishes certain unique social relations as tourists – "the gazers" share their tourism experience with other gazers while part of this experience involves encounter and interaction with "the gazees". Edensor calls mass tourism experiences "a highly directed operation, with guides and tour managers acting as choreographers and directors, the performance is repetitive, specifiable in movement and highly constrained in time" (Edensor, 2002, p. 65) and with this statement, he confirms the Urry's theory about tourism gaze being highly organized and systematized.

What is of more interest here, however, is the social relation between the gazers and the gazes. Tourism, in fact, is a platform on which the eyes of gazers and gazes intersect and therefore the tourist gaze is not a one-direction, but rather a mutual phenomenon (Larsen

and Urry, 2011). It is hard to imagine, therefore, that the tourist gaze would not have any influence or consequence on those that tourists gaze upon: quite the contrary, the tourist gaze triggers what the local gaze. In the words of Darya Maoz, "the local gaze is based on a more complex, two-sided picture, where both the tourist and local gazes exist, affecting and feeding each other, resulting in what is termed 'the mutual gaze'" (Maoz, 2006, p. 222).

Darya Maoz (2006) conducted a research among young Israeli backpackers in India where they often head after completing their compulsory military service. The Israelis, according to Maoz, come to India searching for spiritual transformation and enrichment, and consider Indians very spiritual. They form their own enclaves, remaining in India for about four to ten months. The Israeli visitors are in everyday contact with the local population as the locals work at the hotels and restaurants Israelis frequent (these venues might be, actually, owned by settled Israelis) and offer them services such as teaching them yoga and meditations and perform reiki, massages and ayurvedic treatments for them. That being said, the local population of the villages where Israeli enclaves has been set up constantly watches the tourists and the numerous mutual encounters have led to the development of a mutual gaze. Interestingly, only the locals are aware of the gaze of their counterparts and they use it for their own benefit, especially in form of adjusting their own behavior and practices to meet the Israelis' expectations and, ideally, profit from it financially (Maoz, 2006).

Maoz discovered the two other aspects of the local gaze besides the above-mentioned conformation to the tourists' expectations: one of them is the opinions they hold about Israeli backpackers while the other is the behavior with which the locals respond to the tourists. Israeli have been found to be "aggressive, militant, and impolite" but also noisy, messy and disrespectful. This is, according to the locals, a result of Israelis spending time in the army service which "makes them appear more intimidating" (Maoz, 2006, p. 230). Besides cooperation as one of the behavior patterns where the locals simply meet the expectations of their noisy and disrespectful visitors, there is also resistance, either open or, as Maoz calls it the "veiled" one (p. 231). While the open resistance in this case involves written signs for the Israeli on how to behave, banning them from entry and even confronting openly their unacceptable behavior, the veiled resistance means the locals

"use the tourist gaze for their own purposes, while exercising the local gaze" (p. 232). In case of Israelis in India, this means offering spiritual knowledge of Eastern wisdom, meditations, reiki and other services. At the core of this exchange of wisdom and spirituality for money lies the fact that it is mostly offered by self-appointed teachers and spiritual masters, many of whom came to the Israeli enclaves only to gain money while their know-how is legitimized by the tourists who do not recognize a difference between a true Guru and a fake one. The staged authenticity is thus used as commodity while the real culture, knowledge and authenticity remain veiled from the rowdy Israeli backpackers.

2.7   The Forms and Shapes of the Local Gaze

It is of no wonder that the tourist gaze triggers behavioral change in the local population. This behavioral change has been largely understood as negative and destructive. There are anthropologists, however, who have labeled the behavioral change caused by tourist gaze as positive, especially because of its ability to both reinforce and maintain the original identity of the touristic communities (Stronza, 2001). First of all, however, it might be helpful to elaborate on the host-guest relationship from the point of view of their mutual goal. This goal is the tourism service, with hosts being the ones who provide it while the guests are on the side of the recipients. While the form of the service can vary, it is performed under the gaze of the consumer and should, ideally enhance the quality of the gaze, not to contradict or undermine it (Urry, 1990). Providing a service requires that the provider and consumer meet and interact, and this interaction creates a relationship between them.

Lett (1989) defined tourism as "the single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world" (p. 275). This movement involves both face to face and communication and indirect interaction which are some of the most plausible reasons for its research within the anthropological boundaries (Sharpley, 2014). The research of host-guest interaction has triggered coining new terms with regard to the gaze. There is the local gaze and the mutual gaze. While the tourist gaze gives power and authority to the Western tourists and this power and authority are then

exercised over the local population, the local gaze is the one exercised by the inhabitants of the countries which Western tourists visit (Maoz, 2006). The response of the local community which the tourist gaze triggers, is not only defined by the authenticity and its reinforcement or the lack of it. It can also be evaluated by how the locals perceive the tourists and based on their perception, how they ultimately decide to treat them. This topic, the perception of the tourists by the local, has received, according to Evans-Pritchard (1989), marginal attention. Local gaze is nevertheless in the core of interest if we are to delve deeply into the topic of local perception of tourists, and, eventually, into the reasons for the unexpected negative behavior towards the foreign visitors. It helps to decode the attitudes local community develops towards the foreign visitors as well as with respect to the other term stated above: the mutual gaze, which provides for a complete picture of the host-guest relationship in the tourist destination.

Before delving into the forms and shapes that the local gaze can take upon, it is important to note that the concept of the local gaze has been neglected by some authors and pronounces non-existent. According to Nash (1989), for example, the local community does not gaze, only adjusts to the needs and demands of the visitors. Both the seminal work by Smith (1977) and the one by Urry (1990) pay attention only to the tourist gaze while assuming that the hosts' attitude is only that of submissiveness. This idea, however, contradicts the findings of other authors who have described a full array of responses, from the subtle ones (as, for example retreating to the traditional language to maintain boundaries) to the openly harsh ones (such as insults and violence).

Since the purpose of this study is to analyze terrorist acts carried out against tourists, the local gaze, its shapes and formed have to be in the core of the theoretical background as well as field research. The violent acts toward the tourists, after all, are a part of the local gaze, after all, whether or not they were carried out by those members of the local community who come to direct contact with the tourists. The following chapter, therefore, is devoted to all known forms and shapes of the local gaze as described by researchers in local communities across the world. The amount of studies dealing with the attitudes of the locals towards the predominantly (but not only) the Western tourists is rather meager when compared to studies on other subjects within the realm of tourism anthropology. Furthermore, when it comes to the local gaze, it is impossible to draw any general

conclusions as each research focuses on a specific tourism destination visited by specific type of tourists. The following analysis lists and comments on some of the seminal studies on local gaze and attitudes that the local community has developed toward the tourists it has encountered.

The famous anthropologist Evans-Pritchard (1989) explores the Native Americans' mocking of the visitors through the stories they develop about the "white men". The tourists are thus ridiculed as ignorant of the ethnic and regional differences within the Indian communities, lacking in humanity at the expense of consumerism (Evans-Pritchard, 1989). In his paper, Evans-Pritchard notes an important detail: the jokes, as mocking as they might be, come to light in the bars where alcohol is drunk. At the time of soberness, "the humor would drop away and be transformed into militancy" (Evans-Pritchard, 1989, p. 96).

The character of militancy as a chosen approach towards the tourists is elaborated on by Nash (1989):

"With the creation of a tourist realm, various social interactions are set up between tourists, their hosts and the organizations and societies they represent. These transactions, which can be long or short term, cyclical (e.g., seasonal) or noncyclical, and simple (as in a tourist-host relationship) or complex (involving an elaborate touristic organization), come to be based on understandings about how the parties involved will treat each other and on the conditions that could bring about the termination of the relationships. If a native people are murderous, nasty, disease-ridden, or embroiled in political conflict, the relationship could be threatened by metropolitan dissatisfactions. If, on the other hand, the brokers of tourism attempt to interfere in internal political affairs or desecrate local institutions, the hosts might seek to end the touristic relationship. Guerilla fighters sometimes deliberately violate the implicit terms of a touristic contract in order to further their political aims, and metropolitan centers may restrict or end the flow of tourists to a given area if the terms of their contract are not honored. Similar to any other social relationship, the relationship between tourists and their hosts includes certain understandings that must be agreed and acted upon if it is to be maintained." (Nash, 1989, p. 44).

Nash understands tourism it as a form of imperialism and a cause of sociocultural changes in some regions of the world. Maoz uses the terms post-colonialist and post-imperialist when describing the behavior of Israeli backpackers in India (Maoz, 2006). Both terms could easily be applied to Luxor, with plenty of examples from early travel literature as well as current academic research. My concern, at this point is the following: does terrorism find its justification in the centuries-old abuse of the local community by the foreign visitors who actually attempt to colonize the city through their superior attitude, stealing the artefacts, snapping pictures of the local population, entering the forbidden areas and refusal to reimburse those locals who provide services to them or paying them too little? Are aggression and attacks on tourists' part of the local gaze and do they therefore stand alongside the concepts such as staged authenticity? While the actual research in Luxor brings answers to these and similar questions, I would like to proceed to look for meeting points between tourism and terrorism as they have already been established by academic scholarship.

3 TOURISM AND TERRORISM – THE MEETING POINT

A study by Gamage et al. was recently conducted to trace and review the empirical literature on tourism and terrorism, written between 2010 and 2019. Only 59 articles which would meet the study requirement were found in the Scopus database and 37 of them qualified for further evaluation. Four core topics were the subject of these research papers: the nature of the relationship between tourism and terrorism, critical challenges related to terrorism, regional effects of terrorism on tourism and finally, the terrorism impact prevention approaches. Within the broader topic on the nature of tourism-terrorism relationship, the impact of terrorism on tourism in terms of subsequent number of tourism arrivals, the level of damage terrorism brings upon tourism and the positive effect international tourism has on transactional terrorism (Gamage et al., 2020).

The relationship between tourism and terrorism is not as straight-forward as it would be expected. Sönmez (1998) points to the characteristics that these two phenomena, tourism and terrorism, share in terms of their political significance, internationality and use of technologies. Korstanje (2016) claims that tourism is terrorism by other means: "Not only the terrorist attacks are perpetrated looking for certain compliance by local authorities and mass media, but also the instilled message is not aimed at destroying an entire civilization. Rather, terrorism looks for political instability to re-structure the economic demand" (Korstanje, 2016, p. 245). Korstanje builds on Lisle's idea of war and tourism being "strange bedfellows" (Lisle, 2000, p. 101), as she states in her study on the relationship between tourism and conflict. Lisle claims that contrary to the widely-accepted belief, tourism and war are not separate phenomena and to understand them as such "is to ignore the changing and multiple practices of both activities" (Lisle, 2000, p. 103). In Lisle's understanding, the prevailing images of safety/danger opposition separating tourism and war are to be reexamined in order to better describe the intricacies of their unexpected connection. After the Second World War, she argues, mass tourism was promoted as a way to greater global understanding and protections from the horrors of the war. Tourism was to become a global peacemaker and a positive force for democratic changes. While the war atrocities are not to be repeated, the places where they happened turned themselves to touristic sites as places of commemoration. At the

same time, rebranding terrorism may seem to be a solution, as Bhattarai, Conway and Shreshta, (2005) argue. Their study, that focus on the image of the destination struck by tourism, suggests that terrorism should be labeled as banditry to save the destination and its tarnished reputation while attracting tourists from different world countries.

When it comes to defining the relationship between tourism and terrorism, only several studies look at the cause of terrorism in the touristy areas. Ness (2005) examines the transformation of regular places to tourism's "idylic sites of leisure" and how this transformation might cause cultural disemplacement among the residents, leading to violence. Aziz (1995) on the other hand takes the case of Egypt and its ongoing terrorist attacks on tourists as an example of a result of certain frustration of some social groups:

> "The prevailing western imperialistic atmosphere (or foreignness) that appears in the economy, in the culture, in the media and in many other facets, might have led to two completely different reactions in Egyptian society. On the one hand the élite, who were in a sense 'enjoying' the benefits of this western discourse, not surprisingly accepted it and adapted to it. On the other hand, some, especially those who were less able to take part in this overall process, felt a direct and serious threat to their cultural identity" (Aziz, 1995, p. 94).

Thus, what started as a class conflict, caused by political and economic inclinations to the West that part of the society readily accepts, has resulted in violence, yet not toward the rich, western-like Egyptians as the militants seeks to "shield them(selves) from community sanctions." Instead, the ire is oriented towards the foreigners, visiting Egypt on their vacations: "Tourists are the most explicit and tangible representatives of the rich and comfortable, 'have' societies, clustered together in luxurious ghettos, challenging all moral, religious and social values of the 'want' society" (Aziz, 1995, p. 94). On the other side and in opposition to the western lifestyle is the Islamism, or at least an Islamic lifestyle, understood as the right way of living. This leads to a question whether the attacks on tourists then were under the flag of some king of a holy war. Can terrorism in tourism be understood as an embodiment of God's wrath for sinfulness, executed by the God's chosen people?

3.1   Holy Terror

In one of his papers on terrorism, Bruce Hoffman (1993) defines a concept that he labels a holy terror. Hoffman argues that terrorism has been long linked to religion and the two share much of their history while stating that the "volatile combination of religion and terrorism" (p. 12) is far from being an issue of the past. Holy terror is not an issue of a particular religious system, either. As a "sacramental act of divine duty" (p. 2), it can be embraced by any of the major or minor world religious tradition, often with the goal of reaching the highest approval of the divine that, as believed, ordered its execution. In an attempt to distinguish between the "holy and secular terror", Hoffman also examines the constituency of religious terrorists. Since the holy terror follows the divine call and executes divine will, it is not dependent on worldly constituency to gain favor from. I disagree with both of these arguments. First of all, even an act of divine duty has its rules; the holy terror cannot be executed anywhere it pleases the religious group and it can definitely not be executed on innocent people. Taken the example of Islam, Aziz puts forward that just like any other religion, Islam does not contain instruction to strike tourists:

> "According to the Islamic principle of not causing or suffering any harm, Islam rejects that which could negatively affect the culture or the people. Despite intensive media coverage in the western press of attacks by Islamic groups in Egypt on tourist facilities and on tourists themselves, Islam itself is not against tourism. On the contrary, there is much in Islam which implicitly and explicitly accepts the notion of travel and encourages it" (Aziz, 1995, p. 91).

Therefore, there is no grounds for an argument that attacking tourists could possibly be an exercise of any kind of divine duty.

Hoffman's second argument concerning the durability of the holy terror does not stand, either. The very example I will use here is the Luxor Massacre. Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya carried out their attacks on tourists between 1992, ending with the bloodshed at the Hatshepsut temple in 1997. There is an absence of terrorist acts in the decade after the

Luxor Massacre, even after the release of prisoners of al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya (Blaydes and Rubin, 2008). In fact, the group renounced violence and has never come back to it, whether with an aim of killing either the tourists or the state representatives, as they had originally intended. Blaydes and Rubin (2008) believe that this was reached by the strategy of ideological orientation which focused on rehabilitation and reeducation of the terrorists and change in the core ideology of the terrorist group. Wheatly and McCauley (2008) argue that it was what they call *losing the audience* that was the main reason behind the failure to continue their operations. The failure had three different dimension and in each one, al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya lost the battle completely. Politically, the attack unleashed governmental retaliation that bore no comparison with any measures the authorities took in the past. This included detention, imprisonment and execution of both the extremists and the sympathizers with Gama'at al-Islamiyya as well as a campaign to discredit the terrorists at "godless and lawless" (p. 260). Economically, the supporters of Islamist groups typically came from the lower-income groups that were the most affected when tourism plummeted. This led to a disillusionment and the loss of support for Gama'at al-Islamiyya and its jihad by all that lost their livelihood. And finally, the scope of the Hatshepsut temple attack resulted in the rejection of the Islamists' ideals by a large base of sympathizers across the Egyptian social classes. What's more, "the Luxor massacre moved many Egyptians from sympathy and support to hostility toward and even action against the extremists. The massacre offended the conscience of Egyptians, who interpreted the attack on unarmed visitors as an affront to Islam, Egypt, and themselves" (p. 257). The example of the bloodshed in the Hatshepsut temple thus proves that even the holy terror may bring upon itself a very unholy end. The article of Wheatly and McCauley also brings to light the other actors than the usual dichotomy of the terrorists and the state players.

3.2   Bubble of Serenity

The same Darya Maoz that conducted the research among "rowdy" Israelis in India participated also in a research of Israeli tourists coming to the neighboring Sinai Peninsula in Egypt. Given the history of the peninsula which was annexed by Israeli after

the Six-Day War of 1967 and returned to Egypt only after the two countries signed the peace treaty in 1979, one could expect the Egyptian hosts and Israeli guests to be at odds with each other, if not in an open war. Maoz, altogether with Uriely and Reichel (2007), the research team coined the term "bubble of serenity" to describe the relationship and interaction in this particular case.

The "bubble of serenity" is charaterized by a peaceful relationship between the hosts and guests, void of discussions of the political situation and, specifically, the conflict between the Israelis and the Arabs. It stands on mutual economic interests, leading to creation of an environment in which the true feelings about the counterparts are not demonstrated, but rather, they are repressed. The focus is on the creation of friendly atmosphere which allows for establishment of social ties. This is done through an attempt to find cultural similarities as well as to distinguish between the "good" and the "bad" Israelis and Egyptians. The "bubble of serenity" is prone to being burst when a new attack on Israeli tourists happens in the Sinai. In such case both of the sides work on their re-creation, however hard and time-consuming that may be (Uriely et al., 2007).

This example of a host-guest relationship demonstrates the ability of the two sides to search and find a modus operandi despite the larger political context of their two countries. It seems that such cooperation is possible in case there are serious circumstances preventing such cooperation at the first place. On the other hand, if the country of hosts is in no political conflict with the country of guests, the mutual negative approaches can go unhinged. At the same time, the research among the Egyptian hosts and Israeli guests proves that a political conflict does not put an end to tourism. Furthermore, the hosts and their guests are capable of creating the world of the "good guys" and the world of the "bad guys", thus distinguishing between innocent civilians and political figures, army members, or even the terrorists. The study of Darya Maoz dealing with Egyptian hosts and their Israeli guests touches on the problem of terrorism in tourism, denoting the role terrorism plays in tourism. Clearly, the complex political relationship between Egypt and Israel did not prevent Israelis from visiting Sinai Peninsula, rather it flourished in spite of it. What burst the "bubble of serenity" were, however, the terrorist attacks which repeatedly struck the Peninsula between the years 2004 and 2006. The terrorist attacks caused suspicion on both sides, accounted for less

relaxed atmosphere and gradually let to decrease in the number of Israeli visitors (Uriely, et al., 2007), yet this was a process rather than a result of one single event.

3.3   Terrorism and the Tourist Gaze

What comes as a surprise is that Larson and Urry do not deal with terrorism with relation to Urry's theory of the tourist gaze, even in the third edition of the book. They do mention terrorism, yet rather as a risk caused by tourism going global than a phenomenon related to the local gaze or a form of a gaze at all. Their focus is on the outcome of terrorism in the form of the "surveillance gaze" (Larsen and Urry, 2014, p. 309) which is present at the airport through highly sophisticated system of cameras, not on the origins of terrorism and its possible connection to the way tourism has been developing over the past 150 years.

Lisle uses two attributes for the tourist gaze vis-à-vis the environments impacted by war and conflict. The tourist gaze is, first of all, sanitizing because "it demands simple reconstructions of military battles and attaches them to a bounded national narrative that is cross-generational in its appeal" (Lisle, 2000, p. 98). Tourist gaze is also excessive in that "it exceeds its own configuration. Tourists do much more than gaze – they act, they encounter, they perform, they effect, and they leave a mark" (Lisle, 2000, p. 104). Lisle goes on to criticize Urry's concept of tourist gaze as limited because it does not include spaces and events outside the safe zones and well-established tourism centers. Tourists are drawn to pristine beaches and ancient ruins just as much as they desire to see the Berlin Wall and the Sarajevo, with the traces of the war that the city lived through. Without mentioning it explicitly, Lisle speaks about site that fall into the category of dark tourism – a concept that is directly linked with both terrorism and the very city of Luxor.

3.4 Terrorism and Dark Tourism

Dark tourism is the type of tourism that attracts visitors to "sites and locations of genocide, holocaust, assassination, crime or incarceration" (Lennon, 2017, p. 2). While both the reason for attraction of these sites to visitors and the character of the sites themselves are very diverse, there seems to be a unique relationship between death and tourism, especially when death is a result of an evil action. If tourism is defined as a leisure activity, then it may seem unacceptable, distasteful or at least bizarre to link it with violence (Ashworth, 2008, p. 232).

Lennon attempted to capture some of the reasoning behind the existence of such tourist sites: "The appeal of such sites is less to do with the perpetration of an illegal or criminal act but rather a fascination that visitors appear to possess with evil and the acts of evil that humans can perpetrate. Whether this is a war crime or a murder, a site of mass killing or an assassination site the appeal remains significant" (Lennon, 2017, p. 15). Ashworth looks at the heritage aspect of violence, suggesting that dark tourism provides both for identification with victims or perpetrators and desire for certain kind of reconciliation as well as for a voluntary experience of emotions such as pain, horror or death. In both cases the exposure is deliberate, and the experience serves as an entertainment, creating feelings of curiosity, horror and empathy (Ashworth, 2008). Dann (1998) adds other reasons for consumption of dark tourism, such as celebration of crime, search for novelty as well as basic human desire for bloodlust. Deeper psychological reasons are behind the human attraction to death, mainly its social neutralization and medicalization of the process of dying, making it more absent from the public than in the past (Stone, 2009). Removing death from everyday lives thus leads to its prominence in the popular culture and its consumption through tourism (Bryant and Shoemaker, 1997).

Dark tourism is, I believe, one the meeting points between tourism and terrorism. The commonalities between terrorism and tourism were outlined by Korstanje: the process of globalization, technological advance and the need for the media to create and manipulate the public opinion (Korstanje, 2015). Dark tourism, however, is not a commonality, but rather possesses aspects of complementarity between tourism and

terrorism, Dark tourism can be created in an environment where terrorism strikes and can change the place into a tourist site. But at the same time, touristic site can be transformed into sites of dark tourism once struck by terrorism. This is not valid universally, however. As Hugues notices in the case of France, its different from, for example the USA, "dark tourism is not picking up in France as in other countries". He adds that the reason behind it lies both in ethical considerations as well as French culture and history (Hugues, 2017). However, even the most popular and well-known dark tourism sites in the USA, such as the Ground Zero in New York, are under ethical and moral scrutiny. The question of morality is raised, for example, by Stone as to the right of exploitation of a tragedy by partaking in the experiences of it (Stone, 2009).

All four above mentioned and discussed concepts are, I believe, the departing points for my actual research. While the first one, the holy terror I reject already, based both on my knowledge of Islam as well as the already existing research of the Luxor Massacre, I will have a look at the remaining three in detail. First of all, the bubble of serenity is a concept that could possibly find its ground in Luxor as part of the creation of the illusion of safety. The tourist gaze after the Luxor Massacre has undoubtedly changed and now incorporates an ever-present surveillance gaze. When it comes to dark tourism as an ultimate form of a tourist gaze, I will pay close attention to the temple of Hatshepsut that hold a unique position in this respect: the site is directly connected to death in its very character as a mortuary temple, that is, a temple dedicated to a deceased ruler. The fact that people have been entering it since Antiquity, first as worshippers and later as visitors, may indicate that it has always been on the edge of dark tourism, albeit not with a desire for experiencing emotions of pain, horror or death. The sense of horror and death enters the temple of Hatshepsut in 1997, when 58 foreigners perish at the hand of terrorists. Has the temple changed into a commemoration site, remembering the victims alongside the once so powerful queen? If it is so, then the temple becomes a dark tourism site par excellence: tourists coming to visit a burial site of a historic person while at the same time seeing a place of tragedy and death of people similar to themselves. The last two sections of this study will look closely at this very place as well as other sites in Luxor and attempt to find answers to the questions raised in the previous paragraphs.

II. RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design has been defined as an intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry and research specific methods (Creswell, 2009). According to its strategies of inquiry, the research design can either be qualitative, quantitative or mixed. Given the scope and the purpose of this study, the qualitative research design was deemed as appropriate. The qualitative research seeks to understand meanings as individuals and groups ascribe them to various social problems which is exactly the purpose of this study: to comprehend the attitudes and opinions of the Egyptian tourism workers about the reality of terrorist acts against tourists in Egypt.

This section deals with the practical issues of my research in Luxor. First of all, it introduces ethnography as a research method and justify its usage in tourism research, dealing with its many intricacies. These include the degree of reflexivity that a researcher might consider disclosing in the research as well as a question of a long-term fieldwork. A whole chapter is then devoted to a topic that proved to be crucial to this study: the question of revealing the researcher's identity to his informants vis-à-vis the implications this could bring to both parties. Finally, the process of data collection is discussed, looking in detail at the participant and non-participant observation and interviews with informants.

4 ETHNOGRAPHY AS METHOD

From the methodological point of view, this dissertation is an ethnography. However, since it originates in the Czech environment (although it is written in English), it is also appropriate to clarify in what sense the term ethnography is understood in the text, especially with regard to the frequent ambiguities in the terminology. The term ethnography meant in the Czech scientific environment of the middle of the 20th century what social anthropology in the West meant, while ethnography clearly defined itself in relation to a much better-established sociology (Holý and Stuchlík, 1964). Towards the

end of the 20th century, the term ethnography as an academic field was abandoned in favor of the concepts of ethnology and anthropology.

Due to this conceptual ambiguity, my dissertation adheres to the terminology as is common in the social anthropology of the Anglo-Saxon cultural circle. In this cultural field, the term ethnography refers to one of the methods of qualitative research, in addition to such methods as discourse analysis, phenomenological and narrative research or case studies. At the same time, it is typical for ethnography that it requires immersion in an issue that is researched right in the middle of a given place and culture (Fetterman, 2010). The main feature of ethnography is therefore field research. Given the chosen topic, the nature of the work and also my previous knowledge of the environment of tourism, as well as Egypt and Luxor itself, ethnography was evaluated as the most suitable and most effective method of research.

There are two main approaches on which this ethnography could be based. One of them is positivist (or also naturalistic), prevalent in the ethnographic works of leading anthropologists both in past centuries and in modern times. Ethnography based on the positivist principle seeks to capture social reality by immersing itself in the research environment in an effort to find and describe data as they are in reality. The primary interest of such ethnography is reconstruction, that is, an attempt to enter social reality as seen and understood by individuals in the society under study (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008). In the Czech environment, the positivist approach is traditionally combined with ethnological research. The second approach, constructivism, connects them with research in the context of sociocultural anthropology. According to constructivism, individuals try to understand the world around them and thus create their subjective meanings of the experiences they go through. These meanings depend on the interactions and cultural norms that help create them. The task of researchers is to understand these subjective meanings while formulating their own meanings of observed phenomena. This leads to interpretations that are, among other things, shaped by the cultural and personal background of the researchers themselves. Their personality profile thus also forms an important part of the research and its evaluation (Creswell, 2009). The constructivist approach shifts interest in ethnography to produce structure and social norms: "The constructivist agenda encourages ethnographers to look at and listen to the activities by

which everyday actors create proper, recognizable and meaningful features of their social worlds" (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008, p. 375). The data obtained from interviews and observations are treated as means of interpretation rather than as mere content of description.

This study is based on the other worldview, the constructivist one. According to this worldview, the individuals seeks to understand the world around them and by doing so, they create their subjective meanings of the experiences they undergo. These meanings are formed through interaction and through historical and cultural norms. The researchers' role is to make sense of these subjective meanings and without departing from an existing theory, they strive to form their own. Their own cultural and personal background shapes the interpretation and thus they constitute a vital part in the research (Creswell, 2009). In ethnography, the constructionist worldview shifts the interest from the world as it is to the production of social norms and structure: "A constructionist agenda spurs ethnographers to look at and listen to the activities through which everyday actors produce the orderly, recognizable, meaningful features of their social worlds." (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008, p. 375). The indigenous data which is collected, mainly through two methods, interviewing and observation, is treated as resources rather than the content of description and explanation.

4.1   Ethnography in Tourism Research

Ethnography as a research method has a very interesting position in the research or tourism. While the first ethnographic studies on topics and issues of tourism came already in the 1960s, ethnography has not been the preferred research method in this field. Tourism studies did not consider ethnography to be a legitimate way of studying the phenomena such as such as economic development, social change and political decisions triggered by touristic activities. As Phillimore and Goodson and (2004, 39-40) summarize:

> "Tourism is a complex phenomenon based on interrelations and interactions, but the tendency of tourism research has been to focus on the tangible, and arguably the 'objective' and readily measurable interrelationships and interdependencies

between people and places, frequently from an economics marketing and /or management perspective. A more person-focused approach which takes into an account the individual's subjective experiences and perceptions and the roles these play in constructing the tourist, or indeed host, experience has received scant attention."

Besides the fact that tourism research mostly focuses on the measurable data that ethnography fails to deliver, the ethnographic method has also been dismissed as mere 'travel writing', or, at best, considered primarily suitable for researching primitive societies. The greatest pitfall of this viewpoint is that it omits the "micro-experiences of the macro-dimensions of tourism development" (Stephenson and Bianchi, 2007), failing to give voice to the very group of people that are being studied. As a result of this mindset in the academic community, discoveries in the realm of tourism studies sometimes came as a mere by-product of an ethnographic research that was understood as more plausible and as such given financial as well as psychological support (Nunez, 1989).

The greatest argument against the ethnographic study of tourism, in my opinion, is that it fails, so to say, the 'objectivity test', as it is believed to deliver the "subjective idiosyncratic impressions of researchers rather than objective assessments of the phenomena studied" (Stephenson and Bianchi, 2007, p. 16). Once again, the delivery of the measurable data is believed to be the 'objective research'. However, as Stephenson and Bianchi argue, even the objective research is not always free of bias while the misperceptions accompany the attempts to objectively classify any group of people: It may be possible to acquire a more meaningful perspective of people's lifestyles by employing a less detached and more informal method of analysis. This approach could possibly reveal personal information that may be more representative of life worlds of individuals than what could be achieved by a structured, quantitative approach" (p. 17). The greatest pitfall lies here in the fact that a notion of objectivity is social sciences is linked with positivism. As Fine puts it: Objectivity is an illusion smuggled in the comforting blanket of positivism that the world is ultimately knowledgeable and secure" (Fine, 1993, p. 286). In other words, an attempt to objectively assess tourism phenomena will most likely result in an empirical researched that brings out results through generalization of the researched data, the very approach that ethnography rejects as "a search for absolute or definite conclusions, or

even complete answers" (Stephenson and Bianchi, 2007, p. 19) and thus in direct opposition to what ethnography aims to achieve.

4.1.1   On Reflexivity and Researcher's Identities

Refuting the common beliefs about the failure of ethnographic study to contribute meaningfully to the study of tourism phenomena does not automatically mean that the ethnographic approach can be applied without considering a number of other aspects. One such aspect in the reflexivity in its various forms. While Pierre Bourdieu's view that reflexivity is rather a collective enterprise than an individual practice and the reflexive science is much more than the focus on mere observer's feelings (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 72) should be taken into consideration, my stand on this issue stems from the basic assumption that every science researcher has his own "specific, situated and dated" viewpoint that he carries with him to the research field (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 26) and that "the authors should explicitly position themselves in relation to their objects of study so that one may assess researchers' knowledge claims in terms of situated aspects of their social selves and reveal their (often hidden) doxic values and assumptions" (Maton, 2003, p. 54). In practice, I believe it means to disclose "his/her scholarly background, as well as the political and methodological choices she/he makes […]. The 'objectivity of a study evolves from the explicit positioning of the background factors influencing the methodological choices, the perspectives taken, as well as the selection of the material" (Järviluoma et al., 2003, p. 23). I will thus attempt to be objective through reflecting on multiple identities I hold with regard to this particular study.

My positioning as a researcher in what Bruner (1996) refers to as a borderzone: "a zone of interaction between natives, tourists and ethnographers" (p. 177) is rather a complex one. First of all, my identity of a student researcher comes in picture here. I graduated both in tourism and Middle East studies. Researching on tourism in Egypt is thus linked to both my expertise in issues connected to tourism as well as the one in the issues of Middle Eastern history, politics and society. My study of tourism preceded that of the Middle East. Studying tourism was, in my case, closely linked with practice as I had already worked in tourism-related job abroad. The same goes for my study of the Middle

East - my decision to enroll in the Middle Eastern Studies program in 2012 was partly due to the sudden, albeit short-lived loss of work opportunities in the tourism field but more than that, I had a desire to come much deeper understanding of the region than I was able to encompass through my trips and stays in touristic destinations. I was particularly interested in the political development of the region since the 19th century and the birth of different ideologies which were adopted in the process of establishment of nation states. Islamism was one of them and I was intrigued to find out how its development differed from country to country, toppling down the Shah's regime in Iran in 1979, leading to a civil war after the army ousted the legitimate Islamist government in Algeria in 1991 and demonstrating its power through attacking tourism and thus economy of Egypt in the course of the 1990s. Thus, the focus of my studies, work and research is precisely this one: tourism in the Middle East regions and its specificities, including the phenomenon of terrorism.

While I definitely consider my researcher's identity an important one, there are two other identities I have to mention and discuss if I want to fulfill the task of reflexivity. One of these is my role of a tourist. Is ethnographer a tourist? Several authors in 1980s saw this similarity (Crick, 1985, Barley 1983, Pratt, 1986), in that both a tourist and an anthropologist lack objective assessment and their engagement in the field is only short-termed. Barley (1983) adds that the anthropologists tend to avoid interaction with the locals similarly to the tourists. Errington and Gewertz (1989) second these opinions, adding that both tourists and anthropologists are "products of the same sociocultural system; all of us, despite differences in age, possessed largely comparable views of person, of self" (p. 46), albeit admitting some differences: "What can distinguish anthropologists from tourists is that we can and must be political in terms not self-referential and individualistic, but comparative and systematic (p. 46). The passive role of tourists, however, is refuted by the more contemporary authors who claim that tourists also have the capacity for understanding beyond being simply misled by the "commercial exploits of the tourism industry" (Stephenson & Bianchi, 2007, p. 27).

The distinction between a tourist and an anthropologist (or any other social science researcher, for that matter) is clearly a concern among the researchers and less so among the local population where the research is taking place. I agree with Simoni and McCabe

(2008) that the label tourist remains the primary one, even after the researcher's true identity is revealed. This was the case after revealing my researcher's identity (as I will elaborate on later) when one of my informants disclosed that "whatever you foreigners call yourselves, you are pretty much just tourists to us" (Informant T., 2022). Tourists in this case denotes foreigners and thus an outsider. My informant, as I understood him, wanted to say that no matter what we, the foreigners label ourselves, for the locals we simply fall into one and only category of an outsider.

Another identity I wish to elaborate on, is the one of the tour guide. In reality, I spent very little time in Luxor as a tourist per se, most of the time I was coming as a tour guide, either before the actual research took place or afterwards. The role of a tour guide/researcher is very frankly described by Bruner (1996, p. 230-231): "My double role as a tour guide serving tourists, and as an ethnographer studying them, placed me in an interstitial position between touristic and ethnographic discourse, and I must admit that I had not been aware of the ambiguities of the position in which I had placed myself. As ethnographer I wanted to know how tourists experienced the sites, but as a tour guide my task was to structure that experience through my lecture and explanations. My talk mediated their experience and, in a sense, I found myself studying myself….". In this exemplary instance of self-reflection, Brunner admits that the three roles are interconnected and hard to distinguish and separate: the researcher is a tour guide and a tourist at the same place and the same time. My personal experience is somewhat different, I would say. Between the three identities, the one of a tour guide, far preceded the other two and overtime, I believe, it remained the most significant one. My very first encounter with the city of Luxor was as a tour guide in training: during the very first ride from Hurghada to Luxor that took about five hours, I took notes on everything the guide was talking about while explaining to the microphone – Egyptian history, religion, everyday life. Our sightseeing began on the west bank of the Nile, in the Valley of the Kings. In the Hatshepsut temple, the guide mentioned the Luxor Massacre which happened seven years prior. After lunch we headed over to the Karnak temple where I could not take the heat anymore. I went back to the bus to relax before the trip was over and bound for Hurghada again. This was my first and last time I was a recipient of information and impressions on the ancient city; the next time I was already in the role of a tour guide.

Over the course of next several months, I would be working on my own, beginning my guiding by talking about the ancient Egyptian history once the bus from Hurghada reached the city of Qena, in the Nile Valley, having crossed almost 200 kilometers long area of the Eastern desert and finishing my monologue when reaching the parking lot of the Valley of the Kings. I would duly do these trips with groups as small as ten persons and as large as a full bus of fifty passengers. After the afternoon visit of the Karnak temple and the adjacent papyrus shop where I would peel the skin of papyrus stems to place the strips vertically and horizontally to demonstrate the ancient way of making paper, I would finally relax on my front seat, watching the sun setting over the fields just north of Luxor. I was constantly learning – I tried to read as much as possible so that my guiding explanation was both interesting and informed. As a young and a quite inexperienced guide, I was learning how to deal with the tourists and cater to their needs. The most challenging thing to learn, however, was to interact with the locals. I had never lived in a Muslim, Arab or African country before and I knew little about the local culture or customs. Retrospectively, my years in Egypt prior to my research stays were the most important part of my preparation for the research itself; today I honestly believe that without being first a tour guide, I would never be able to be a researcher in Luxor.

My Luxor trips would from time to time change to longer stays while guiding the groups on the Nile cruises. I loved the Nile cruises as my work load would not be as heavy and hectic and also because it allowed for deeper exploration of the Luxor monuments, including the Luxor temple which would typically be visited during sunset. As the cruise boats typically docked just opposite the temple, I would ascend to the upper deck after the dinner to sip my tea with milk while looking at the lit-up temple, accompanied, at times, by clients from my group. This is where I first realized how much today's tourism in Luxor is linked to its origin in the 19th century, with British clients of Thomas Cook flooding Luxor temples and sipping their tea on the decks during hot afternoons. Here, on the decks of the modern Nile cruise boats, being served by local staff, I first thought about us and them and how this particular host-guest dichotomy shapes the reality around me. I was moving towards being a critical creator of tourism experiences (Krippendorf, 1989) instead of a passive executor of the role I was expected by both locals and tourists to perform.

This leads me to another point in the reflection and that is situating myself. As Frohlick and Harrison admit,

> "One of the problems inherent to tourist studies arises from physically situating ourselves with either locals or with tourists. Locals and tourists observe our embodied emplacement in places where one group or another predominates, and in ways that have a bearing on their perceptions of and interactions with us. As ethnographers we can often move easily between these two groups, threatening unwittingly to upset the carefully negotiated, yet uncertain terrain between these two groups. We constantly have to try to understand what it means to hang out with tourists from the perspectives of local residents, which means a constant positioning and re-positioning of ourselves" (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008, p. 9-10).

While the two authors refer to the ethnographer here, I experienced the very same situation as a tour guide: being primarily seen as a tourist by the locals while being associated with the locals by the tourists I worked with put me in an interesting position of being of both groups and yet, of neither. My initial inclination was to distance myself from the tourists, taking upon myself the role of a "local". This inclination was a short-lived one, however. As time went by and I encountered more instances of culture shock, mostly in form of misunderstanding with my Egyptian co-workers, I realized how distant my culture was from theirs, no matter how long I spent in Egypt.

Cultural differences were not, however, the only roadblock in trying to blend in. The "commercial exploits of the tourism industry" (Stephenson & Bianchi, 2007, p. 27) proved to be of a great issue to me. As an employee of the travel agency, I was expected to behave and act similarly to the local tourism workers and cooperate in their endeavor to gain as much money as possible through offering facultative trips, promoting local products and encouraging the visitors to generously tip the locals. While part of this endeavors would bring financial benefit to myself as well, the practices were often such that I refused to participate. Not pushing the tourists into purchases of alabaster statues and paintings on papyrus was understood as a betrayal. "We make much less money on days when you guide the group", was a statement I heard on several occasions. I was expected to work on the behalf of the local tourism staff albeit seen and treated as a foreigner, not much

different to the tourists themselves. Torn between trying to please one side (and make money) while using common sense when promoting fake and cheap local products, I had a feeling of not belonging to either of the groups. I was a mere mediator, and a poor one, for that matter.

A sense of belonging came about a year after I began my work in Egypt, I was accompanying a group, along with an older colleague, on their boat trip to the Giftun island. It was the 23rd of July and the news about the terror attacks in Sharm El Sheikh just came in that morning. Three separate bomb attacks left behind some ninety casualties with even greater number of injured in the old market area, Ghazal Garden hotel and Movenpick hotel. The news was beyond terrifying for all who worked in tourism in Egypt. It was the second attack on tourism targets since the 1997 Luxor Massacre, preceded by the Taba bombings some nine months prior. It seemed that terrorism is, once again, a reality in Egypt. This was further confirmed by another attack, again carried out at the Sinai Peninsula – the bombings in the Dahab resort in April of 2006.

I moved to Taba in the autumn of 2007 for a year-long tenure as a travel agency representative. While luckily no attacks happened during the time I worked in Taba, a colleague of mine was kidnapped in early 2012 in what seemed to be a new practice of the local Bedouin tribes of the post-Mubarak era. By this time, I was not working in Egypt full time anymore, only coming on several individual occasions as a guide of individual groups. I had shifted my focus on the Middle Eastern countries of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan already in 2009 only to experience the volatility of tourism vis-à-vis the events of the Arab spring which led to the gradual stop of any tours to Syria and a rapid decline of demand for both Lebanon and Jordan.

These instances made me realize both the fragility of the tourism industry as well as how deeply connected I was to Egypt and my fellow coworkers. While being affected by the sudden lack of work opportunities, I also felt for the fellow colleagues that suddenly lost their means of providing for their families. As terrorism touched me personally, my academic interest in this phenomenon and a desire to research was growing. Very early on in a textual research, I realized that there is a gap when it comes to ethnographic studies of touristic destinations and, moreover, the local communities that are both

influenced by tourism and terrorism. While falling short of being an expert on this issue, I did believe, that my continuous "negotiation and renegotiation of positionalities" (Lavie & Swedenburg, 1996, p. 20) allow for a unique approach to my anthropological research on the given topic.

4.1.2 Longitudinal Perspectives of Ethnographic Research

As I have already disclosed, I came to Luxor for the first time in late April 2004 as a tourist guide trainee with an over-day bus excursion from Hurghada. This was to be one of many day trips to the city over the period of the next three years. Soon after I started working, my daily trips to Luxor would be complemented by frequent Nile cruises which allowed me to spend even more time in the city. During the time in Luxor, relationships were built. To my great surprise, these many of these relationships persisted and I was able to draw upon them once I returned as a researcher. However, did I have the "intimate knowledge of the community" that Stephenson and Bianchi mention (2007, p. 19)? The long-term immersion was, in my case, never quite realized; I would come and go. Tourism ethnography is the one of mobile subjects, as Graburn labels it, adding that "The limited duration of the events and the fleeting presence of the participants, which permit even the most assiduous of ethnographers only the briefest opportunity to carry out in-depts fieldwork" (Graburn, 2002, p. 20). This description of the reality of tourism research mirrors my own experience where the fleeting presence of the participants includes my own presence of repeatedly coming and going.

Despite failing the test of longitudinality, I still believe my choice of Luxor as the focal point of my research was the right one. First of all, my frequent visits made me quite familiar with the city, its geography, history and importance for tourism. I had enough contacts to start my research ahead of my arrival to Luxor and it was quite easy to come and spend extended amount of time while at the same time not raise questions about my stay.[1]   Second, I had an experience from other tourism destination (albeit not as a researcher) that allowed me both to further understand how a tourism destination work

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[1] I deal with this issue extensively in the section 2.3 Data Collection

and compare different destinations. I believe that just as different positionalities shape the outcome of the research, so do different settings and experiences outside the particular research field, thus "making sense of the situations we find ourselves in, and yet, in the case of the ethnographic research context in which we place ourselves, we add different dimensions to these contexts" (Simoni & McCabe, 2008, p. 186).

The other two reasons reflect on the uniqueness of Luxor with regard to both tourism and terrorism. Luxor has been an important travel destination since the mid 19th century while the first travelers had visited it more than a century before that. Compared with other world tourism destinations sought after for their historic heritage, Luxor is one of the oldest. Egypt and Luxor became one of the first destinations that the first-ever travel agency Thomas Cook & Son offered outside of the European continent. Thus, Luxor is a well-established touristic destination with 150 years of history of tourist arrivals. The layout of the modern city was greatly influenced by its most important economic activity, with hotels and docks built very early into the nascent of tourism.

Luxor is also one of the world cities that suffered the most in terms of the explicit targeting of tourism during the Luxor Massacre of 1997. The attack which claimed over seventy lives, most of which were foreign visitors of several different nationalities. Tourism to Egypt was halted for several years to come. It was an unprecedented event which influence the world of tourism as well as the local community in Luxor and the whole of Egypt. At the same time, the massacre did not wipe out tourism altogether and several years later foreign visitors would once again flock the temple of Hatshepsut as well as other ancient sites of Luxor. Thus, it is not only the tragedy but also the ability of the centuries-old travel destination to recover that sparked my attention long ago.

5 FIELDWORK AND ETHICS

The ethics in fieldwork is one of the pillars of field research, I believe. In the following subchapters, I deal with the issue of ethics as I understand it and, even more importantly, how I embraced it and abode by it during my field research. While I duly describe the process of acquiring my informants and some practical issues I dealt with in this respect,

my research encountered a particular challenge concerning my identity revelation. Therefore, I take the liberty of elaborating on this challenge, above all, offering some theoretical grounds on which I built my personal approach to this particular issue.

5.1   Fieldwork Among the Tourism Workers in Luxor

Interviews with informants were an integral part of my data collection. My focus was on the views, impressions and attitudes of tourism workers in relation to previous terrorist attacks (notably the 1997 Luxor massacre), the threat of losing jobs in tourism in connection with possible attacks on tourists in the future, which would lead to a decline or even the cessation of inbound tourism, current security measures Attention has also been paid to the security measures implemented by the Egyptian authorities and the way in which tourism professionals respond to them, especially as they act as intermediaries between foreign tourists and authorities, bearing responsibility for explaining security measures and modeling how to comply with them.

Getting informants was not difficult, especially given my previous work experience with Luxor and my active involvement in the tourist infrastructure as a tourist guide. When choosing the informants, I was mainly guided by the fact that I already had contacts in Luxor. During the participant observation, it was possible to re-establish contact with potential informants and check whether they were suitable informants. The distance between my work as a guide in Luxor and my current return, again as a guide, proved to be an advantage precisely in that it was possible to establish an interview with informants on tourism, security, terrorism, etc. when I was a guide in Luxor, there was mainly a time limit in which the interviews could be conducted. On the other hand, the advantage was that the informants acted and spoke without any lengthy preparation and conversations on often sensitive topics were conducted de facto among colleagues, without the need for informants to change or adapt their speech as it probably happens during interviews with tourists. A number of interviews were also conducted while I was in Luxor for non-participatory observation. As with this observation, the biggest advantage of the interviews was that they were not limited in time, they took place in the free time of the informants, and therefore it was possible to speak calmly and in depth. These interviews

were much longer and more thematically diverse, and took place in places where there was more space and relaxation, such as cafes.

The selection of informants was made to include professionals from different sectors of tourism. Among them were guides, security staff, tourist bus drivers, owners and sellers of tourist bazaars, Nile cruise ship managers and receptionists. Many of these informants were already acquaintances of mine, while some were colleagues with whom I had worked frequently before and several of the informants I considered to be my friends. During the contact with the informants, I conducted semi-structured and unstructured interviews with them. At this point, it should be emphasized that I did not disclose my researcher identity to my informants. Due to my previous work in Luxor, I was accepted with my questions as a fellow guide, or as a tourist with previous work experience in this destination. Given these facts, my interest in the topic of terrorism and the current form of tourism in Luxor was not found to be inappropriate.

Next to participant and non-participant observation, I employed the method of conducting semi-structured and unstructured interviews with tourism workers in Luxor. This task was faciliated by my previous experience with Luxor as a tour guide and tour leader myself. First of all, I was familiar with areas of the city where tourism workers could be found, observed and interviewed. While some of the interviews happened in the public places, mostly at the tourist sites, cafés and parkings of the tourist buses, others happened indoors, in the hotel and boat lobbies, tourist shops and similar venues. Second, and more importantly, I met and interviewed several different types of tourism workers. Among these were the tour guides, tourism sites guards, tour bus drivers, tourist bazaar owners and sellers as well as Nile cruise managers, receptionists and bell boys. Many of these informants were already my acquaintances while some were colleagues I have frequently worked with before and a few of the informants I consider my friends. In order to find new informants, I didn't use my contacts – I rather visited new sites and places to find them.

The interviews were carried out both as unstructured and semi-structured. The unstructured interviews were conducted in the first phase of the research and served to introduce the topics and subtopics which the tourism professionals find important when

discussing the topic of terrorism against tourists. After the phase, semi-structured interviews were the prevalent ones, with the aim of focusing on specific subtopics within the researched phenomenon. The interviews were conducted both in English and in Arabic. Those informants who spoke fluent English and were used to discussions in English outside their work would not be let to speak in English. On the contrary, the informants who felt more comfortable speaking Arabic were not forced to express themselves in English. This approach was chosen to enhance the spontaneity of the answers.

As mentioned above, the interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed. The interviews taped in Arabic were translated into English. The data was collected during several of my visits in Luxor, both as a tour guide and, as presented to the informants, my private vacation. It was important to conduct the interviews both during work and during vacation time as the two instances provided access to different places and informants. While working as a tour guide, I was able to conduct interviews inside the historic sites with Egyptian tour guides, especially during the free time of the visitors after the guided tour was over. These interviews were shorter but much more focused on the topic of my interest as it was in form of a mutual sharing of the concerns about the work both I and my informant performed at the moment. These interviews were mostly conducted in English. Also, as a guide I had an access to the staff on the cruise ship and hotel receptionists. On the other hand, while conducting the research during the faked vacation, the interviews conducted tended to be longer, over a cup of tea, in a relaxed atmosphere, albeit with frequent digressions. Hotel receptionists, tourist car drivers and shop owners were targeted at these times.

5.2   The Ethics of Identity Revelation

It has to be stressed that at the beginning of my research I did not reveal my identity of an anthropological researcher to my informants. There are several reasons for the decision to conceal this information from them. First of all, the method of the research did not require collection of any personal information nor any specific structure of conducting the research – such that would require the researcher to reveal his identity and the

purpose of his inquiries. Second, the interviews conducted were semi-structured or unstructured and spontaneous answers were desired. Given the fact that the topic discussed is a sensitive one and the local/national/international politics might be mentioned, the informants could have reacted with more restraint while answering, and some might have not wanted to discuss tourism with connection to terrorism at all. Third, there was a substantial concern about remaining anonymous in Luxor. Any suspicion about a foreigner conducting a research could lead to reporting him to the authorities who might require an authorization for the research. Yet, such authorization would most likely be impossible to obtain, given the sensitive topic of the research. This had been confirmed by The Centre for International Cooperation in Education (DZS) when requesting funding for this research. That being said, a great caution was taken as to the revelation of the identity of the informants. For the purpose of this study, only voice recording was done without any photographic material where the informants would be featured. Any photographic material collected for this study was obtained at other times than the moment of interview. The names of the informants were changed and any personal information the informant share was omitted from the transcription.

There were several reasons why I did not reveal my researcher's identity. First, the chosen research method did not require the collection of any personal data or any specific structure for conducting the research. So it was not necessary for me to reveal my "new" identity and the true purpose of my questioning. Second, the interviews were semi-structured or unstructured and spontaneous responses were required. Given that this is a sensitive issue that intersects with the political situation in Egypt, whistleblowers are unlikely to respond spontaneously if instructed to record their responses. It is also possible that some informants would not want to talk about terrorism or politics at all. Third, maintaining anonymity was considered necessary for the successful conduct of the research. Any suspicion of a foreigner conducting research could lead him to report it to the authorities, which may require a research permit. However, given the sensitive issue, such permission would most likely be impossible to obtain. This was also confirmed by the House of Foreign Services after the application for funding of this research was submitted.

At the same time, I was aware of the fact that the informed consent is one of the basic principles of anthropological research, confirmed by the AAA Code of Ethics several decades ago. Likewise, the need for an informed consent was stressed by the professors that read the drafts of this theses, voicing their concern with the way my research was progressing, especially with regard to the university guidelines for approval of the doctoral theses. Halfway through my research, I knew that its success largely depends on whether I did obtain the consent of my informants or not, with the informed consent being, as Bell labels it, "an appropriate standard with which to judge ethnographic fieldwork" (Bell, 2014, p. 514), not only in my particular case, but universally. Before I proceed and describe the steps I took from this point on, I would like to mention some authors and their stand on this, I dare say, controversial topic that has sparked many a debates in the 1990s when the informed consent was first adopted by AAA.

One of the most ardent critics of the universally applicable rule of informed consent was Murray Wax who wrote on it long before informed consent even became a hot topic. To prove his point, Wax compared psychological and biomedical experimentation with research in anthropology. In his opinion, anthropological research is much more a complex one and obtaining a consent may turn to be "a negotiated and lengthy process – of mutual learning and reciprocal exchanges – rather than a once-and-for-all event. Ethnographers can never take their roles wholly for granted, but must always be concerned to sustain their presence as welcome guests and responsible persons. If they are wise, ethnographers will communicate as much as possible – given the distortions of language, culture and worldview – concerning their hopes and intentions, but they also must adopt their information to the interests and sophistication of their hosts. Needless to say, the conventional "consent form" is so irrelevant as to be a nuisance to all parties" (Wax, 1980, p. 275). Consent, as Wax understands it, is rather a process than a single event, an oral aprroval or signing a piece of paper. As a process, however, it is reversible and can be, in fact, reversed: "In most kinds of fieldwork, it is pragmatically useful, even essential, for researchers to inform their hosts of their hopes for the investigation and to seek not merely initial consent but active cooperation. Yet, neither party can be sure of what will be entailed by the course of the fieldwork. The hosts are changing, the fieldworkers are changing, and the world itself is changing. During good fieldwork, the researcher is able to establish deepened relationships with the hosts and be offered the

opportunity to perceive and understand more: in a sense consent is broadened in scope" (Wax, 1980, p. 282). At the core of a successful research is a healthy relationship between the researcher and his informants. What happens, however, if the informants get cold feet? If they decide to discontinue their participation in the research or quietly resolve not to provide the researcher with valid data?

These are only some of questions raised with regard to a demand for informed consent. Rena Lederman (2006) elaborates on Wax, arguing that it is virtually impossible to pre-empt the course of ethnographic fieldwork with both social idenity and space not being clearly demarcated. In some settings, seeking informed consent at all cost may even be "so socially bizarre that it would make fieldwork impossible to complete" (Bosk, 2001, p. 211). Thus, as Murphy and Dingwall (2007) sum up, "Our argument is not that informed consent is trivial or irrelevant. It is, rather, that informed consent in ethnography is neither achievable nor demonstrable in the terms set by anticipatory regulatory regimes that take clinical research or biomedical experimentation as their paradigm cases" (p. 2225). Elaborating on this point, some authors cite misunderstanding as a bottom line when it comes to informed constent, in the sense that the ethnographers and informants simply cannot fully comprehend one another, or, as Wax admits, "Given that our hosts and we usually inhabit two different conceptual universes, it has been notoriously difficult to communicate who we are and what are our goals" (Wax, 1996, p. 330).

Going back to my own reasoning about not seeking the informed consent prior to conducting the research, I do not wish to use the above citations as a way to justify for my action. While I do agree that informed constent not a straight-forward and easily applicable rule but rather a complex and complicated issue, I still hold that the informants have the right to know why they are being asked about certain issues, often repeatedly. My strongest argument against revealing my researcher's idenity remains the one of not putting my informants into a difficult situation or even have them face any kind of reprecussions for talking about terrorism with me. Thus, while facing the reality of possibly not finishing my research on one side and feeling guilt for not conducting it according to the expected standards, I pondered on the very fact that research is not unlimited and without borders. In fact, many research topics thus are not accessible or hard to access information about if the rule of informed consent is duly applied.

Finally, I deemed it the best to go back to my informants and seek their consent with the information they disclosed earlier. This was done during my last research visit to Luxor. When meeting with my informants, I reminded them about our earlier conversation on the topic of terrorism and I disclosed that the information provided will be used in a research paper, provided they agreed with it. To make them fully aware of the content I intended to use, I shared with them the content of my earlier records. I also invited them to fill in anything they wanted to add and ensured them that anything they don't wish to share will not be used in the research. I got three different reactions from them: there were informants who did not care to go through the records and said they stood by all we talked about previously, albeit most of them only dimly remembered our conversations or their content. In fact, the majority of my informants belong to this group. Some of them asked for the reassurance that I will not disclose any of their personal information. Hearing my reassurance, they were in most cases happy to talk about the previously discussed topics again, in some cases adding brand new infromation and insights. Two informants did not wish to include their material in the research, citing the fear for safety, despite the reassurance of absolute anonymity. Their wish is, obviously, granted and their material has been discarded. The third group of informants went over the records of what they said previously. Some of them added to the earlier data and were in general happy to discuss the topics further. Several informants were not happy with their previous statements and they wanted to participate in the research providing new data. In this case, their previous statements were discarded and the new information was recorded. In all cases these new information was at least to some extent in direct opposition to what they had previously disclosed.

In retrospection, I believe it was the right thing to seek my informants approval with the research and their participation while I do think that had they known about it, their answers would be diametrally different from the data I was able to collect "undercover". With research topic such as terrorism, it is not easy to get to the authentic data as this issue strikes on many emotional cords. Therefore, as Laura Nader argues, We should not necessarily apply the same ethics developed for studying the private, and even ethics developed for studying in foreign cultures (where we are guests), to the study of institutions, organizations, bureaucracies that have a broad public impact" (Nader, 1972,

304). My communication about the research on terrorism developed over the time and I would label it, just as Kirsten Bell did, as "intrinsically subjective – a matter of individual judgement, always open to debate, and only really apparent after the fact" (2014, p. 519).

6 DATA COLLECTION AND INTERPRETATION

As mentioned in previous chapters, this ethnography aims to understand and describe the city of Luxor as a destination affected by terrorist attacks and its development after the 1997 Luxor Massacre. the area had and how much it affected it, it is necessary to reconstruct the city of Luxor as one of the oldest tourist destinations. This is the purpose of a condensed description, which is a text "multi-layered, with a hierarchy of structured meanings, open for later interpretations" (Medick, 1987, p. 87). In terms of methods, this dissertation uses participatory and non-participatory observation as well as interviews with informants.

6.1 Data Collection Process and Methods

As far as study stays are concerned, it is possible to mention here my trips to improve my level of Arabic, at language schools in Morocco, where I studied in 2013, 2014 and most recently in the summer of 2019. These stays were focused on intensive study modern standard Arabic, which is essential for successful research in Luxor, where many informants speak only Arabic or their knowledge of one of the European languages is insufficient to communicate the information widely. I also use Arabic to read inscriptions and texts related to research and, last but not least, to partial research on the subject, such as the media analysis of articles in the Al-Ahram daily on the Luxor massacre in 1997. I therefore consider study stays in Morocco necessary. in order for research in Luxor to take place at all, even though my knowledge of Arabic is not based solely on these stays, but on my long-standing interest in the Arabic language and the Middle East in general. I can also say that it was the knowledge of this language, although it still evaluates it as

partial, that was one of the main impulses for choosing the topic of my dissertation, and without this knowledge I would not be able to carry out my research.

My research stays mainly include research in Luxor itself. Given that in this research I also draw from my own work experience with this tourist destination, which I have from the period before my doctoral studies, perhaps even stays in 2004-2011 can be considered a form of research, although still unconscious at the time. Of the research stays specifically related to the dissertation, three can be mentioned, in August and November 2018, and subsequently in January 2020 and May 2022. The research stays in August and November 2018 were marked by the initial re-acquaintance with Luxor after a seven-year break in which I did not visit this city. At the same time, they served as a survey and an estimate of whether it is even possible to conduct the set research in Luxor. Last but not least, these short stays (both lasted a week) were an opportunity to establish contacts with potential informants. The research stay in January 2020 was already longer and lasted one month. During this stay I was accommodated on the west bank of the Nile, right by the river. From this place, it was easy to get to the places where I conducted non-participating observations, as well as to the informants who stayed at the tourist monuments or in the center of modern Luxor. This stay focused on several types of data collection, both informal and unstructured interviews with informants, and non-participant observation and collection of photo documentation. Last but not least, research in January 2020 focused on collecting informal and unstructured interviews with informants.

My last research stay in Luxor spanned over the month of May, 2022. It was the most unexpected and the least prepared one as it was not clear, till the last days before I set on a journey, that it will be executed. At the same time, it was the most authentic visit of Luxor with the most cordial encounters. This was mostly due to the circumstances; a recently reopened borders of countries that worked hard to suppress the pandemic and get back to tourism business. I knew that my informants would be more eager to talk about the last tourism crisis than about terrorism. I also realized how much the current world events shape the opinions and how the ongoing crisis always seem to be the worst one. This research stay was thus challenging not only because I had a task to reveal my researcher's identity and see what of my material actually can be used in my study, but also because any new material collected will be as if shadowed by the pandemics. Never has any

terrorist attack numbed tourism in Luxor or Egypt in general for such a long period of time, nearly two full years. While I have avoided to take the recent events into a consideration when analyzing the phenomenon of terrorism in tourism, the recent experience of world-wide crisis did put the topic of this study into a new perspective. Terrorism, as it appeared, was neither the worst that could happen to the tourism industry, nor was its effect as wide-spread and destructive as the world pandemics.

The field research of this dissertation was carried out exclusively in the city of Luxor. As a condensed description can be obtained mainly through participatory observation, this method was crucial for data acquisition. The main advantage here was the previous detailed acquaintance with Luxor (see Introduction), as well as the opportunity to be in the role of a participating observer before the start of the research itself. Participatory observation in the research was carried out in the role of tour leader and guide for Czech and Slovak tour groups, through the work of a guide and current communication and cooperation with local tourism service providers. Participatory observation allowed me to be "in the middle" of the tourist infrastructure and get to the places where tourism professionals meet and stay. At the same time, as a guide, I became part of the tourist operation, with the obligation not only to follow the specified security procedures, but also to inform and explain their importance to clients, including familiarizing clients with the Luxor massacre itself. This role meant taking a stand on the current and past security situation and thus becoming part of what I was to examine, thus actually completing the picture of the destination that I was trying to describe as faithfully as possible.

Research material obtained during participatory observation was supplemented by material from non-participatory observation. Non-participatory observation has proven to be an adequately important method of data collection and a necessary way to supplement and disseminate data from participatory observation. The disadvantage of the participant observation in this particular case was its spatial and temporal limitation. On the one hand, the work of the guide gave me the opportunity to be part of the tourist infrastructure, but on the other hand, it did not provide enough time for observing actors at tourist junctions or free movement around monuments and re-visiting certain parts of them. Without non-participatory observation, some of the data obtained would be insufficient.

If my participant observation was made during my guide's work, I made the non-participant observation at a time when I was not working as a guide. As a foreigner, I automatically became a tourist in the eyes of the locals. As the research concerned tourist places, I also formally visited them as a tourist, for example by paying an entrance fee. The advantage of non-participant observation was the possibility of free movement around the places, repeated visits to key points and almost full time indefinite (in addition to the need to respect visiting hours). Another advantage was the possibility of observing tourist groups, their guides and other tourism workers, to the extent that the participating observations did not allow.

6.2   Data Interpretation

According to Geertz, the interpretation of the acquired description is one of the main features of ethnography: they do what happens to them, from the whole great event of life - it means to separate it from its application and make it empty. A good interpretation of whatever - poems, man, history, ritual, institutions, society - takes us to the heart of what is interpretation" (Geertz, 1973/2000, pp. 28-29). Such a description not only contains the ideas and intentions of the actors concerned, but also testifies to the importance of the actions of the actors in the wider social context.

Geertz calls a given type of description a condensed or thick description. This differs diametrically from the description, which captures only the external elements, the so-called diluted description. Unlike a dilute description, a condensed description is

> "a multi-layered set of conceptual structures, many of which overlap and intertwine, which are simultaneously unknown, unusual, and explicit, and which must first be understood and then expressed. And this is true at the most mundane, raw level of field research: interviewing informants, observing rituals, deriving kinship terminology, monitoring property relations, household censuses - writing a diary" (Geertz, 1973/2000, p. 20).

It is an intellectual effort that goes far beyond the technique of performing a qualitative research.

According to Medick, the condensed description is characterized by its humility. It does not claim hermeneutic unity under the influence of the false impression that in the interpretive capture it corresponds to reality. On the contrary, the condensed description remains open to various interpretations, including those by the actors themselves. Methodologically, it is much smoother and more complex than a one-sided interpretation by the researcher himself (Medick, 1987). As Geertz (1973) adds, the condensed description is only read "over the shoulders of those to whom it truly belongs," which are its actors themselves (p. 452). However, it is not easy or unambiguous to read: "Making ethnography is like reading a manuscript - foreign, faded, full of ambiguity, incomprehensibility, suspicious corrections and tendentious remarks, but written not with conventional graphic phoneme symbols, but with fleeting examples of shaped behavior" (p. 20).

The aim of the condensed description is to understand the phenomenon under study within a given culture and to reveal meanings that at first glance remain hidden from those who belong to another cultural framework. Geertz holds that each cultural framework has its own cultural patterns or symbolic systems that indicate the direction and goal of human activity and through which one understands the events experienced. The aim of ethnography is to convey these symbols to those who do not share the cultural framework. Geertz himself expressed his desire to understand: "The whole goal of a semiotic approach to culture is, as I said, to help us gain access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can converse with them in a broad sense" (Geertz, 1973, p. 35).

III.   EGYPT, THE SHOWCASE OF TERRORISM IN TOURISM

For over 35 years, Egypt has witnessed different terrorist groups targeting tourism, tourism workers, tourism infrastructure and tourists themselves. The first confirmed attack on foreign tourists in Egypt took place in the Sinai Peninsula, where 11 Israelis were killed by an Egyptian soldier Suleyman Khater during a holiday in a recreational area called Ras Burqa. Since then, there have been attacks organized by individuals and groups. In the 1990s, these were mainly the attacks of the Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya terrorist group on trains and buses transporting tourists in the Nile Valley, cruise ships sailing with tourists on the Nile, hotels and resorts, the most common type of attack was shooting or planting a bomb. Most of these attacks did not require human casualties, but the two largest attacks in 1996 and 1997 killed almost 80 people of various nationalities, including Egyptian tourist personnel.

After 2000, Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya terrorist activities were completely subdued. However, this did not end the attacks on tourists, the focus only shifted from inland Egypt to the Sinai Peninsula, where there were large-scale and far more deadly attacks on tourist destinations, especially hotels. The terrorist group At-Tawhid wa al-Jihad reported the attacks between 2004 and 2011, in which up to 147 tourists died. The last decade has not been without terrorism in Egypt, with the main architects of the attacks being the Vilayat Sinai group, also known as Ansar Bayt al-Makdis. In 2015, the group carried out the deadliest terrorist attack on tourists in the history of Egypt, when it caused an explosion on board a Russian plane, during which all 224 passengers died. The last terrorist attacks took place in 2016 and 2017 in the coastal Hurghada, where members of this terrorist group stabbed tourists in hotel complexes with a knife. A Czech tourist also died during the last attack.

Attacks on tourists have been concentrated in several specific places over the last thirty years. On the one hand, they are seaside destinations with a dense network of hotels, restaurants and tourist attractions, such as Hurghada, Taba, Sharm el-Sheikh and Dahab, where tourists become an easy destination due to their high concentration. On the other

side is the city of Luxor. It is not a modern seaside destination with extensive hotel complexes, but a city with a rich ancient history and a long tradition of organized tourism. The former metropolis of ancient Egypt in its greatest expansion, during the New Kingdom (1550-1070 BC), became a metropolis again in the 19th century AD, thanks to the British travel agency Thomas Cook and the beginning of mass sightseeing in the footsteps of the ancient Egyptians, when one of the first tourist hotels and restaurants was established in Luxor.

As the terrorist attacks on tourists in Egypt have long been shaping the tourism industry, they have logically become the focus of many studies. I dare to divide these studies into two main categories. In the first category, there are research papers dealing with the economic outcome of the terrorist attacks on tourism infrastructure and have become the focus of many studies on the role and content of discourse on terrorism. This discourse has primarily been shaped by the media whose ultimate goal of selling the news was reached by implementing the concept of fear production. What has long been overlooked, however, is the other type of discourse, crucial to shaping the image of a tourist destination hit by terrorism - that which is created right at the destination hit by terrorism by tourism professionals working and living in that very destination. The purpose of my research is in presentation and analysis of the discourse on terrorism as created and shaped by the tourism professionals, especially as a response to the discourse promoted by the media and shared by those tourists who visit the most important of Egyptian tourism destinations - the city of Luxor after it has been hit by terrorists on various occasions. This discourse will be examined with regard to the concepts of fear and safety of both the creators of the discourse - the tourism professionals as well as the tourists in the destination. The main goal of the research will be in its contribution to the studies on the intricate relationship between tourism and terrorism as phenomena of international interest and importance.

Most of the studies on the topic deal with the economic impact of terrorism, crisis management and restoration of the destination image after it has been hit by terrorism. Yet other studies focus which tourism anthropology shares with anthropology of terrorism is that on the terrorist/terrorists, the cause of their act and the purpose they strive to achieve with it. If there is a focus on the individuals, it is the tourists and their

customer behavior within the changing concept of the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 1990). Little or no attention is given to the tourism professionals (with a slight exception of the tour operators) and their response to terrorism which directly impacts themselves, their lives and their careers.

Tourism professionals in the destination hit by terrorism seem to have been omitted from the discussion (apart from the studies on tour operators with regard to their response to terrorism) in spite the fact that they hold a prominent role in the tourism process as they are the first ones to respond to a terrorist attack by their effort in saving the tourists. After the terrorists strike at a tourist site and number of foreign visitors decreases, the tourism professionals are directly economically affected. At the same time, they hold a prominent role at creating a positive image of the destination all the while they themselves might have been present at the execution of the terror attacks or they might have colleagues who were. At the same time, the tourism professionals continue to carry on their activities, albeit in reduced from, after the attack. The incoming visitors will certainly turn to them for comments on the terrorist attack as well as for an affirmation of safety while coming to the destination with their own discourse, created and shaped by the media images.

7 TERRORIST ATTACKS ON TOURISM

Terrorism directed at tourism, tourism workers, tourism infrastructure and the tourists themselves has been present in Egypt for about 35 years. The very first confirmed attack at foreign tourists happened in the Sinai peninsula where 11 Israelis were killed by Egyptian soldier Suleiman Khater during their vacationing in a resort area called Ras Burqa. Since then, there have been attacks both orchestrated by individuals and groups. The rise of Islamism after 1979 gave way to violence which, among other, made its way into the tourism sector. The rise of Islamic militant groups which attempted to topple the authoritarian governments of Egyptian presidents Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak, had a profound influence on the incoming tourism in Egypt. According to Sonmez (1998), there were up to 120 attacks carried out against tourists in only three years (1992-1995), most

of them conducted by al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group, IG). While Egypt suffered a blow to its tourism with decrease in arrivals by 22%, there was a greater blow to be dealt in the year 1997 when 67 tourists perish during so-called Luxor Massacre, leading to 90% decrease of tourism arrival in the following year (Wahab, 1996). The attacks did not cease even when IG renounced violence in 2003. The tourists were attacked in Cairo, Hurghada, Sharm el-Shaikh and other tourist destinations in the first decade of the new millennium as well. The attacks on tourism thus had altogether negative, sometimes even paralyzing effect on Egyptian economy where tourism constitutes of over 10 percent of GDP and provides jobs for over 11 percent of overall workforce. Each of the attacks in which tourists perished got attention and sparked debates in Egyptian society and continue to do so even years after the attacks.

While studying the history of terrorist attacks aimed at tourists in Egypt, two main perpetrator groups stand out: al Gama'at al Islamiyya and the Islamic State, both of them killing a large number of foreign visitors and inflicting significant damage to the Egyptian tourism sector. Other groups, like Palestinian Jihad have also attempted to target tourists in Egypt. The following analysis includes all the terrorist groups whose actions have been directed at tourists on Egyptian soil, with their ideology and, if known, their reasoning behind violence against foreign visitors.

7.1   Attacks on Tourists in the New Millennium

While the attacks on tourists in Egypt started eight years before the turn of the millennium, I will first focus my attention on these groups before discussing al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya that was responsible for the largest number of attacks as well as the largest number of foreign victims. The first one of these groups is al-Tawhid wal-Jihad. It emerged in 2004 and remained the key militant group of the Sinai Peninsula until the Arabic spring and the Egyptian revolution in 2011. Altogether, they carried out 7 attacks, the last one being in 2015. Their main target were the resort towns of South Sinai – Taba, Nuweiba, Dahab and Sharm al-Shaikh and the foreign tourists but they also attempted to strike police and military outposts. The following table summarizes their attacks at tourist and tourism sites.

Table 2 List of the attacks on tourists perpetrated by al-Tawhid wal-Jihad

Date	Place	Type of Attack	Killed/Injured	Nationality
07/10/2004	Taba	Hotel bombing	31/159	Israeli, Italian, Russian, Egyptian
07/10/2004	Ras al-Shitan	Tourist camp bombing	3/12	Israeli, Egyptian
07/10/2004	Ras al-Shitan	Tourist camp bombing	0/0	
23/07/2005	Sharm al-Shaikh	Tourist sites bombing	91/110	Egyptian, British, Italian, Turkish, German and other
24/04/2006	Dahab	Tourist sites bombing	23/87	Egyptian, German, Lebanese, Russian, Swiss, Hugarian

The very first operation undertaken by al-Tawhid wal-Jihad were the 2004 Sinai bombings, three attacks on October 7 which targeted a Hilton hotel and two beach campsites, Moon Island and Baddiyah camp. Altogether, there were 34 killed and 171 injured. Another attack by al-Tawhid wal-Jihad came a year later when the perpetrators targeted various sites in the main Sinai resort Sharm al-Shaikh. In both cases, Abdullah Azzam Brigades also claimed responsibility. The Egyptian government, however, confirmed that both the South Sinai bombings and attacks in Sharm al-Shaikh were carried out by the Bedouin militants from al-Tawhid wal-Jihad. The last large attack at tourists happened again a year later in Dahab, with a series of bombs installed at busy public places. According to some authors, a revenge for the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq was among the principal motivation for these attacks (Gold, 2015, p. 19), yet some reports pointed out that a failure to enter Israel and carry out the attack in Eilat, with South Sinai being then the alternative was a reason of at least in one instance (ynet, 2005).

Wilayat Sinai originated in 2011 as Ansar Bait al-Maqdis, one of the insurgence groups operating in the Sinai Peninsula. Striking at Israeli interests was among the original raisons d' être of Ansar Bait al-Maqdis, so it is of little surprise that its first terrorist acts were rocket launching into Israel and a series of attacks at the gas pipeline between Egypt and Israel. Between July 2013 and February 2014, Ansar Bait al-Maqdis carried out over 300 attacks at Egypt security forces (Gormus & Jaya, 2015, p. 57). The change of name from Ansar Bait al-Maqdis to Wilayat Sinai came in November 2014 when the

organization broke its original alliance with al-Qaeda and pledged allegiance to the Islamic State and its then-chief, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Their first attack was foiled when a vehicle full of explosives was discovered in the northern Sinai town of Arish. Wilayat Sinai adheres to the Salafi jihadist ideology which calls for returning to the true Sunni Islam of the first Prophet Muhammad's follower with stress on jihadism. Its targets include government buildings, government officials and state institutions, both in the Sinai and in Cairo, as well as the security forces. Similar to its predecessor, Wilayat Sinai also focuses on the Israel and seeks to target the country's interests. This is mostly due to the fact that the current Egyptian president Abdel Fatah Sisi is viewed as the new "Pharaoh of Egypt" whose army has been called "the guardians of the Jews" (EIU, 2015, p. 26).

The Global Terrorism Database lists 447 terror attacks by Wilayat Sinai in the period between 2014 and 2017 (1 attack being carried out against foreign tourists) in addition to other 78 attacks which the group carried out under its original name as Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis (1 of them targeted tourists in Taba).

Table 3 List of the attacks on tourists perpetrated by Wilayat Sinai

Date	Place	Type of Attack	Killed/Injured	Nationality
16/02/2014	Taba	Tourist bus bombing	5/14	South Korean
10/06/2015	Luxor	Explosion at Karnak temple	0/0	
31/10/2015	Sinai	Airplane explosion	224/0	Russian

Source: Global Terrorism Database, 2018.

The attack on Metrojet flight in 2015 was the one of only three attacks during which the group targeted foreign nationals. At the same time, it accounted for the second deadliest attack in Egyptian history ever. The reasons for attacking the tourism sector are in case of Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis and its successor, Wilayat Sinai, a bit more complex and go back several decades. Gormus and Joya (2015) believe that the very emergence of Sinai's insurgent groups has to be understood in the set of socio-economic and political developments in the region as well as in direct connection to the Israeli Palestinian conflict (p. 56). Sinai is divided into southern and northern parts, each being one of the Egypt's governorates. While South Sinai is developed and largely used for tourism

exploitation, North Sinai is much poorer. In both cases, however, the economic activities are carried out either by Egyptian military or individual businessmen and business groups from outside the peninsula, so the local population is often marginalized and left without work opportunities. This leads the locals – members of different Bedouin tribes – to engage in illegal business activities, such as illegal trade with Gaza, cultivation and sale of cannabis and smuggling while holding grievances towards the central government residing in far-away Cairo (Gormus & Joya, 2015, p. 56). Terrorist acts executed by Wilayat Sinai are targeting, first and foremost, the Egyptian government, yet those aimed at foreign tourists can also be understood as a revenge on those whose money never end up at the possession of the Sinai communities but rather in the pockets of Egyptian government. Despite this reasoning, the decision of Wilayat Sinai to target tourists in Egypt means a shift of focus from their original plan to strike the Egyptian security services, in order to bring to economic warfare between the group and Egyptian state to a new level. This tactics could, however, prove ineffective in the long run as it might lead to group's isolation from the local population and their support (Gold, 2014).

At this point, it is also worth mentioning another similar group, operating in Egypt – Islamic State in Egypt which came to being in 2015. While agreeing in purpose and ideology, the two entities have a different geographical range of operations, thus dividing Egypt into its mainland territory (Islamic State in Egypt) and the Sinai Peninsula (Wilayat Sinai). Islamic State in Egypt has carried out attacks mainly against the Egyptian Coptic minority while also claiming responsibility for stabbings of tourists in Hurghada in 2016 and 2017.[1] The group has not renounced violence.

Table 4 List of the attacks on tourists perpetrated by the Islamic State of Egypt

Date	Place	Type of Attack	Killed/Injured	Nationality
07/01/2016	Giza	Firing at tourist bus	0/0	Arab Israeli
08/01/2016	Hurghada	Stabbing in a hotel	0/3	Austrian Swedish
14/07/2017	Hurghada	Stabbings in two hotels	3/3	German, Armenian Czech, Ukrainian

Source: Global Terrorism Database, 2018.

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[1] National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START).

The last group in this category is the so-called Hasm Movement, operating in mainland Egypt. Its first attack is the failed attempt at assassination of the former Grand Mufti of Egypt, Ali Gomaa, which the movement carried out, unsuccessfully, in August of 2016. The list of the assassination attempts by the Hasm movement does not end with the Grand Mufti; Zakaria Abdel Aziz, an assistant to one of Egyptian prosecutors as well as judge Ahmed Aboul Fotouh, one of the judges which sentenced ex-president Muhammad Mursi to prison were targeted as well. Explosions in and outside Cairo have also been claimed by Hasm Movement.

Table 5 List of the attacks on tourists perpetrated by the Hasm Movement

Date	Place	Type of Attack	Killed/Injured	Nationality
28/12/2018	Giza	Detonation near tourist bus	4/12	Egyptian Vietnamese

Source: Global Terrorism Database, 2018.

So far the only attack against Egyptian tourism industry happened at the end of year 2018 when the movement planted a bomb near the passage of tourist buses. The bomb detonated, killing Vietnamese tourists and Egyptian civilians.

7.2   Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya

As already mentioned, the attacks on tourists started before the year 2000, with only one group responsible: al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya. The group conducted terrorist attacks on Egyptian soil since the 1980s. It originally came to an existence in the 1970s as an array of groups working with university students and promoting militant resistance against the regime of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. Originally, al-Gama'at was only one of many university movements who opposed the government, yet they rose to prominence after the Yom Kipur war of 1973 and dominated the university scene by 1977 (Kepel, 1985, p. 129). According to Rubin (2010), the young students were drawn to al-Gama'at for "adventure, dreams of heroism, impulsiveness, boredom, idealism, rebellion and a search for purity" (p. 53). The group and its vision appealed especially to the impoverished students who came to Cairo and other cities from the countryside and failed to integrate

and find a job. The movement became their home away from home and the members of the movement family away from the family left behind in the village.

While individual fractions within al-Gama'at might have had conflicting views of various concepts, they all stemmed from the teachings of Muhammad Abd al-Salam Faraj, the leader of the Islamic Jihad group. Faraj summarized his teachings in his main piece, Al-Faridah al-Gha'ibah, or "The Neglected Duty". In this writing, Faraj, like his predecessor Sayyid Qutb, stresses the importance of jihad as an individual duty of a believer (fard al-ayn). Along the lines of the general Islamic principle of 'enjoying the good and prohibiting the evil', the Muslims are to overthrow their corrupt governments and establish the rule of Shariah law. After all, such governments are not truly Muslim ones. Faraj felt that this duty, however, is largely neglected by the Muslims even though it is approved and encouraged by God himself:

> "This means that a Muslim has first of all the duty to execute the command to fight with his own hands. [Once he has done so] God will then intervene [and change] the laws of nature. In this way victory will be achieved through the hands of the believers by means of God's [intervention]" (Faraj, 1981/1981, p.28).

Faraj called for the fight against the ruler of Egypt (Anwar Sadat at this time) whom he called the "near enemy". Interestingly, he did not push for fight against non-Muslim countries and their rulers, whom he believed, again in accordance with Sayyid Qutb, were in the state of jahiliyyah[2]:

> "To begin the struggle against imperialism is a work which is neither glorious nor useful, and it is only a waste of time. It is our duty to concentrate on our Islamic cause, and that is the establishment first of all of God's law in our own country and causing the world of God to prevail. There is no doubt that the first battlefield of the jihad is the extirpation of these infidel leaderships and their replacement by a perfect Islamic order, and from this will come the release of our energies" (Faraj, 1981/1986, p.159).

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[2] An arabic term for the period before the advent of Islam, the period of ignorance.

The first crackdown on the al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya came already in 1981 with arrests of its leaders and destruction of the infrastructure after the group got involved in 2 sectarian fights. The first happened in April of that year in the vicinity of pre-dominantly Christian city of Minya in Upper Egypt where an open violence broke over the possession of livestock. The second fight happened in Cairo in June and in this brutal fight between poor Muslims and Copts, 17 persons were killed and 112 injured (Kepel, 1985).

The crackdown did not reach as far as to the destruction of the group. It was in the late 1980s that al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya unleashed the violence Faraj and other leaders spoke and taught about. The attacks included assassinations and attempted murders of political figures, police officers and civilians, especially in the period between 1992 and 1997. Among these were the assassination of the human rights activist and writer Farag Foda in 1992 an attempt murder of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in Ethiopia in 1995 and the Luxor Massacre in 1997. Each of the assassination attempt was regarded as terrorist act by the Egyptian government and led to incarceration of the members of the group and towards the end of the millennium the movement was significantly weakened. A deal called Nonviolence Initiative was finally brokered between the group and the government of Egypt, according to which al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya renounced violence and this led to the release of over 2000 prisoners. Futher 900 prisoners were released after 2003 when the group accepted an ideological shift and renounced all violent tactics, with 1200 more prisoners released in 2006. al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya joined the Egyptian government as the Building and Development Party in 2011.

Global Terrorism Database indexes the total of 260 attacks by al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya, conducted between year 1981 and 1998. Out of all the 260 attacks, 19 were aimed at foreign tourists, the first being carried out in Assiut in October of 1992 with 1 fatality while the last one carried out was the Luxor Massacre which in November of 1997 claimed lives of 58 foreign visitors. The total number of casualties among tourists, killed by al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya, reached 82 before the group renounced violence in 2003.[3]

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[3] National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), Web site, https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd (accessed May 1, 2019).

Table 1 List of the attacks on tourists perpetrated by al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya

Date	Place	Type of Attack	Killed/Injured	Nationality
01/10/1992	Assiut	Firing at Nile cruiser	1/0	German
21/10/1992	Dayrut	Tourist bus ambush	1/2	British
12/11/1992	Qena	Tourist bus ambush	0/5	German
04/02/1993	Cairo	Tourist bus bombing	0/0	South Korean
27/12/1993	Cairo	Tourist bus bomb attack	0/8	Austrian
14/02/1994	Assiut	Tourist bus ambush	0/0	Romanian
17/02/1994	Assiut	Firing at Nile cruiser	0/0	
19/02/1994	Assiut	Train attack	0/4	Polish, Thai
23/02/1994	Assiut	Train bombing	0/6	New Zealandese German Australian
04/03/1994	Abu Tig	Firing at Nile cruiser	1/0	German
07/03/1994	South	Train attack	0/0	
13/03/1994	South	Firing at Nile cruiser	0/0	
26/08/1994	Nag Hammadi	Tourist bus attack	1/1	Spanish
27/09/1994	Hurghada	Resort fire attack	2/0	German
23/10/1994	Neqada	Firing at tourist minibus	1/3	British
12/01/1995	Unspecified	Firing at passenger train	0/2	Argentinian
08/11/1995	Aswan	Firing at passenger train	0/2	Dutch, French French
18/04/1996	Giza	Shooting outside hotel	17/12	Greek
17/11/1997	Luxor	Shooting, knife attack at a temple	62/26	Japanese, Swiss British, Egyptian

Source: Mannes, 2004 and Global Terrorism Database, 2018.

Luxor Massacre was the final campaign of al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya against the tourists and one of the last attacks before the movement eventually renounced violence. The reasons for the shift away from violence are two-fold: one of them, unarguably, is the government repercussions against the members of the movement, massive incarceration and destruction of al-Gama'at's infrastructure. The other reason is, as Wheatley and McCauley (2008) put it, the loss of the audience. The supporters and sympathizers of al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya were mostly from the rural Egypt, impoverished Egyptians living in the Delta region as well as along the Nile river in Upper Egypt. They supported the militant groups because they viewed them as strong allies in the fight against the corruption, lack of employment opportunities and inequality. The Luxor Massacre brought upon not only the cease of support for the militant group but also an active assistance to the government in search for the perpetrators and handing them over to the authorities. Furthermore, this

moral revulsion targeted militant groups as a whole, not only al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya (Wheatly and McCauley, 2008, p. 263).

7.3   Studying the Discourse of Egyptian Terrorism

Before performing the field research, I attempted to take a close look at the discourse about terrorism in Egypt. Two data sources were used for this purpose. One of them was the al-Ahram newspaper and its articles in the aftermath of the the Luxor Massacre in December of 1997 while the other source were the words of the leader of al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya himself. The following analysis reveals findings on terrorism in tourism using this discourse method.

7.3.1   Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya in the Media

To understand Egyptian terrorism through the study of discourse, I performed a media analysis of the Luxor Massacre in 1997. With characteristics of Al Ahram as a state-owned media outlet in mind, I analyzed 30 consecutive Al Ahram issues right after the Luxor Massacre, using its printed issues in a scanned form. I performed both quantitative and frame analysis where individual articles were taken as basic units. I included all the factual articles, but left out the opinion pieces. The research revealed that the attack occupied both the front page and other sections of Al Ahram quite heavily in the first days after it happened, with a total of 226 articles, with a dwingling tendency as time went on. Amont the sections where the articles appeared was both the Regional News section and the Investigation section, created for this purpose. For the framing analysis, I chose the model of Semetko-Valkenburg that recognizes five principal categories, namely Responsibility, Conflict, Morality, Economic and Human interest frames. Most of the articles in both cases fell into the Responsibility and Human interest frame. The attribution of responsibility is the most common frame and the articles with this frame deal with the political aspects of the attacks and their aftermath, they include topics such as government meetings and their resolutions concerning economic aid to the tourism sector, meetings with foreign officials, especially of the countries of victims, summaries of

speeches of high government officials, updates on investigation as to the perpetrators and their mode of operation and the repercussion following the terrorist attacks.

In case of the first week after the attacks, the Human interest frame could be traced in more articles than any other frame in any of the four weeks. This frame, however, is traceable in almost ten times less articles written in the second week and four weeks and five times less articles published in the third week after the attack. Nevertheless, it's heavy presence in articles of the first week led me to their closer investigation. As I found out, most of these articles dealt with the details on the attacks from the point of view of the direct witnesses, both Egyptian and foreign. Personal stories from the lives of the victims are shared and the families of the perpetrators are interviewed.

The Egyptian state never failed to respond to any terrorist attacks, let alone the two greatest ones. Repercussions have included both violent suppression in form of mass arrests, torture, execution of key figures of the terrorist movements and persecution of suspected movements' members as well as repression which limited movements' activities, financing and political participation as allowed by the then-valid Emergency Law (Fielding and Shortland, 2010, p. 434). Needless to say, the wide public was aware of all the governmental actions again terrorists, via al-Ahram. As time went by, the articles falling into Responsibility frame were more prevalent. With time, they overrode the other frames and remained as the prevalent news on the Luxor Massacre.

While this findings on the way al-Ahram framed its worst terrorist attacks are interesting, they reveal little about how tourism and tourism workers responded to the crisis. This is not to say that the Egyptian government failed to respond as the number of tourists suddenly plummeted. Quite the contrary; besides the counter insurgency activities, the government has also attempted to ease the consequences of terror attacks on tourism sector through launching of different programs to boost tourism and bring back the international tourists. The government initiatives and campaigns came especially after the large foreign tour operators withdrew their tourist arrivals from Egypt. Among these initiatives was *The message of love from Egypt*, a gathering in Luxor were public speeches were given in order to persuade the international public about the safety of Egypt as a

tourist destination (Al-Ahram, 1997). Other initiatives have been undertaken to promote the domestic tourism to make up for losses in the sector.

The little attention was actually paid to Luxor as a travel destination and the tourism workers that were the most affected by the attack. Only one article was devoted to the owners of the souvenir shops at the entrance of the Hatshepsut temple while one other article was written about the tourist guides in Luxor in general. In summary, the media analysis did reveal quite a lot about the discourse of terrorism in the Egyptian environment as well as about the absence of certain topics that are linked to terrorism, such as the tourism environment and its response to a terrorist attack.

7.3.2 Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya in its Own Words

It has been stated that Islam is in no opposition to travel, having Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) as one of its pillars. There is, likewise, no notion of prohibition to other travel of Muslims or non-Muslims and certainly no opposition to non-Muslims visiting a Muslim country (Aziz, 1995, p. 92). Much deeper analysis is, therefore, needed in order to delve into the reasons for terrorist acts being carried out against tourists and tourism infrastructure. The following analysis includes all the terrorist groups whose actions have been directed at tourists on Egyptian soil, with their ideology and, if known, their reasoning behind violence against foreign visitors. It is worthwhile to examine the reasoning behind the decision to launch attacks on foreign visitors of Egypt while al-Gama'at claimed, in the words of Faraj, to fight only the corrupt Muslim regimes and not the non-Muslims.

An interview was conducted in 1993 with Tal'at Fu'ad Qasim, the na'ib al-amir (deputy chief) of al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya in Copenhagen after he was granted asylum by Denmark. In this interview, Qasim reminisced on the beginnings of the organization, his involvement in Afghani mujahidin, but he also spoke to the matter of attacks on the tourists. His explanation of why foreign visitors became one of the targets of the organization, is the following:

"First, many tourist activities are forbidden, so this source of income for the state is forbidden. Striking at such an important source of income will be a major blow against the state. It does not cost us much to strike this sector. Second, tourism in its present form is an abomination: it is a means by which prostitution and AIDS are spread by Jewish women tourists, and it is a source of all manner of depravities, not to mention being a means of collecting information on the Islamic movement. For these reasons we believe tourism is an abomination that must be destroyed. And it is one of our strategies for destroying the government" (Qasim et al., 1996, p.43).

Qasim here mentions two reasons for attacking foreign visitors of Egypt: One of the is a pragmatic one, and that being a blow dealt to the state with which the organization is a war. Tourism here is means to do so. The other reason, however, goes beyond the pragmatic when it targets tourism for what it is: an abomination, an un-Islamic activity which triggers other un-Islamic, sinful acts, such as prostitution, spread of AIDS and drugs (which Qasim also mentions later on in the interview). He does acknowledge the innocence of certain tourists, yet he does not believe in the innocence of those visitors who come to Egypt despite al-Gama'at's warning and continue to book their tours to Egypt despite the danger. Qasim suspects that for such visitors there "must be other reasons why they continue to come" (Qasim et al., 1996, p.44). Without further specification he is probably inferring to the above-mentioned accusation that the tourists, among other activities, collect information about al-Jama'at for the Egyptian government.

Qasim also comments on the success of the operations undertaken against the incoming tourism (as he also mentions, it is tourism as a whole, rather than individual tourists, that is that movement's target). He says: "Until now the real fight has not started. You will find in the newspaper accounts that say 99 percent of the Gama'a is in prison. The police and the press do not know our true strength" (Qasim et al., 1996, p. 45). Qasim conducted this interview in 1993, four years before the deadliest attack against Egyptian tourism industry. It is remarkable that after Luxor Massacre in 1997, which was the last in the long sequence of attacks by al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya, the group renounced their violence and even publicly revised their beliefs on its usage.

The media analysis as well as an analysis of the words of Tal'at Fu'ad Qasim on tourism leads me to the following conclusion: while the discourse approach has its stable place among the approaches to the study of terrorism, it is quite limited when it comes to the study of terrorism in tourism. The greatest pitfall of this method is in it data: the discourse approach can only derive conclusions about terrorism from the available material. Wherever this material is missing, the discourse approach is not applicable. This is the case of terrorism and its influence on tourism infrastructure, touristic destinations and the workers of tourism altogether. As the media does not prioritize the tourism itself when reporting on terrorist acts aimed at tourism infrastructure, this approach cannot reveal much about the individual phases a destination goes through after it has been struck by terrorism. Same applies to the terrorist groups; when they don't offer comments on their actions towards a group of people, such as the tourists, it is hard to move forward with the research itself. I would thus conclude that the most suitable way of researching terrorism in tourism is under the umbrella of anthropology and its methods. This is precisely the content of the next and final section of this study: a thick description of the data I collected during my research stays in Luxor.

IV. LUXOR BETWEEN TOURISM AND TERRORISM

8 WHOSE LUXOR? ON HOST-GUEST-TERRORIST RELATIONSHIP

When I first set my foot in Luxor in 2004, I was to some extent aware of its history and I marveled at how well preserved the historic sites were. Little did I realize, at this point, that the home to the most well-known and best-preserved monuments from the New Kingdom era (1550-1069 B.C.) is far more than a cradle of one of the most powerful of human civilizations. After I conducted this research, I claim that Luxor is a cradle of tourism, as well. And just as it is fascinating to look at its ancient history, I find that it is just as fascinating to trace the history of tourism in Luxor and Egypt in general. In this chapter, I will examine the Luxor's tourism history in order to find the answer to the first of the research questions: to whom does Luxor really belong? Whose Luxor is it, who controls its narrative and who shapes his legacy? Is it the travelers who have been constantly coming to Luxor, first as amateur explorers, drawing the monuments they saw and later as tourists snapping the photos of everything around them? Or is it the local population that quickly learned how to use the interest of the foreigners in their city for their economic benefit? Or is it the third group, the terrorists who attempted to destroy the host-guest relationship altogether?

8.1 Luxor, the City of the Guests

I shall begin my quest for Luxor's legacy with the guests and visitors. Traveling to Egypt and Luxor in particular has very long history. When I was working as a guide on the cruise ships, I would always point out to the inscriptions in the Karnak temple. I don't mean the ancient hieroglyphs now; I would point to the letter in the Latin alphabet, denoting the names of the visitors from England, France and other countries, altogether with a date in the 18th or the 19th century. Egypt was known to travelers and adventurers since the late antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages, with many of them following the writings of

their predecessors, such as Claude Sicard who visited Luxor in 1718, after reading the accounts of the first-century Greek historian Diodorus Siculus. Sicard, following the steps of Siculus also took his trip as an opportunity to share his faith; he would preach to the Copts in an attempt to convert them to Roman Catholic Christianity (Schmid, 2015, p. 117). Tracing the steps of earlier travelers was one way to travel in Egypt at these times; another way was to follow the instructions provided by writers like Frederick Lewis Norden who compiled his knowledge and experiences in a concise description of Egypt, published in 1738 (Schmid, 2015, p. 117).

A great wave of interest in Egypt and Luxor, in particular, was triggered by Napoleon's invasion of the country in 1798. Napoleon and his army were followed by an army of geographers, historians, scientists and artists who compiled the famous Description de l'Égypte, a catalogue of places, animals, customs and maps of the country. As a result, the science of Egyptology was born, with professional explorers flooding Egypt's historical sites. The professional explorers were not the only ones that came to unveil the mystery of the ancient monuments, however. An unprecedented wave of amateur explorers flooded Luxor as well. Traveling to Egypt, for many, meant to participate in the creation of tourism itself: many travelers drew maps and painted the monuments they visited, others wrote travelogues and tour guides to share with other eager travelers. Collecting antiquities was not uncommon, either, once again triggering the interest of other travelers to collect and bring home unique ancient artefacts that could be afterwards sold for high prices.

We can speak about the actual and real, albeit still quite clandestine tourism starting at the dawn of the 19th century. This is when Egypt witnesses the first influx of groups of travelers, rather than the individual ones, especially from the Great Britain. Egypt, liberated from the Napoleonic grip by the help of the British, was open to the idea of foreign travel as it meant a new source of income for the treasury under the rule of Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805-1848). Under his auspices, the travelers could undertake a journey across Egypt up the Nile, or to the Sinai Peninsula. These were the two main routes of the early (especially British) tourists: while for some, Egypt was the final destination, for others Egypt was a mere passage on their way to Palestine, Syria or even India (Anderson, 2012, p. 276). In Egypt, most travelers in pre-mass tourism era visited

Cairo and Alexandria at the very start of their Egyptian adventure. Then, they would hire a dhahabiya, a wooden houseboat of two-three cabins that would take them on a journey upstream the Nile river. A trip from Cairo to Aswan and back could last up to two months. The visitors would stop along the way, with Luxor being a longer stop, taking up to three days to enjoy the visit of the ruins of Luxor and Karnak temple on the east back on the river while taking a donkey ride to the west back and visiting the royal tombs and funerary temples. Alternatively, they would divide their visit of Luxor in two parts and dock here both on the way to Aswan and then once they sail downstream towards Cairo.

The period between 1815 and 1850 is the period during which this clandestine Egyptian tourism transformed into a prosperous industry. While first travelers would, early on, use British Consulate to lodge in Cairo (Anderson 2012, p. 262) and the ruins of Karnak temple to spend their nights in Luxor (Wilkinson, 1843, p. 134) some four decades later they would be easily accommodated in one of the hotels, with dragomans[4] to help them around and a private dhahabiya to sale on the Nile. Around 1840s, there were hotels in Cairo, Alexandria as well as Suez and the development of steamship travel further attracted British travelers to Egypt and through Egypt on to India. Travel accounts of the journeys undertaken were abundant while a new genre of writing began to develop as well: the guide books for travelers with information on the monuments and advice on how to proceed when exploring the country. The very first guide book came in 1843 and was called Modern Egypt and Thebes: Being a Description of Egypt, written by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. Together with W. H. Barlett's engravings in The Nile Boat or Glimpses of the Land of Egypt and a handful of detailed travelogues, this material served the early tourists both before and during the journey across Egypt. During this time, Egypt would also witness the shift from the adventurous independent and active travelers to more dependent and more demanding, rather passive tourists (Boorstin, 1962, s. 84). According to Withey, the difference between the two groups would be clear, albeit not always well demarcated, other than the purpose of the journey, which in case of the tourists, however, would solely be the pleasure (Withey, 1993).

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[4] The English term *dragoman* comes from the Arabic at-tarjuman (الترجمان) and denotes a local interpretor who would accompany the travelers during their journey in Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries. He was responsible for their accommodation, transportation, money exchange as well as the travelers' safety.

8.1.1 Luxor of Thomas Cook

Given the interest in Luxor's monument, the amount of available literature on how to travel to Egypt and the possibility to travel easily on the Nile, it is no wonder that Egypt soon became a product of tourism; the first-ever travel agency, Thomas Cook conducted the first tour to Egypt in 1869. For the world's oldest tour operator, this was the first expedition outside Europe where Thomas Cook had been organizing tour in the preceding 18 years. This particular trip included a visit to Egypt as well as Palestine and Syria and was 70 days long. According to the records, each of the participants paid 105 British pounds, with all services included. Despite Cook's substantial experience with tourism, this journey was far from flawless as the organizers experienced quite a few difficulties along the way. In his travel magazine Excursionist, Thomas Cook wrote about the struggle with various currencies in use in Egypt, difficulties in finding good dragomans and the necessity to obtain government authorization before embarking on the Nile cruise. In Syria, some members of the group were robbed as well (Hunter, 2004, p. 31-32). Despite the fact that the first tour of the Middle East did not turn out to be flawless, the participants returned back to England safe and sound while the Cooks were determined to continue offering Egypt as one of their flag destinations. The key to success, as they understood it, was to cooperate with the local government. The Ottoman khedive Pasha Ismail (1863-1879) was in power at that time and only a year after the first Cook-led expedition the British tour operator was granted the license for operating the boat transport between Cairo and Aswan. Steamships were introduced around this time, gradually replacing the slow, albeit romantic dhahabiyas. It is estimated that over two thousand trips aboard steamships and dhahabiyas were executed annually, most of them under the flag of Thomas Cook.

It was actually until very recently that the blue-yellow logo of Thomas Cook would be seen practically everywhere in the city: on the airplanes landing at the Luxor airport, busses racing through the West Bank, as well as lollipops and T-shirts of the local tour guides in the temples. As one of the informants disclosed, "working for Thomas Cook was a privilege, it was a serious job with good wage and very nice tips from the guests. They will

be missed."[5] He was referring to the fact that Thomas Cook went out of business in 2019, after full 150 years of its operation in Luxor. The company was, for Luxor, much more than a tour operator, however; much of the credit for the transformation of Luxor from a muddy village around the temple into a modern town towards the end of the 19th century, including the flourishment of archeological excavations is due to Thomas Cook's son, John Mason Cook who took over his father's business in 1892 (Humphreys, 2015, p. 174-175).

Under the name of Thomas Cook & Son, the company introduced the steamer double-deckers in 1870s which allowed for more passengers to travel upstream the Nile river while shortening the time of the whole excursion from Cairo to Aswan and back to twenty days. Only in the first decade of Cook's tours there were up to two thousand steam ships coming to Luxor annually. Not all the tourists arrived in Luxor via the Nile river, however. Thomas Cook & Son took part in the construction of the railways and introduction of the steam locomotives as well. After the Luxor train station was built, passengers could now make a stop here on their way from Cairo to Aswan. The regular train service was in operation from 1898 (Humphreys 2015, p. 175). Thomas Cook & Son likewise participated the development in accommodation services. The pylons of the Karnak temple ceased to serve as clandestine rooms when first hotels were open. Luxor Hotel began to lodge the first tourists in 1877, with a capacity of 120 guests. Karnak Hotel, Grand Hotel, Hotel Savoy and Winter Palace were to follow. While Luxor Hotel belonged to Thomas Cook & Son company entirely, the British tour operator likewise owned twenty percent in the Upper Egypt Hotels Ltd., the owner of the luxurious Winter Palace, built just steps away from the Luxor temple. (Humphreys, 2015, p. 176).

8.1.2 Luxor of the British

Throughout the years, Thomas Cook became a world enterprise, catering to travelers of various countries, far beyond the Great Britain where it originated. Likewise, the visitors of Luxor have hailed from a whole range of world countries, speaking an abundance of different languages. Yet, if one nationality seems prevalent in this city, it is still the British

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[5] Interview with G., 14.11.2019.

one. This is not in terms of the number of visitors, as groups of Chinese, Japanese, Italian or Russian tourists flood the ancient monuments on regular basis; it is rather the question of what the local population considers to be the prevalent culture of the visitors: "The 'Britch' are still the best clientelle. They have the 'guinea' (Egyptian for the pound), but their 'guinea' is not like our 'guinea', theirs is much stronger," F. makes a gesture with his clutched fist as he describes the difference between the Egyptian and British currency. "We like the Britch. They bring their money and we survive. They are the first tourists of Luxor and we will always welcome them in our hearts." F. then goes on to describe one specific way of British tourism to Luxor, prevalent in the last decades: "The Britch love Luxor so much that they settle here. Especially the women, they love the Egyptian men (F. chuckles), so they get married here and they build houses for these men in Luxor, sometimes hotels. Then all their friends come, and we give them food and transport and they are happy just as we are happy." F. has been working in tourism for over 15 years and he was briefly married with a foreign woman who, "didn't build anything, only wanted to enjoy life in Luxor"[6].

There is, indeed a part of Luxor where foreign settlers reside; it is located on the west Nile riverbank, near the dock for the touristic boats as well as the one served for public transport. This part of Luxor is called *Ramla,* and it is known for its clean streets and well-maintained houses, especially villas. Many of these properties are rented out to those tourists who prefer to stay in Luxor longer than a couple of days and they travel on their own. And, as F. mentioned, a large amount of these properties is owned by British nationals, especially women who were married to Egyptians, though not exclusively. A hotel owned by a German lady is just steps from the Nile and so are houses of Belgian and Dutch nationals. F. himself owns a little house, though further away from the Nile, in a newly-established neighborhood called Gezira. "I don't have a Britch sponsor, so I could only afford Gezira," says with a smile.

I do not wish to go any further into sex tourism as per se or the phenomenon of Egyptians marrying foreign nationals as these topics deserve their own specific treatment and a detailed research. I will, however, mention one encounter that denotes the variety of

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[6] Interview with F., 20. and 25.02. 2020.

tourist interests while at the same time illustrates how foreign tourists become tour operators in Luxor: my long-time friend T. who works in tourism at the West Bank took me to visit his mother during one of my research stays. While at his house, his brother ('The Brother', as T. calls him because of his primordiality within eight siblings) passed by, driving his Volvo. T. was eager to recount his story to me. 'The Brother' was, until recently, married to a British woman who originally came as a tourist to Luxor. She passed by the family alabaster workshop where he worked both as a sculptor and a guide because of his good English and attractive looks. This particular lady was not interested in the ancient Egyptian history and monuments as such; she was looking for esoteric experiences: "'The Brother' told her he was an ancient healer and she believed him," T. grins as he continues: "so she kept coming and he would perform rituals, speaking in the Pharaonic language and all that stuff, you know. Then they started a relationship and she brought her friends and then other people. So they lived like this for ten years, making business from the Britch, those who like healings in the Egyptian way. We also sold them a lot of statues and plates with inscriptions. And then she left but all the money stayed with my brother." T. also disclosed that he didn't have the same abilities as his brother, to his detriment: "I could never do this. Never. He is much better at making people feel what they want to feel. I sold my statues and that was all. But he made fortune from his rituals and now our mother has a home forever."[7]

Luxor is, by far, more than the city of British visitors. They do have a reputation here, and it is that of being good customers whose needs have to be taken care of, including the traditional tea at five in the afternoon. When I first started to work on the Nile ships, I didn't quite understand why it is served with milk, thinking it must be an Egyptian tradition. However, I did not see the Egyptians drink it this way. 'Must be a British tradition', I thought, and I was right: the British tradition became a tradition that would be observed by all the Nile ships, regardless of the nationality of the passengers they carried. 'Tea and biscuits' became a part of the program for my groups and I would invite my guests to participate in it on the upper deck, taking this opportunity to give a short talk on the early explorers and their discoveries, the birth of mass tourism and other point

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[7] Interview with T., 20.11.2019.

of the recent history of Luxor. Not in all tourism destination have guests their own story to tell.

8.2 Luxor, the City of the Hosts

The visitors today can fly directly to the Luxor airport that has been in operation since 1998. It is located on the east bank of the river, about 10 kilometers from the center of the city. It is an international airport, so besides the regular service to Cairo, it also operates charter flights to a number of European destinations. Those visitors that do not arrive by air, use one of the means of ground

Figure 1 Highway from Aswan to Luxor runs along the Nile. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

transportation. There is a regular train service which connects the city with both Aswan in the south of Egypt and the capital of Cairo with the main train station situated in the center of Luxor.

There are two main roads which connect Luxor with the rest of Egypt. The so-called "Green Road" runs on the east bank of the river, in the proximity of the Nile. It connects Luxor with the city of Qena and villages north of the city as well as the city of Edfu and a number of smaller villages south of Luxor. This is the main road for tourist arrivals as it is the only road allowed to be used by the tourist cars and buses. The other road connecting Luxor with the rest of the country is the Desert Road, running along the Nile Valley west of the Nile river. This road was constructed about 15 years ago and it traverses the desert. As it does not pass through the villages and towns, it is much easier and faster for long haul travel. This road, however, is not allowed to be taken by the tourist cars and buses, so it is rarely used by visitors unless they travel by a private car or a taxi.

A large share of the tourists arrives in Luxor aboard a cruise ship. At present, the cruise ships operate between Aswan and Qena, with Luxor being one of their main stops along the way. Tourists thus arrive in Luxor coming either from the north, having boarded the cruise ship in Qena bound southward or from the south, having embarked on the journey northward in Aswan. The cruise ships, upon arrival to Luxor, dock in one of the ports. These are found on the east bank of the Nile river. On the kornish[8], the tourists walk along an array of small souvenir shops, with vendors of drinks, snacks and cheap souvenirs zigzagging through the paved sidewalk. This is the modern part of the city, with international hotels lined up just south of the Luxor temple, right by the river. Just behind the temple, restaurants, cafés and shopping centers are found. The city gets busy at night; loud music played in these venues can be heard on the street as well. Those tourists who venture into the hustle-bustle of the city further away from the river experience the local Luxor without being hassled by taxi drivers, coffee shop owners and ice-cream vendors. Very few people in the grocery shops and clothing stores speak English and while they may follow the foreigners with their eyes, they will most likely not proceed to follow them around.

There is only one bridge that connects the two banks of the river in Luxor, situated approximately 10 kilometers south of the city. Anyone using a vehicle thus travels additional 20 kilometers from the center of one river bank to the other. An alternative way of crossing the two banks is by the river. A large ferry boat takes passengers on the other bank as part of the public transportation system, departing every five minutes. Its service is competed by that of small motorboats and feluccas that dock nearby, with their owners coming out to meet the passing tourists to offer them the passage on the east bank or, even better, a private boat ride lasting one or two hours. Between the ferry and the boats, a main road of the west bank starts. It leads all the way to the most interesting monuments of Luxor – the mortuary temples and tombs in the Valleys of Kings and Queens. Other than this road and its surrounding area, the west bank has a quiet and laid-back ambiance with a few cafés aboard the Nile and a few shops in the already mentioned Ramla neighborhood. A gentle stroll away from the river reveals why this is a sought-after area of the foreigners who want to settle: the neighborhood is bordered by banana and

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[8] i.e. the promenade along the river (in Arabic)

sugarcane fields, with an easy access both to the desert sections of Luxor and the river at the same time. There is practically no noise and no pollution. A couple of small hotels can be seen in tucked-away, dead-end streets, otherwise it's all villas with large gardens, many of them having a swimming pool. An ideal place for a longer vacation, especially for those who have already established their ties with the local population, remote and yet catering to a modern tourist. This description is as remote from the Luxor of the first travelers as it could ever be. When did Luxor become the modern city and ceased to be its original self? It is hard to tell. Yet the travel accounts of visitors from different years, decades and centuries reveal a bit about that change Luxor underwent.

8.2.1   Luxor From a Village To a Destination

Rather than a bustling center catering to foreigners, they would find a small village built atop the Luxor temple, with muddy houses scattered around. One of the first vivid description of the then-Luxor comes from a Scottish travelling physician and a travel writer Robert Richardson. Together with his entourage, he visited Luxor in 1817 and his description of the tourist destination leaves little to be desired: "On each side of the temple there is an immense heap of rubbish higher than the temple itself, consisting of mud and sand, and broken pottery ware, all huddled together in a mess. The present village of Luxor occupies the centre of the ruin, and spreads out to the north, and south, and east, a considerable way" (Richardson, 1822, p. 83-84). As for the accommodation, Richardson and his group spent their night while on their dhahabiya as Luxor had no adequate place for the travelers to lodge at this time. The only exception were the long-term foreign residents, in this case the amateur archeologists like Giovanni Batista Belzoni who spent the year of 1817 living in the West Bank where he discovered the tomb of Sethi I. and accompanied Richardson's party on their exploration of the area.

Belzoni made his abode near the ancient tombs while some other explorers used the tombs themselves to lodge. Travelers on their way from India in 1840s, not having yet contracted a dhahabiya, would likewise lodge in the tombs. John Wilkinson's first-ever written travel guide to Egypt would in fact offer a detailed piece of advice on the matter

of accommodation: "Travellers coming from India by the Kossayr road to Thebes generally see Karnak first, as it lies in their way, and as they either put up their tent there, or live (not very comfortable) in the low rooms in the northernmost of the western front towers" (Wilkinson, 1843, p. 134). Wilkinson's travel guide offered, likewise, an advice on how to proceed when visiting the ruins, very much in the tone of modern travel guides: "[…] I recommend them not to stop there [in Karnak], but defer their visit of its ruins until they have seen Koorneh on the opposite bank; otherwise they will lose much of the interest felt at the latter, by seeing it after Karnak," while proceeding to outlining an itinerary of individual visits along with recommendation of transportation to these places and ideas on what to bring along (Wilkinson, 1843, p. 134-135).

A little note about the name Luxor has to be inserted here. In most 19th century texts, several other terms are used when talking about what we know as Luxor today. Luxor (with alternative spelling of Luksor) refers to the area around the Luxor temple on the east bank with the term Karnak (also spelled Karnac, or Carnac[9]) denoting exclusively the area around the Karnak temple, i.e. the village of Karnak, today part of the city of Luxor. Another term is Koorneh or Goorna[10] which is used to denote the west bank. It corresponds today's city of al-Qurnah, on the west bank, across the Nile from Luxor. Gornou is another spelling of al-Qurnah[11], and so is El Gorman.[12] Some writers refer to it as Thebes, the ancient Greek name of both banks of the Nile and Wilkinson in his travel guide likewise mentions the Greek name Diospolis Magna (Wilkinson, 1843, p. 134).

The travel writers like Wilkinson describe not only the looks of the city and its monuments but mention the local population as well. Though it may be challenging to look at them as hosts at this time, they, in fact, were so. They might not have offered polished tourism services at this time, yet they were getting used to the presence of foreigners and soon began to use this presence for their own gain. At the time of Anne Elwood's visit of Luxor in late 1820s, some of the locals performed the basic touristic profession – selling souvenirs: "Scarcely had we come to anchor, ere we were beset by wild-looking natives, offering necklaces, scarabaei, and other curiosities for sale, with the

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[9] E.g. in Anne Elwood's *Narrative of a journey overland from England* (1830).
[10] E.g. in John Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt and Thebes* (1843).
[11] This name is found in Robert Richardson's *Travels along the Mediterranean* (1822).
[12] E.g. in Robert Grosvenor's *Journal of a voyage Up the Nile* (1829).

same eagerness with which the Waterloo people bring relics to travelers" (Elwood, 1830, p. 183). No even a decade later, we learn that overland transportation was offered to the travelers upon their arrival as well:

> "As the inhabitant of the populous village of El Gorman had descried us from a distance and had distinguished a foreign flag they became aware that a harvest was at hand & accordingly on our arrival we found donkies waiting under the shade of the Sycamore … chiefly from the quantities of curiosities they dig up and sold to travellers, they were by far the wealthiest peasants in Egypt" (Grosvenor, 1829, p. 14).

On the other hand, Martineau expresses her disappointment at the number of visitors that constantly flock Luxor: "The first thing we saw was a throng of boats; five English flags, and one Russian. Some were just departing: and others went the next day. Thebes is the last place in the world where one wishes for society: so I dare say every party of the whole throng was longing to see all the rest sail away" (Martineau, 1847, p. 284-285). Thus, two decades before the entrance of Thomas Cook and the launching of mass tourism, Luxor had already had its share of visitors of different nationalities. Not all of them, however, traveled in groups, docked their dhahabiyas under the famous sycamore tree on the west bank and spent their days exploring the pharaonic heritage.

The foreigners also settled in Luxor, thus further diversifying the social structure of the emerging destination. One of them was Lady Duff Gordon, an English writer and translator. She spent last seven year of her life in Luxor, with the purpose of easing her pain and difficulties of breathing as she suffered from tuberculosis. She was, however, far from being bedridden. On the contrary, she liked to make short trips around Luxor where she would still find the original pastoral Egypt:

> "I shall never forget the sweet, engaging creatures at that little village, or the dignified politeness of an old weaver whose loom I walked in to look at, and who also wished to 'set a piece of bread before me.' it is the true poetical pastoral life of the Bible in the villages where the English have not been, and happily they don't

land at the little places. Thebes has become an English watering-place" (Gordon, 1902, p. 36).

Her experience with the locals was good even in the interactions where she was in the role of the traveler: "A clever old dragoman I met at Philae offers to lend me furniture for a lodging or a tent for the desert, and when I hesitated he said he was very well off and it was not his business to sell things, but only to be paid for his services by rich people, and that if I did not accept it as he meant it he should be quite hurt. This is what I have met with from everything Arab – nothing but kindness and politeness." (Gordon, 1863, p. 37)

Much as she was please with Egyptians, she looked down upon the foreigners, expressing the disdain at the speed of visitors' passing through Egypt: "There are now nine boats lying here, and the great object is to do the Nile as fast as possible. It is a race up to Wady Halfeh or Assouan" (Gordon, 1902, p. 36). Sitt el-Kebir, as Gordon was known in Luxor for her affection toward the locals as well as her mastery of Arabic and interest in local culture, died in 1869, only two years after the first organized trip to Egypt by Thomas Cook travel agency thus never witnessing the great changes that the new era of travel was about to bring upon Luxor, including even greater influx of visitors and the boom of mass tourism, including the establishment of the first hotels along the Nile. In the late 19th century the travelers thus didn't have to lodge in the ruins anymore. The practice was abandoned not only because other, more comfortable accommodation was built but also as the professional excavations began to take place and the archeologists' teams would no longer allow visitors to remain for longer than the duration of the visit itself.

We can debate when exactly the romantic Luxor of ancient monuments with dusty roads and practically no signs tourism transforms into that of mass tourism, with hotels, shops and boats full of visitors. Pierre Loti was one, though by far not the only visitor who were startled at what they found in Luxor: "Poor Luxor! Along the banks is a row of tourist boats, a sort of two or three storeyed barracks, which nowadays infest the Nile from Cairo to the Cataracts. Their whistlings and the vibration of their dynamos make an intolerable noise. How shall I find a quiet place for my dahabiya, where the functionaries of Messrs. Cook will not come to disturb me?" (Loti, 1908, p. 58).

Gaston Maspero, a French Egyptologist, who became the head of the French archeological mission and arrived in Luxor at the end of the year 1880, describes the city as bustling with tourists and abundance of locals, eager to serve them, to the point of being aggressive:

> "After a night of shaking, cold and dust, you are assailed on your arrival by a crowd of importunate hotel touts and dragomans, each shouting the name of his hotel – Hotel de Louxor, Hotel de Karnak, Hotel Tewfikieh; the omnibuses are at the door, and about ten cabs. The traveler manages as best as he can, and a drive of five or six minutes through narrow streets deposits him all confused at the hotel of his choice; no sight of the monuments permits him to imagine that he is in the capital of Ramses, and not in some village of modern Egypt" (Maspero, 1910, p. 52).

An arrival by boat is no less hectic: "A murmur of donkey-boys, dragomans, European loafers and sellers of antiquities annoys the traveler as he lands; the hotel porters fight for him under the watchful eyes of two policemen; two steps off is the Louxor hotel, its hospitable door decorated with pseudo-Egyptian ornaments by a native painter" (Maspero, 1091, p. 54). Maspero goes on to describe the grandeur of the Luxor monuments, only to stop his depiction to refer again to tourism and its impact on the ancient city:

> "Year in, year out, at least two thousand tourists visit it, and they have transformed it. Americans and English form the largest number, Germans and French are not rare, and the other countries of Europe, from gay Portugal to Holy Russia, furnish their contingent. On certain days of the week Cook's boats and those of other companies deposit their troops of travelers, who invade everything, set everything to work, so to speak, purchase or bargain for all the antiquities, real or faked, that they find offered for sale, then depart as hurriedly as they came – the tourist anxious to see everything properly pell-mell with the good people for whom the expedition to Egypt is a donkey-ride spoiled by the monuments" (Maspero, 1910, p. 56).

Maspero's obvious distaste of mass tourism is understandable as the hordes of tourists often prevented him and other archeologists to carry out their work. Yet it was the success in the archeological findings which caused more tourists to flood Luxor. The greatest of them - the discovery of the sealed tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922 by Howard Carter unleashed an avalanche of tourists, joined by diplomats, journalists, dignitaries and other visitors. This discovery earned Luxor an international fame and put the small town in the international spotlight more than ever before. It ensured a steady flow of tourists to Luxor which was not halted even by the Second World War and has continued ever since.

8.2.2   Meeting the Luxorians

"I'm a proud Luxorian", L. told me as we were sipping hibiscus juice at one of the tourist cafés. "Look at all these monuments. Is there a city like this anywhere in the world?" I had to agree. But what about all those intruders, I inquired. I specifically used the word intruders to tune L. to any negative comments he might have to label the foreign tourists. "They have been here forever. We don't mind them. The 'agnabis'[13] are not a problem, the big tourism companies are. The guides from Cairo are. They come and tell them (the tourists), 'don't buy here, buy in Cairo'. And that's the problem. The Cairo people are the problem, not the tourists. They know nothing. We want to work with them alone, but they don't let us." Having had the experience in tourism, I knew there was rivalry between the local guides and the 'Cairo guides', i.e. the ones coming with their group from other Egyptian cities. As if there was a fight between the different Egyptian communities of tourism professionals for who controls the groups. The verb control was used by L. himself as he repeatedly used it in our conversation. We laughed about it afterwards as I pointed out to L. that the word control is a strong one. "Yes, Katarina, but it is all about control. If you don't control your group, someone else will do it instead of you. And gain instead of you."[14]

L. did not have to add the last sentence as I knew very well that the notion of control was linked to financial gain. What L. really meant was that as a guide, he believed he had the

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[13] i. e. foreigners (In Egyptian Arabic)
[14] Interview with L., 20.02.2020.

final word on his tourists' spending. He would therefore tell them, for example, not to buy from the street vendors at the temples but rather to wait till they go into an 'authentic shop' where 'quality products' are sold, with an obvious intention of collecting the commission that street vendors did not offer.

This control tactics did indeed work in organized tourism where little time and space is given to a traveler to make his own decisions. I have worked with groups where the official Egyptian guides did a great job at 'controlling' the group while I served as his assistant to convey his ideas to the group in their own language. Not always did I like to

Figure 2 Tourist groups in the Luxor temple, under the "control" of their guide. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

translate the exaggerated statements about where to shop and where to avoid shopping, as I personally don't like to push anyone to do things 'my way', or 'to control'. I remember that some guides even complained about me that I don't cooperate and thus they gain less when working with me. I would argue that most of the travelers did not come to shop for papyrus, perfumes or alabaster goods but rather to see the ancient monuments. This argument would be dismissed by statements like: 'but we need to feed our families', 'of course they want to shop, that's what tourists do', and 'don't you like to gain money as well'?

When did Luxorians get into this position of power, or rather the impression of it? They certainly weren't seen as powerful by the first travelers: "There are about five times the number of mussulmans who live in small huts about twelve feet square, among vermin, dust and filth, the usual comforts of the moslems in Egypt. These wretches neither enjoy themselves, nor permit others to enjoy the sweets of a tranquil and social life." (Richardson, 1822, p. 84). This portrait of Luxorians as rather despicable creatures is seconded by Wilkinson who mentions lack of hygiene among the tourism workers: "Taking Koorneh (Goorna) as the commencement, and Karnak as the end of these excursions, you may begin by visiting the tombs of the kings; for which, of course, as for the other tombs, candles are indispensable, as well as a small supply of eatables, and, above all, of water in gollehs. Each of these porous water-bottles may be slung with string (as on board a ship), to prevent the boatmen, or whoever carry them, from holding them by the neck with their dirty hands. Moreover, they should not be allowed to touch the water, and should be told to bring their own supply if they want it." (Wilkinson, 1843, s. 135).

Not all travelers loathed the locals. Harriet Martineau, a British philosopher and publisher, who writes about Luxorians of the mid 18th century quite extensively, does not look down upon them as Richardson and Wilkinson do, claiming to have an overall positive experience with them:

> "We found the English here generally quite as well pleased with the behavior of the Arabs as we were. They found their crews, and also the country people, friendly and helpful, - even affectionate, in all their intercourses. The crews were always willing and cheerful about their work, and hones tin their transactions with the strangers. The drawbacks were the incessant begging of the country people; and the noise and childish quarrelling of the crews among themselves" (Martineau, 1848, p. 286-287).

Martineau mentions begging and 'money issues' on several occasions in her book, yet marvels at those travelers who were too fearful to travel unarmed:

"Among the many who were pleased, however, there was one who was always making grievous complaints. Never man was, by his own account, in such incessant and pressing danger of robbery, piracy, and murder, as this gentleman on the Nile. Never did any man so suffer from the perils in which he hourly saw his wife and children. Every Arab he met wanted to rob him: every group on the bank, and every party in a boat was congregated to board and pillage his dahabieh and murder his family. He showed us a loaded six-barrelled pistol which he usually carried in his hand, as he declared to us, wherever he went; and which he was, he assured us, obliged very frequently to discharge. It did not seem to strike him as strange that all the other English, who went unarmed, and feared nothing, were content with the Arabs, - lost nothing, and went with no alarms. He remained fully convinced of his danger: and this is the reason why I mention his case here. It is the least that European travelers can do in acknowledgement of the security and facilities which the Pasha's government affords them on the Nile, to testify to that security and those facilities; and the testimony is not less due to the kindly Arabs, on whom so much of their comfort has depended: and if one traveler talks of his dangers and wrongs as this gentleman does, it is necessary to justice that the majority should declare their contrary experience." (Martineau, 1848, p. 287-288).

While Martineau certainly did not fear for life or her belongings, she did admit that the local population did seek to gain money, either via tips or alms:

"I do not remember that I ever met with any rude pressure or threatening but twice, while in Egypt: and then I had put myself in the power of poor creatures who could not resist the temptation of grasping at the chance of a large bakhsheesh. One time was at Philoe, as I have related. The other was this evening in a hut at the El-Uksur temple, where some women closed the door behind me, and proved themselves to be very sturdy beggars, till disturbed by one of my party coming to look for me. Two instances of bold begging, in ten weeks of constant opportunities, is not much." (Martineau, 1848, p. 288).

Much might have changed since the times Martineau visited Luxor, but two things remain the same: begging and a constant attempt to gain bakhsheesh. "You know, the tourists

should pay for something. They come to enjoy, and they leave nothing behind?" S. shook his head at my surprise that everyone still asks for bakhsheesh in 2018, after my several years of absence from work in Luxor. What surprised me, on the other hand, was that S. did not think the tourists paid to come to Luxor at the first place. He did not, obviously, count in the travel costs, the fees to the travel agencies, the airfare tickets that had to be purchased. For him, what counted was the transactions that could be seen and touched. I have to admit that I marveled at the way these transactions went, in all the places possible: at the hotel door upon delivering the luggage by bellmen, at the horse carriages, everywhere. My favorite story of the bakhsheesh transaction is the one from the Valley of Kings. I was a young and inexperienced guide therefore I would enter the tombs to learn about their interior decoration while I gave the group free time to enjoy the visit on their own. I was in a line to get to the funerary chamber when I spotted a policeman. They were always present in the tombs as well as at the temples and other places. This particular one, however, took his duty of surveillance to another level as he decided to be a guide as well. As I was approaching him, I saw more clearly how he would do it: he pointed to an engraving on an Egyptian deity, saying: Horus! and as the visitors looked to where he was pointing, he stretched his hand: Bakhsheesh!, demanding a recompense for his guiding service. The fact that he was on duty did not prevent him to "enter" the realm of tourism and apply the practices of the tourism workers.
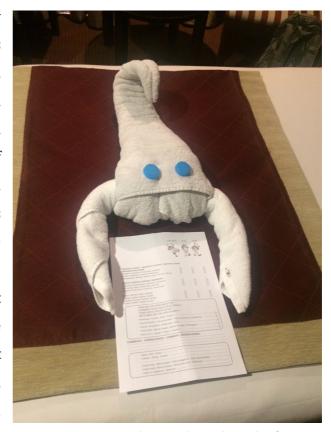
As aggressive as the Luxorians may seem as hosts to their guests, this needs to be put into a perspective. On one hand, the practices in tourism look much less aggressive when the tourism workers are looked at as individual human beings, each with their own story. "My dad died when I was small. We were begging as children, always after school. My uncle paid for me to go to the university to get a degree in tourism. I'm proud of working with tourists, not begging from them,[15]" B. told me during our interview. While I resolved not to disclose any personal details of this informant, I will say that he was at a managerial position when I first met him in 2018. Many of my other colleagues came from a very similar background, tourism being their only opportunity to survive through first begging, later working clandestinely or professionally with the foreign visitors in different tiers of the tourism industry. Yet, the wages were often meager: "They pay us just enough, so we

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[15] Interview with B., 23.02.2022.

cover the most important expenses. No more than that. The rest, we must make on bakhsheesh. The expenses are high these days. Each guinea helps," said L.[16] Controlling, as he labeled his approach to visitors, meant having the unique access to the 'extras', the tips and the commissions and thus bring home the much-needed finances that could not be gained through official channels of employment.

Another way to look at the seemingly dominant behavior of the hosts is through the notion of exchange. Bakhsheesh is one of the elements of it, a recompense for a service albeit a unusual one. Pointing to an engraving of an Egyptian god is a service, helping with luggage is a service. So is letting tourists take a photo of a person or place. I have this particular scene in front of me: seated in the front row of a tourist bus at practically any stop in Luxor or on the way to the city, I wait for my tourist group to return from their free time. They are, most of the time, accompanied by the local sellers and hasslers, sometimes both at the same time. Taking pictures is part of the game, especially if

Figure 3 Gratuities are welcome and actively sought after. Here, my bath towel was made into a crab in an attempt to amuse me and hopefully make me leave a couple of guinea to the housekeeping for their efforts. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

the tourists are hesitant to buy the offered goods. It isn't for free, though. After hugging the tourists in a group photo, often accompanied with "my friend" phrase, the host always stretches the hand and with a gesture that is internationally understood as a demand for money, does not let the guests go until he receives the payment, be it only a couple of guinea.

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[16] Interview with L., 19.02.2020.

The notion of exchange was not always part of the interaction between the locals and guests in Luxor. It was already mentioned that the early tourists were not prevented from taking the artefacts from the temples and the tombs back home with them. To them, old monuments did not belong to ancient Egyptians, nor the ones actually living there. It was the space open for exploitation and colonizing, just as much as all of the land of Egypt was thought of. In both the time of clandestine and later organized tourism, the Luxorians were stripped of the opportunity to profit from tourism, either by the guests themselves who refused to pay for services, or by the agencies such as Thomas Cook who built the tourism infrastructure, such as the hotels and ships and thus gleaned all the revenues. Or as the "Cairo people" who don't let the Luxorians control the tourist groups.

It has been proposed that the hosts and guests are in a binary opposition to each other (Půtová, 2018, p. 72) and that this opposition has mostly negative connotation as the relationship between hosts and guests is an unequal one. I would argue, however, that this is only the case when the notion of exchange is absent in this relationship. If the exchange of services for money is observed, then it is only up to the participants, that is the guests and the hosts to determine the condition of that exchange. Thus, it is the existence of the exchange that defines the relationship of hosts and guests.

8.3   Luxor, the City of the Terrorists

To assess the role that terrorism and terrorists have played in Luxor and its tourism, I first need to somehow put them in the host-guest equation. When I first started my research, I was searching for the reasons the terrorists attacked tourists in Luxor (and elsewhere), all in an attempt to find some kind of a hidden agenda, based on past grievances and a desire for revenge on the tourists. I assumed that the terrorists wanted to "get even" with the tourists for the way the local population was treated in the past. One could no doubt see the terrorism as a justification for the way the tourists looked down upon the locals, calling them wretches, refusing to pay for sleeping in the temples, taking photographs without leaving a coin behind, etc. The reality I found in Luxor was a quite different one; not one of my informants would actually hint at any attempt to "get even" with the tourists. When I talked about this issue with L. and he mentioned the "Cairo

people" not letting them control the groups and their spending, he used the word terrorists: "They terrorize us … they don't let us profit."[17] Terrorism, as I learned from D. who was already working as a young guide during the Luxor massacre, was in the direct opposition of tourism, albeit not a result of it: "You know, these terrorists come, and they strip us of the opportunity to work. They kill us, not the tourists. The tourists will eventually return, but we may not be waiting for them because we will have to look for other jobs in the meanwhile." D. was eager to talk about this issue on one sunny afternoon, at a café on the West Bank. I asked directly: do the terrorists strike to revenge the Egyptians for colonialism and bad treatment over the decades and centuries of their presence in Egypt? "No, they don't revenge us. I will tell you what it is: they are not looking for a revenge, they start a war. The war is with the Egyptian government, not the people or the foreigners. They know the government is fragile, so they strike it through tourism." When I inquired about the reason for such an action, D. said he didn't this there was one, expect for weakening the government in power financially. "There is money in tourism, you know … these big tour operators making millions of dollars and most of them related to the government … it is pure politics."[18]

 I admit that I was not satisfied with this and other responses I received concerning the way terrorists would be labeled by the tourism workers. If there were no historical grievances, was there a religious context? An interpretation of holy texts that would encourage purging the land of them infidels? None of my informants thought so. "They do hate the Copts but not the tourists, for sure", said H. himself a Coptic Christian. "The tourists are thought to be Christians, yes, but they are guests, at the same time, so they are sacred. Muslims don't hate guests, they direct their hatred towards the home population," he added when asked about about the religion as a bone of contention. My attempts to draw a triangle in which every angle would belong to one group, the tourists, the local population and the terrorists, each group having some connection to the other two yet at the same time standing in opposition, failed. The terrorists did not hate the tourists, and they did not even hate the Luxorians.[19] "My mom knew the family of one of them," D. disclosed to me at one of our meetings, referring to the Luxor massacre of 1997. "They

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[17] Interview with L., 19.02.2020.
[18] Interview with D., 17.02.2020.
[19] Interview with H., 15.11.2019.

were good people, originally from Suhaq, but they were very poor." When I inquired about the reasoning behind the Luxor massacre attacks. "I don't know why they decided to rage war against tourism. Against individuals, the government, ok, but against tourism? In Egypt? This was a big mistake and that's why they finished. Nobody here supported them anymore."[20] 'Waging was against tourism' was something my informants unanimously rejected as 'nonsense', 'big mistake', 'something only stupid people could do'. "Luxor is what it is because of the tourism. If it was not for the tourists, would the monuments bring us money just like that?" L. made a gesture signifying that there would not be anything, no livelihood without the tourism.[21] "We live and breathe tourism, and this is never going to change," concluded H. at our meeting, rushing to meet with his group.[22] We spoke together on several occasions, but always when he was at work. I followed him with my eyes from the terrace, seeing him in the group of the foreign visitors, undoubtedly happy.

H. did live and breathe tourism, and so did many others, regardless of the job position they held. Terrorism and the terrorists were not, for them, a new phenomenon that they would incorporate into the hosts-guests equation, it seemed. Terrorism meant the interruption of the given and they loathed it at least as much as the visitors were afraid of it. This was because terrorism attempted to break into the relationship of hosts and guests; the far from perfect relationship that was nevertheless maintained for centuries. It was a relationship of exploitation and profiting, yet at the end, it did bring to both sides just exactly what they were seeking. For the Luxorians, this means living, surviving, sometimes thriving. Luxor, as I learned, did belong to both the tourists and the locals, but not the terrorists and any attempt to take it from its owners would not be met with approval or understanding.

Once I established the roles of hosts, guests and terrorists, my focus shifted to the aftermath of the Luxor Massacre to find out how the Luxorians dealt this and other attacks on their industry, creating a sense of safety and security, so much needed for tourism to return and remain. Did they attempt at creating it, after all? How did they reflect on the terrorist attacks that personally touched them and influenced their lives?

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[20] Interview with D., 16.05.2022.
[21] Interview with L., 19.02.2020.
[22] Interview with H., 17.11.2019.

9. "DON'T WORRY, YOU ARE IN LUXOR." ON SAFETY AND DANGER

A regular tourist coming to Luxor by road will notice the numerous checkpoints along the way. The checkpoints are usually marked by retarders and roadblocks with signs such as police passage, security and others. Small buildings serving as an office or, alternatively, booths accompany these checkpoints. The tourism police representatives occupying the posts can number from 2 to 5, in average. Typically, one police officer comes to a tourism vehicle and requires two information: the number of the passengers in the vehicle and their nationality. Another police office writes the information down, in hand, into a registry. After this procedure, the vehicle is cleared to go. The checkpoints are typically located at the entrance and exit of cities and villages, including Luxor itself. There are also checkpoints at the entrance of the airport, as well as on both ends of the Luxor bridge. Not all the checkpoints require information about the foreign passengers.

The tourist sites in Luxor likewise have a number of levels of the protection of the tourists who visit them. First and foremost, the majority of the accessible tourist sites have a single designated entrance flanked by security personnel. At this point, the vehicle is checked and basic information about visitors are disclosed by the driver or a tourism worker. The most frequented sites have then a visitor center which consists of a waiting hall, a ticket booth and toilets. Storage for larger pieces of luggage, dangerous objects and video cameras/drones forbidden at the site might be here as well. Sometimes a model of the site may be on display as well as photographic and other visual materials on the wall. The entrance to the visitor center is has an e-ray frame and x-ray machine for checking the bags and purses.

The visitors of the site are required to pass the x-ray check. Food and beverages are allowed at the sites, pocket knives might be detected and have to be placed in the storage. Most of the time only the bags are x-rayed while visitors pass through a dis-functional or turned-off x-ray frame. Manual body check is not conducted even if there is indication of metals (shoes, watches, belts). Sites without a visitor center, such as the temple in Madinat

Habu may only have an x-ray machine and an x-ray frame, other minor sites have no security screening upon entrance. The sites are staffed by security personnel, either from the ranks of Egyptian tourism police or civil guardians. While the Egyptian police officers are armed, the guardians are not. Likewise, only the Egyptian police officers possess two-way radios as part of their equipment.

While the tourist sites have their designated entrances, they rarely have an enclosure wall (only the Karnak temple has one) and the site surveillance is done by security cameras. These are places around the site, for example on the surrounding hills in case of some west bank sites, along the main road and on the top of the enclosure wall in case of the Karnak temple. There are various levels of security at the accommodation venues in the city. The highest level is the x-ray control upon the entrance to most of the international hotels. The x-ray control consists of x-ray frame and an x-ray machine. Upon the entrance, each person is obliged to have its belongings x-rayed while passing through the x-ray frame. Such security point is operated by 2-3 security workers, most likely policemen from the tourism police unit. Smaller, local hotels are most likely without an x-ray control and might have a guardian at the entrance. Such guardian might have a manual x-ray machine to check the persons entering the hotel for metals.

9.1 Creating the Illusion of Safety

When I reminisce on my research trips in Luxor, the first image I see is the one in which I sit on the balcony of our rented villa, almost on the bank of the river, overlooking the Luxor temple on the other side. The quiet mornings last till about ten o'clock when the first felucca captains appear, looking for passengers to cross the river. The shops open, the cafés turn on the music and first visitors venture in. This is a very different Luxor than the one I know as a tour guide. This one resembles a quiet seaside destination I have visited in Sri Lanka, far from the big resorts and mass tourism. With a computer on my lap, I feel at home. I remain a tourist and the felucca captains whistling at me from below my balcony sure treat me as such. There is no way one can feel entirely as a local while in Egypt as he or she will never be treated like one. Staying in Ramla neighborhood gives a sense of freedom, however. Being a tourist in Egypt means, for most parts, having an

itinerary and a schedule to abide by. It means making fast decisions in the shops, it means not having enough time or space to absorb what one sees. This is how mass tourism operates here. Yet in Ramla, one is free to make his or her own decisions about where to eat, what to drink, how to transport himself to the places of interest and when to sleep in and not go visit any tomb or temple.

There is also one other thing I felt in Ramla: the sense of safety. Ramla is a quite enclosed community with practically same people moving around, the villa owners, the long-term visitors, the few shop owners and the same felucca captains. This also means that it is hard to remain in anonymity. It seems that not two days passed and everyone on the street knew my name. This made me feel comfortable; surely, they would help if anything was to happen to me. Whether they realized it or not, their interest in myself, albeit sometimes a bit intrusive, created in me the sense of

Figure 4 The main artery of the Ramla neighboorhood. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

security, without any metal detectors or policemen on patrol. I disclosed these feelings to B., the owner of the villa I rented. "Everyone knows everyone here. We don't let anyone else enter. You see that there are no beggars and hasslers, we don't want them here," B. answered, and I wanted to argue that even the ones who have the access to Ramla are quite pushy with their goods and services, but I bit my tongue this time.[23] "You see, this is because the Luxorians control Ramla, not the Cairo people," L. winked at me when I share the same feelings with him. For him, the sense of safety and comfort came from the

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[23] Interview with B., 18.02.2020.

absence of the foreign (in this case non-Luxor) intruders. I asked him if that was true for the tourists coming on the buses from Hurghada during their day visit or the ones that sailed on the Nile. "They should not feel any danger. Nobody here wants to hurt them. That's why we do all this security, so you guys feel safe in an already safe environment."[24] '*All this security*' was what I was about to study. What did the Luxorians do to create a sense of safety for the visitors?

9.2   Metal Detectors and No Cameras: Revisiting the Security Points

I consider safety one of the main conditions for success in tourism. There are world countries that have great historic sites, seaside and mountains, even a developed tourism infrastructure; yet they will not attract tourists, or at least not in masses, if the war is raging or the terrorist attacks, kidnapping and similar phenomena is imminent there. One way of ensuring the sense of safety, as Uriely suggests, is the creation of the bubble of serenity (Uriely, 2007), as is the case of Israeli tourists at the Sinai holiday destinations. I don't think such a concept is possible in Luxor; a bubble of serenity presupposes a simple narrative with a clear distinction of roles; this might not be possible to ensure in Luxor due to the fact that there are many nationalities involved and no particular one was targeted in any of the Luxor attacks. Rather, I suppose, there will be an attempt to create a sense of safety visually, by specific security devices. In order to inspect these, I focused on three particular places in Luxor: the Luxor and Karnak temples as well as the Valley of the Kings.

9.2.1   The Rituals of the Luxor Temple

During one of my research stays in Luxor, my Czech friend showed me a café just opposite the Luxor temple. A small, unassuming place proved to be the best venue for my initial observation of the security points in Luxor. From the balcony, there was a great view of the parking of the temple, as well as the main entrance. A score of policemen could be seen

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[24] Interview with L., 19.02.2020.

standing outside. This was very different from the way I used to enter with my groups; the old entrance from the other side, just across the corniche with a modest metal detector gave way to a large entrance hall that serves as a visitor's center at the same time. This change happened during my longer absence from Luxor, so I was quite surprised to find this arrangement in early 2018. Luxor temple is one of the highlights of Luxor and, I would say, one of its symbols. Stretching along the east bank of the Nile river, Luxor temple was built specifically for the ancient Egyptian festival called *opet* celebrating the divine origin of the ruler in power which was ensure by his symbolic birth as a result of a union between god Amun-Re and the ruler's earthly mother. The festival would begin by carrying the sacred gods from the Karnak temple complex, located about 2 kilometers northward, via paved avenue. When I visited Luxor in spring 2022, this avenue had just opened after several years' renovation and I was able to trace, together with a couple of tourist groups, the steps of the ancient Egyptians. The temple of Luxor traces its origin to the Middle Kingdom period, and specifically, the 19th century BC, yet most of the temple

was built by kings of the 18th dynasty of the New Kingdom Period, just like much greater temple of Karnak (Verner, 2013, p. 223). There are many reasons this temple is part of the tourist itinerary: Besides the colossal statues of Ramesses II., the hypostyle hall and the main sanctuary, the visitors stop to take a photo of the Abu al-Haggag mosque, built right on the top of the north-eastern part of the temple in the 13th century AD, as well as an early Christian sanctuary set-up inside the temple. The temple that can be seen from the cruise ships is a favorite stop after sunset as it is lit up after dark.

Figure 5 The stylish security checkpoint at the entrance to the Luxor temple. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

Looking at the temple from the café terrace, I had a chance to do something I never quite could as a tour guide: Observe the entrance and the process that the tourists undergo, entering the temple through the security point. I found it to be a somewhat of a ritual: The group descends from the bus and wanders around a bit before summoned by their guide. Although I was quite far for hearing any speech, I could see the guide briefing his group of the procedure at the entrance of the temple. Then, making a gesture to follow him, the group proceeded to the entrance, making a queue in front of it. Before the last tourist of this group disappeared, another group disembarks their bus and the ritual repeats itself once again. The only difference is when individual travelers come: unsure about what to do, they hesitate at the parking when one of the souvenir sellers meets them. He helps them out pointing the entrance out for them while offering the goods at the same time. At the entrance, the policemen take over and help with the process, which at most security points goes as following: any bags, backpacks, cameras and additional objects that the tourists might be carrying need to be removed and either put in an x-ray machine or on the side while the person passes through the x-ray frame. The bags and backpacks may be checked manually if they aren't passed through the x-ray machine. Any dangerous objects such as pocket knives, if detected, would be removed from the bag and left at the security until the end of the visit.

"All these security measures were non-existent when I first started guiding," A. disclosed during one of our regular meetings. A. was working with me as a local guide long before my research started, and he was one of the informants that was very encouraging once he learned about it. He was willing to speak about the issues of security and was unwavering in his opinion concerning these issues. He laughed when I asked if the security measures brought about the safety or the sense of it: "It is all just a theatre for tourists. Yes, they might believe they are safer than without it though I doubt they would even notice that these measures are not there." I agreed with him since my experience was the same: while the tourists I worked with inquired about terrorism and safety, they were quite surprised to find out that something like security check existed. Many of them were startled, too. Is there, then an attempt to create the sense of security, after all? "Of course, we don't want tourists to panic. But these measures are about something else. Go to Karnak and you will

see," concluded A.[25] and the next day I headed to Karnak to observe and learn more about the issue.

Before I continue, I want to include here a story I heard, albeit it did not concern Luxor, yet it does reveal one way how the tourist safety is created. A friend of mine, a foreign guide herself who facilitated some of the meetings with the informants, went to one of such meetings with me. This particular informant had worked with her as a driver in the desert regions and they had a lot to talk about. However, it wasn't until I returned in the spring of 2022 and disclosed about my research that he added the story I am going to write about. With my guide friend being present, they talked about one of the tours they conducted together, west of Luxor. "I never told you this (he was speaking to my friend), but that time we almost met them." Perplexed, we both asked for clarification. "The third morning, if you remember, we passed one of those checkpoints where the policemen made me come out of the car. It was near Laabaka and they asked me to de-route. But I knew that you would not agree, and you would ask too many questions, so we didn't. It was better you didn't know that there was a cell in Laabaka. Here," N. opened his Youtube application and started looking for a video, tapping the name in Arabic. "Here," he replied once he found it. Once captured, one member of the cell gave an interview to the media. "They say it there. They were in Laabaka. The distance between them and us was about fifteen kilometers."[26] As my friend and I spoke about it afterwards, we concluded that the sense of peace, in this particular case, was created by silence, by not disclosing the truth. N. could not simply not disclose the truth because it would create panic and havoc in the group. Moreover, the tour would finish early and N. would not bring home the amount of money he originally counted on.

9.2.2   The Temple of Safety in Karnak

If I was surprised to see the changes made to the entrance to the Luxor temple, I was completely lost when it came to the temple of Karnak. I took a motorboat from my place on the west bank and arrived at the dock in Karnak, north of the center of Luxor, from

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[25] Interview with A., 10.02.2020.
[26] Interview with N., 18.05.2022.

where I determined to walk to the famous temple complex. It was not far at all, but I was confused; the area, once again, looked so different than what I used to be so familiar with. During my years as a guide, the Karnak temple entrance was seen, albeit in quite a distance, from the road running along the river. There used to be parking in front of the temple, a very spacious one, as there was no tourist group that would not pay homage to the greatest of the Egyptian temples. In the antiquity, the Karnak temple was the main temple of the god Amun-Re, the main godly figure of the New Kingdom period. As such, the temple had over eighty thousand priests and temple employees in the height of its fame during the rule of the kings of the 18th dynasty (16th – 13th dynasty BC). Likewise, the temple had been continually built and enlarged over the span of nearly one thousand years with each of the rulers contributing to either its construction or beautification (Verner, 2013, p. 171). Today's Karnak is rather a temple complex than a single temple and its main attractions of the Karnak complex are found along the main axis connecting the entrance with the main temple sanctuary and include the entrance pylon, first courtyard with its sanctuaries, the statues of Ramesses II., the hypostyle hall, obelisks of Tuthmose III and Hatshepsut as well as the main sanctuary. When I used to guide in Luxor, it would take me an hour to cover only the above-mentioned highlights, with additional time given to the tourists to enjoy this monumental structure. The free time would not exceed half an hour, though; I had to count in another half an hour for walking back to the bus, with allowing several minutes for the using the toilets.

This time, however, I was here not to enjoy the ancient hieroglyphs nor the sleek statues of deified kings. I was focusing on the very beginning and end of the tour – the entrance and exit to the temple with its security measures. However, I was perplexed as I found a wall, almost like the city ramparts, with no view of the temple entrance. After asking a local for help, I walked southwards to the main gate. The entrance to the Karnak temple was not a monumental one, having space for a bus to enter. This was the entrance for the individual travelers that entered on foot as well. It was the midday, but only two groups were descending from the bus which gave me a chance to observe them. Some of them wanted to take pictures at this point. "No photo, no photo!" a policeman prevented them. I mingled in as they entered the room with the x-ray frame. There were rushed through the frame. The personal belongings were not inspected at all as we were told to continue our way out of the room to make space for the next group. The meeting point was just

outside, under the sun, where eager sellers already waited for them. They offered water, as well as statues of gods and other goods. Some of the tourists looked at the merchandise with interest, others did not seem to care. They all waited for the guide to buy the tickets and there was no way to escape the heat of the sun and the heat of the merchants' eagerness to sell. The guide did not seem to rush; he met a friend of his and they chatted for a couple of minutes before he summoned his group. The merchants, at the sound of the guide's voice, deserted the group. They knew that their time with this crowd is over, at least until they return after the visit of the temple. They directed their attention, therefore, at the upcoming group and me. I remained standing and therefore it was clear that I am not part of the departing crowd. I was offered statues of the king Rammesse, 'of high-quality stone', then phosphorescent pyramids, a shawl and a bracelet. Finally, I was handed a bottle of water to keep hydrated, at least.

At this point, it was impossible to remain at the same place and I had to move on. I made my way to the first pylon of the temple where I could sit, drink from my water bottle and reflect, without being either hassled or suspected of anything. I watched the groups entering, with their cameras in hands, some listening to the guide's explanation, others wandering further away for better pictures. At one point, I measured the time it took a group between getting off the bus and stopping at the first pylon: it was full 25 minutes. I was wondering if this time was taken from the visit or it was counted in? From my personal experience, the tourist groups always run on quite a tight schedule; the more time spent at the security the less time in the tombs and temples, or, alternatively, no free time to enjoy on their own. "We can do nothing. We make up for the remaining time by rushing through Karnak. No time in the temple of Coca Cola anymore," smiled B. when talking about this issue. I also smiled at the memory of the last stop we used to make for our groups at the temple, and that being the local cafeteria when everyone enjoyed a cold fizzy drink and an ice cream. "Instead, I tell them that we first pass the temple of the god of security and they laugh. I point out the temple of security at each monument to make it more bearable for them," explained B. his tactics when it comes to the security procedures.[27]

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[27] Interview with B., 25.02.2020.

On my way back from the Karnak temple, I follow a group of Japanese tourists. They are quite numerous, and I hope that I will be able to mingle in more easily as they have to, once again, go through the 'shopping area' to get to their bus. As the Japanese visitors haggle for prices, I wonder if they feel safe in Egypt. After all, most of the victims of the Luxor massacre in 1997 were the Japanese. At the Karnak temple, it seemed that the sense of distraction, rather than safety was created, with the purpose of making the tourists forget their fears of possible terrorist attack. The security process was both too long and too short, with the tourists being rushed, then hassled and delayed from their visit. The beginning and the end of their Karnak experience was marked with offers to make shopping. The kind of shopping that Karnak security point offered, was not the slow and pleasant one. Rather, the tourists were forced to make quick decisions about merchandise they often had no interest in. "This is now they make money, by not giving an opportunity to them to even think. The best way to control the situation is to do it quickly. No time for reconsideration, until the flight back!"[28] B. knew the practices of these merchants too well. Not allowing the tourists to think, distracting them from pondering on things was the way to get them buy but, I realized in Karnak, this was also the best way of creating the sense of safety that the foreigners in Egypt desperately needed to feel, if they were to continue pouring in.

9.2.3   The Tombs of the Living on the West Bank

I have already mentioned that the east and the west bank of the Nile river are very different from each other. In the antiquity, the East Bank was the city of the living while the West Bank the city of the dead. The houses, palaces and temples were constructed on the East Bank; the mortuary temples and the tombs were on the other side. While the East Bank is a bustling city, the West Bank is a sleepy village with sugar cane fields. The local population works in agriculture, for the most part; it isn't rare to see men riding the donkeys or selling fruits from carriages. The main road called al Qurna that starts at the Nile river where the ferry docks goes straight to the Qurna mountains and all the shops and businesses are built along this main artery. It ends at the first monument, the

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[28] Interview with B., 25.02.2020.

mortuary temple of Amenhotep III. This temple is the least preserved one; though its location is several kilometers away from the Nile riverbed, the temple would experience regular flooding in the past. At the end of the temple, the road splits: to the left, it leads to the Valley of the Queens, Madinat Habu temple and Deir el Medina burial complex while to the right are other mortuary temples including that of the Queen Hatshepsut as well as the famous Valley of the Kings. The area is scarcely inhabited; few houses are scattered between the temples and some of these are not inhabited, anyway; rather, they are used as workshops for manual production of the typical West Bank souvenirs made of local stone, the alabaster.

When I was guiding the one-day tours, I would start the day at the West Bank. Passing the Colossi of Memnon at the above-mentioned temple of Amenhotep III., our bus would make a right turn where I would point to individual mortuary temples. Soon, it would turn left towards the Valley of the Kings. At this point, the road leading to the entrance of the Kings' Valley started to wind between two rock walls. The last moments before arriving at the parking were solemn, as if we were going to a funeral of one of those Egyptian kings. The Valley of the Kings is, after all, a great funerary complex. Its signature monument is the famous Tutankhamun's tomb but a whole range of other well-known Egyptian rulers is buried here. Upon the entrance to the tombs area, one point strikes the attention; the tip of the al-Qurna mountain, standing above the Valley as a pyramid. Legend has it that the kings chose this place for their eternal rest precisely because of the pyramid-like shape of the mountain.

When I revisited the Valley of the Kings during my research, I reminisced on my visits as a guide. Turning left from the main road to start the ascent to the entrance, I would no longer talk about the ancient history. Rather, I had to focus on the practical issues and explain the procedures as we disembark the bus. As I instructed my group about the security point, I would also mention that no video camera was allowed inside the complex and no photos could be taken in the tombs. It felt like we were entering a forbidden zone; this feeling I relived during my most recent visit. The restriction on video cameras was still in practice and so was taking photographs inside the tombs for free. I went through the security procedures at the entrance gate and this time it was a very thorough check; my little backpack did not face such a scrutiny at any other monument I visited in Luxor

during this visit. My backpack was x-rayed and then hand-checked for any dangerous items, such as a pocket knife. It was also checked for a camera. When the policeman saw that I don't have any, he let me go. He and the other policemen looked seriously, their walkie-talkies constantly transmitting. While the whole process took only minutes, it made me feel as if I were at a police station rather than at a tourist site.

The atmosphere at the Valley itself was much friendlier as I entered the familiar places with the tombs scattered all around. At the gate of the Valley, I was once again inquired about a camera. "You see they ask the innocent tourists who didn't kill anyone, to go through the check. Nonsense. And they tell them not to take the cameras with them inside. As if cameras in the hands of 'agnabis' killed anyone, ever," H. told me, with an irony in his voice. "The tourists should be protected, but instead, it looks like the locals are being protected from the tourists with these measures."[29] I once again showed the content of my backpack, proving that I do not have any camera hidden there. I could understand, however. The old paintings and inscriptions sure suffered from the flash, and then, there was an attempt at selling postcards and books to the travelers who could not take pictures of the tombs themselves. After all, this was not the only place in the world where photography was forbidden, or at least, restricted. "If the tourists cannot take photos, they believe the place is even more special. They will carry it in their hearts. They will remember it better than all those places they took numerous pictures at. At the Valley of the Kings, we make it feel special, more than anywhere else." Walking through the small Valley where air stood still, enclosed by rock walls I did feel special, peaking in the ancient tombs well hidden from the otherwise ever-present cameras. Or, such was the theory. In practice, the picture-taking could not be prevented, especially with mobile phones. The policemen themselves not only helped control the crowds and pointed to the ancient engraving of gods, but they also encouraged the picture taking, for a small fee. Many tourists, after hearing first that it is not allowed, felt thankful to the guardians of law for their kindness. "The policemen are first very strict but then they help the tourists and smile, making them feel happy and safe at the same time. These tactics work. First, make them afraid, make them obey the rules. Then help them break the rules. Isn't it brilliant?" S. laughed out loud at the way he worded his idea.[30] Make and then break the rules to

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[29] Interview with H. 15.11.2019.
[30] Interview with S. 22.02.2022.

create the friendly atmosphere. As I heard one policeman say, 'Don't worry, you are in Egypt, my friend,' I had to agree that the feeling of safety comes in many shapes and forms and the Egyptians, albeit not fully aware of the consequences of their actions, did master the art of making the visitors welcome and safe in their land.

10.   COMMODIFYING TERRORISM

In the theoretical part, I discussed such concepts as the commodification of culture for the tourism purposes and its danger for the authentic culture of a place (Levi-Strauss, 1972) as well as the dark tourism approach to the commodification of death, tragedy and suffering, often with an ambiguous relationship to universally understood ethics and morality (Stone, 2009). Places of terrorism attacks have become tourism sites before, and therefore it comes of no surprise that I was interested in this aspect of terrorism in Luxor: to what extent did the terrorism sites, especially the temple of the Queen Hatshepsut at the West Bank contain the dark tourism elements, 25 years on, if it all? In this chapter, I will revisit the events of that November day and look at the site as it is today, in search for the degree of commodification it underwent and what has become of the temple in the aftermath of the Luxor Massacre carnage.

10.1 Tracing Back the Events

"Well, I will never forget that day." M. sipped from his coffee and looked in distance in front of him, apparently trying to bring back memories of the 17th of November, 1997. "I was having my morning coffee, just like right now. Suddenly, a friend came running and yelling: 'Quick! We have to stop them!' Not knowing whom we are going to stop, I left my coffee on the table and ran with him. He explained on the way, gasping for air, that they stroke at Hatshepsut. He didn't know much more than that and we just kept running, suspecting that something terrible happened." M. stopped for a moment and I did not ask any questions. I wanted him to word it on his own. "We knew we had to stop them. Stop them from killing the innocent people. The foreigners. We ran from Habu, along the main road, up through that hilly area opposite of the Ramesses II., to get there as soon as

possible. As we reached the road leading to Hatshepsut, we saw a bus driving like crazy, as if escaping someone, going in the direction from the Hatshepsut. Only when it passed us it occurred to us that it might have been them." M. takes a sip again. "Never did I imagine that I would see something like that. The scent of blood. Those petrified tourists that survived. Those poor beings that met their fate there. We were hopeless and helpless, we thought nobody will ever come to Luxor again." I remembered the photographs I saw

Figure 6 The view from the uppermost terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

in the Al-Ahram newspaper after the carnage, especially the iconic one with a stream of blood coming down the staircase of the temple. I asked M. if he remembered it. "Of course, but it was nothing like the smell of blood we fell there. I could not get it off my nose for days to come." M. was a young businessman at that time, recently married to a foreigner himself. His little tourist project was only several kilometers away from the place of carnage. He closed it afterwards and moved outside the country. "There was no point of staying, you know. We thought tourism was over for good. And we did nothing to stop them, we didn't prevent them from coming to Luxor. The real heroes are the policemen and, of course, the bus driver. He still works at the Kings Valley, bless his heart. He took the courage and turned his bus to the other direction, towards the checkpoint. If it wasn't

for him, they would kill many more people in the Valley of the Kings, so far from any help from anyone."

M. was the only direct witness of the Luxor Massacre I was able to contact and talk to. He was not surprised when I later revealed to him that I was working on a research topic of Luxor and its terrorism, he was not against me using any of the earlier collected material. He was willing to share more details as well, saying that he was approached many times with a request to talk about what he saw and experienced that day. After all, his iconic sign 'No to terrorism', written by him own hand, was still on display at his little business that he went back to some years ago. "I can speak about it and I surprisingly remember everything up to this day, every detail of it. But I cannot go to Hatshepsut. I will never go there again as long as I live. That's too hard, too emotional. It hurts me personally."[31]

M. was referring to the Hatshepsut mortuary temple, one of the most iconic temples on the West Bank. It was built for the 18th century female ruler of Egypt, the queen Hatshepsut. The temple is unique thanks to its structure; it was built on three terraces, with its main sanctuary carved into the rock on the top terrace. Besides this sanctuary that is not accessible to visitors, there are two stunningly decorated chapels on the middle terrace. Dedicated to goddess Hathor, the chapel on the left boasts of beautiful engravings of Hathor as a mother figure and a cow at the same time while her earthly children, Hatshepsut and her brother Tuthmose II. drink her milk. The chapel on the right is very different in theme and decoration; it is dedicated to the god of death and afterlife, Anubis. In this chapel, Anubis is depicted as an ancient Egyptian doctor, leaning over a dead body during the mummification process, his head being a head of a jackal, with a lean human body. The other depictions of Anubis in this chapel show the reverence old Egyptians paid to this god; tables full meats, fruits and grains refer to the sacrifices brought to Anubis in this and other temples. Besides the gods, Hatshepsut herself was worshipped here after the death. Worshipping a dead ruler was not unheard of in the ancient Egypt; rather, it was a common practice. The chapels and temples for this purpose would be in immediate proximity of the toms itself; here in Luxor, the Valley of the Kings allowed little space for any such luxury. Therefore, while resting peacefully as a mortal human in the Valley, she

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[31] Interview with M., 15.02.2020 and 20.05.2022.

was worshipped as deity just over the Qurna mountain, in a beautiful temple that was, at the same time, situated right across the river from the Karnak temple, the abode of the god of gods, Amun Ra. However, while the Karnak temple was immense and breathtaking with its huge pillars and larger-than-life statues of the famous kings, the temple of Hatshepsut had something noble about it. It wasn't too big, and it could be easily missed as its colors faded long time ago. Just as with the Valley of the Kings, this temple is tucked away and invisible from the main road, as if hidden from those who do not know the West Bank well enough to find it. It does not stand alone; along the road leading to its entrance, there are tombs carved into the rock; another temple lies to the left of Hatshepsut. I once took a balloon flight, early morning, with the view of the West Bank. Deir el Bahari, as the area around the temple of Hatshepsut is called, looked from above as a queen seated on it and the servants bowing down in front of her. Until my research, I never visited the adjacent tombs nor knew much about them; the focus was always exclusively on the Queen. The magnificent temple always required at least an hour, if not an hour and half, to soak its beauty and atmosphere in.

On many occasions during the visits of this temple, I wondered what thoughts were on the minds of the visitors that early morning, November 17, as they were entering the site. They probably thought they were up for a pleasant experience and discovery and little did they know that the was to be the worst day of their lives, should they survive it, at all. The videos some survivors snapped demonstrate that they were unaware of what was going on as the first gunshots came. "They appeared from all sides, from the mountain, from the tombs. Like ants, they flooded the temple,"[32] G. told me, sipping from his lemonade under the shade. He started working in tourism some years after the massacre, yet he heard the stories about it, over and over. The visitors of different nationalities were enjoying the temple when they heard the gunshots. Little did they know that for most of them, these were some of the last sounds they would ever hear. The perpetrators flooded the temple and the carnage began. They shot the tourists on all terraces with automatic rifles and then proceeded to decapitate the corpses with knives. Concluding that there were few or no survivors, the group of six terrorists moved on. The next destination of theirs was the Valley of the Kings. Yet instead of climbing the mountain and enter the

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[32] Interview with G., 17.11.2019.

Valley from above, they decided to take one of the tourist buses there. This proved to be a fatal mistake as the courageous driver directed the vehicle towards one of the checkpoints and thus deterred them from causing more bloodshed and most likely, death. "When they saw that they are heading the opposite direction and not the Valley of the Kings, they shot the driver in his arm," M. recounted. "We helped the policemen look for them. They were all found and shot. We saw the corpses lined up in the sand before they were taken away", he concluded his account of that day and rose to go away, as if to change the thoughts.[33]

Nobody talked about anything else than the tragedy, for years to come. When he saw my interest, he added details of the operation, apparently planned well ahead of time, by the strategists in the Gama'a al Islamiyya. "They used the tombs, you know, to hide there the day before. They apparently got it with the visitors and remained there for the whole night. They started to shoot as they saw that the first groups arrived and began their visit."[34] H. provided a different account: "The terrorists originally wanted to strike a Christian site, near Luxor, to kill Christian pilgrims during a holiday. But they

Figure 7 A friend of mine posing with the sign made for the post-massacre rally. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

found it too difficult, so they went to the Hatshepsut instead," [35]hinted H. at a possibility of a completely different plot and its execution, as well as at the fact that 25 years on, this heinous act of terrorism has many interpretations. What remains, however, is the facts as to the number of visitors that perished: 58 of them, with the majority being of Swiss and Japanese nationalities. Four persons of Egyptian nationality died as well; one of them was

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[33] Interview with M., 15.02.2020.
[34] Interview with M., 15.02.2020.
[35] Interview with H., 15.11.2020.

a local tour guide. Three days of national grief were issued; the head of the police in Luxor, even the minister of interior was forced to resign. "He (the minister of interior) was on the train to Luxor when I found out he set on the journey in vain; he was dismissed by the President."[36] Rallies again terrorism were organized; money was collected for the families of the Egyptian victims. Speeches and promises were made, all the while the houses of the perpetrators and their families were raided. Scores of terrorists and their collaborators were imprisoned, some of them executed. The tragedy occupied the front page of Al-Ahram newspaper for about a month before it slowly faded away and so did, slowly and progressively, the memory of it. The tourism community in Luxor slowly began to put the scraps of its previous life together, until the foreign visitors once again flooded the famous temple. My main question, at this point, was: What is left, 25 years on, of the tragedy? How did the community contain it and what did they make out of it?

10.2 Turning Tragedy into a Product

"I prepared this for the rally," M. pointed to his sign No to terrorism, written both in Arabic and in English. "I went there with my wife and daughter. We were proud to see the whole community uniting against them." The sign, faded, is on display in front of his business as M. proudly places it there every morning. "We should always be reminded that it happened. Why it happened. And that it can happen again." M.'s dedication to keep the memory alive was understandable, given the fact that he saw the horrors of this terrorist act with his own eyes. The event turned his life upside down and it was the driving force behind his emigration to Europe. More than two decades passed before he returned by to his family house in Madinat Habu area, just across from the beautiful mortuary temple of Ramesses III. The temple built in the 12th century BC honors Ramesses III., a ruler from the 20th century. Tucked away from the other mortuary temples, of the West Bank, right where the corn fields start, this temple is so remarkably preserved that one can spend several hours enjoying its strong walls with a defensive tower, the remnants of the adjacent royal palace and very deeply carved reliefs, some of which depict the famous scene of the battle of Kadesh in 1274 BC between Egyptian and Hittite armies. "Since we

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[36] Interview with H., 15.11.2019.

came back, I sometimes sit on the terrace until late night, just sipping the tea and thinking. I look at the Habu temple in front of me. I cannot help but watch it closely. As if I am looking for intruders, for someone hidden there. Someone that will perform a hideous crime in the morning," confessed M., with sadness in his eyes. It was apparent that he would never overcome the fear that the Luxor massacre may happen again.[37]

I have already mentioned that M. was my only informant that witnessed the tragic event of the Luxor massacre himself. The other person I tried to gain access to, was the bus driver who stopped the terrorists from killing more tourists as he steered the wheel of his bus to the other direction than the Valley of the Kings. The gentleman in his 80's, however, was in hospital both in 2020 and 2022 when I tried to meet with him at the Valley when

Figure 8 A checkpoint before the entrance to the parking of the Hatshepsut temple, heavily guarded, did not exist in 1997. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

he still works, occasionally, as a guardian. "We were away with our mother on that day, visiting relatives in Armant", T. began his own account of what happened in the

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[37] Interview with M., 15.02.2020 and 20.05.2022.

Hatshepsut and how his family coped with it in the aftermath. "My father helped giving first aid to the survivors before the ambulances came. He said there was a little girl there, in the age of my sister, and he cried. And my father never cries." T. also said he didn't remember how much time went by before tourists returned. "But I know when my brother met the 'Britch' woman and became the healer", he laughed out loud at the mention of 'the Brother's' business in tourism. "You know, what were we supposed to do, we only knew how to make the statues of the gods. No Egyptian will ever buy it. We could not move our business to Cairo or even Aswan. All we could do was to remain and pray. So, once they returned, especially the 'Britch', we went back to business. And they wanted the healer, the magic, the esoteric experiences so we gave them what they needed, and they put bread on our table. We used the occasion, so we could survive, without them we are nothing," T. concluded his memories of how they coped with the Massacre. It showed them that tourism is an unstable way to earn living, and therefore it needs to be used to maximum while it is there.

As much as the Luxor Massacre halted tourism in Luxor and Egypt altogether, the initial shock at the cruelty of the terrorists seems to have passed away as first visitors came back, after several months. H. remembered well his first group, in early summer of 1998. "Of course, they asked about it. We did not go to Hatshepsut because it was closed. We visited the rest of the West Bank and they could see that it is safe. I stressed that radical Muslims were not the only one occupying Egypt. There were the moderate Muslims and the Christians. The Copts. We would never cause harm to any foreign visitor, ever."[38] For H. it was the 'religious card' that helped him cope and come to terms with the new reality as well as the way of explaining the Massacre. For others, it was putting the event in an international perspective: "They ask about it. Until now. But I always tell them – you are in the land of the most hospitable people. Terrorism happens everywhere, Egypt is no exception. It happens in Europe, in America." Some tour guides place emphasis on the fact that the Egyptian police has all under control. "I tell them: look at all this security. Thanks to our police, we keep you safe the last 25 years." I argued that there has been another terror attack quite recently; in 2015, three armed men attempted a breach of security at the Karnak temple. One of them detonated himself, wounding several policemen. "The

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[38] Interview with H., 10.05.2022.

important thing is that the foreigners were not touched at all. You know, many things happen in this country, yet what counts are the foreigners. They much be kept safe, and we have managed to do so for 25 years." Responding to questions about the Massacre while ensuring the visitors of safe is one thing; I was wondering if the tragic event was, at all, turned into a product of dark tourism. I sure did talk about it repeatedly as a guide once. This was mostly due to the fact that I heard the story, for the first time, from the local guide while we were visiting the site. As I tried to copy my older colleague, I incorporated the story into my speech about the temple, delivering it on the way from the Valley of the Kings to the Hatshepsut temple. Later, I reminded my guest about where the massacre happened as we were standing in the shade of the chapel of Anubis. I thought little about why or for what reason I was doing so; the driving force behind my action was an attempt to show I am knowledgeable both about ancient and recent history. This was in 2004 and 2005; not even ten years after the Massacre happened.

I revisited the Hatshepsut temple to learn about the memory of the Massacre, if there was any. Unlike so many times with the visitors I guided, this time I did not ride the bus but walked the road up, parking my bicycle at the T.' workshop. It was in the winter and several buses passed, honking at me and offering a ride. I declined. I made a first stop about half a kilometer away from the entrance, at the site called Al-Assasif. This site contains tombs from both Middle and New Kingdom Period, in the past decades excavated by Polish Egyptologists. Polish visitors are predominant nationality here; in fact, I did not[39] hear any other language being spoken at this area. It was clear to me that the site is bypassed by the majority of the visitors albeit its proximity to the

Figure 9 Some of the merchandise at the T.'s workshop. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

heavily visited Hatshepsut temple. After a brief visit, I continued on to the main point of my interest. Two policemen were standing at the entrance to the parking, letting me pass. I noticed barbed wire and cameras on the fence around the area. I also remembered the routine check that used to be performed as any tourist bus entered the parking area: it had to stop and allow for the policemen to check its undercarriage area for possible explosive devices that could detonate at the parking. I proceeded to the tourist security, noticing that the number of policemen was much higher here than any other place I visited during my research. The security procedure was a routine one; they performed it diligently. I left the security hall and walked on foot towards the first staircase of the temple while the noddy trains passed me, taking passengers on a ride there and back.

The chapel of Anubis on the second terrace was where I sat and observed the groups coming and going, listening to the explanation their guides provided. Some of them briefly mentioned the Luxor Massacre; others omitted it from their speech altogether. One guide went beyond the brief information on the Massacre when describing the event in rather brute details, pointing to the chapel of Anubis as the main site of the crime; his group listened attentively, turning their heads in the direction of his arms. At this point, I realized that imagination was the only place where the tragedy of the Massacre could be relived; no memorial to the victims has ever been raised anywhere inside the temple or around it. "Yes, and it is a disgrace and I read that their families are angry. We should honor them in some way,[40]" T. told me. "It is horrible what happened, but a memorial stone won't do anything. Should people come to Hatshepsut because of the

Figure 10 "Surveillance gaze": one of many security camers at the West Bank. Source: Katarina Bouhmid

Massacre? This is a mortuary temple of a great Queen in antiquity, not mortal human

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[40] Interview with T., 15.05.2022.

beings. We should remember them without a memorial", argued B. when asked about how to keep the memory of what happened at the temple in November 17, 1997. His opinion was based on the Islamic religious practices that do not include visiting graves of the deceased loved ones. B answered the same question in the following way: "You know that we don't visit the cemeteries and we don't pray to dead people. If they made something, like a monument, people would come here for the monument and not for the ancient Egyptian archeology and history".[41] Even H. who on several occasions stressed the fact that it was Islamic terrorism that stood behind the attacks rejected labeling the Hatshepsut temple as a burial site to Egyptian tourism: "If we make a memorial, then this place will always be connected to what happened here. But this is primarily a famous temple, not a terrorism site. And it shouldn't be seen this way", he stated. I told him about other places where dark tourism flourished, and the community actually profited from the tragic events that happened there. "Sure, we attract attention to this place by stressing the Massacre. But we will sow fear and distrust if we do so. This is in the long run a wrong strategy"[42], he concluded. "Bad idea", T. shook his head at my hypothesis of turning the tragedy into tourism on its own. "And how do I carve it in stone?" [43]he continued, laughing. T. was right, a terrorist act was an intangible event and even using the wildest imagination, we couldn't come up with ideas on how to materialize it so that the visitors would take their memory back home. Sitting at T.'s workshop, after my visit of the Hatshepsut, I looked around at the statues of all kinds and shapes and I understood that part of Luxor's success in tourism has been, since the very beginnings, the ability to touch and possess. The Luxor Massacre didn't allow for it and therefore it had no place in Luxor's tourism, just like the terrorists had no place in the tourism equation with hosts and guests on opposite sides. Terrorism, I concluded, was a probable and to some extent an inevitable phenomenon with no particular religious, geographical or any other label that is very likely to demonstrate itself anywhere in the world.

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[41] Interview with B., 12.05.2022.
[42] Interview with H., 12.05.2022.
[43] Interview with T., 15.05.2022.

CONCLUSION

When my last researched trip to Luxor in the spring of 2022 came to an end, I took a flight from Luxor to Cairo. Looking down at the meandering Nile valley with its green stripe of agricultural lands, it was easy to distinguish where the city of Luxor lied, yet it was much harder to spot the structures at the West Bank, with the exception of the temple of Hatshepsut with its three terraces glued to the natural stone wall in the middle of the area where all the Egyptian monuments stand. At this point a memory came back to me of my female friend and colleague, a guide I used to work with. Upon purchasing the tickets at the ticket booth of any Luxor site, she would always say the number of guests she had, followed by the Arabic word Inshallah, God willing. God willing, we will proceed to pay homage to the great rulers and, God willing, we will return safe and sound to our bus afterwards; something the visitors on November 17 in 1997 were not granted.

The purpose of this study was to find out what the event that cost 58 foreign visitors their lives right in the middle of their sightseeing did to the Luxor itself and its local community. Not in terms of the material and financial loss which was, by all accounts, immense. My interest was rather in the identity of the city of Luxor, its change or, at least modification. The available literature offered rather limited guidance on where to even start. The process of looking for theoretical pillars to lean on was conducted painstakingly, with a constant reminder that terrorism, as well as tourism is best to research quantitatively and evaluated using the hard data. Juggling through the academic premises, I gradually found my ground and could, without doubts and second thoughts, justify why anthropology and an ethnographical approach were legitimate ways to look at terrorism in tourism. I was lucky to have had a chance to visit the research field repeatedly, despite the current world situation. A research that had its own set of challenges due to the sensitiveness of the research topic, was thus conducted over a span of several years; this allowed me to revisit the theoretical premises and think further about the phenomenon and its implications.

This study is based on assumption that there is lack of anthropological research of touristic destination that were struck by terrorism. Answers to question about how the identity of a destination change after it experiences a death blow to its main economic

activities are not provided by quantitative research techniques or economic data; it rather requires an anthropological approach. This study attempted exactly so; it seeks to contribute to the discussion on terrorism in tourism through the eyes of anthropology; challenging the existing premises and making the new ones. It looks at the host-guest relationship to find out that its core principle is a transaction – whether this transaction is built on fair principles, is another discussion – and any attempt to break it is destined to fail. Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya *lost its audience* (Wheatly & McCauley, 2008) after the Luxor Massacre and actually dealt a death blow to itself. This was not achieved by the government and its policies or any other force than tourism; proving that at places like Luxor, the host-guest relationship cannot be broken by any intruder. The sinfulness of tourist activities, the scantly dress female tourists or the consumerism are phrases that did not find a fertile soil in wider Egyptian public, quite contrary: what enraged the Egyptians was the bloodthirstiness of their compatriots that led to a merciless slaughter of 62 innocent people, regardless of their nationality or religion.

The study also looks at the question of safety, or rather, the illusion of it. There is no *bubble of serenity*, as Darya Maoz with her colleagues (2007) describe the atmosphere between the Egyptian hosts and Israeli guests in Sinai. In Luxor, the bubble is not created to distance from the terrorists. Rather, an illusion of safety is created by both physical means (security checks, x-ray machines, etc.) and the psychological ones. The security points are in a form of modern buildings with modern technology used for detecting metals. They in themselves intensify the feeling that Egypt is a safe place to visit despite the fact that the actual check is either random or just not executed thoroughly. Psychologically, the tourists see the security but are given little time to actually think about their safety or potential danger as they are rushed through the check and then sent straight to the arms of over-eager merchants waiting outside. The Karnak temple has now a *temple of the god of security* and the tourists laugh. They are ensured of safety by the locals who strive to show the best of the Egyptian hospitality.

Last but not least, the Luxor Massacre was never commodified. The temple of the Queen Hatshepsut is where the story of the massacre is shared by some of the guides; no monument to the victims has been raised, however, and therefore any reminiscence

would be solely on the level of words and imagination. Luxor Massacre cannot be commodified as it cannot be embodied, made into a statue or a souvenir. It points to an event that casts negative light on Luxor and Egyptian tourism – that is certainly not something the Luxorians want to keep alive. Dark tourism seeks out places of death and tragedy, yet it seems to have its limits, at least in the Luxor environment where it did not take seed. Symbolically speaking, there is no memorial to tourists as tourism is far from dead in Luxor. What remains for discussion is whether a place of death of tourists can be reborn into a tourist site for other tourists. I personally believe it may, yet in case of terrorism it may not be seen as desirable by the local community.

Summarizing the research and its results, I dare say that terrorism in tourism is a topic that lives its own life; in cannot be fully contained by either anthropology of tourism or anthropology of terrorism. I can, however, draw upon the previous research in tourism and anthropological approaches of terrorism studies. It may result in a harmony within the frame of dark tourism, yet this is not a given; in case of Luxor, no monument was added to the already rich catalogue of tombs and temples. Rather, the tourism in its original form remains alive thanks to its character, its legacy, but also a successful attempt at creating a sense of security and a friendly ambiance that pushes away the thought about danger and death. It has been proved by numerous quantitative studies that tourism cannot be beaten by terrorism, only subdued; after a period of time, it always makes its return. This study proves that neither can terrorism change the identity of a well-established tourism destination, largely because the terrorists don't fit into the host-guest dichotomy. This is good news for tourism and tourists, albeit it comes with a challenge of ensuring that continuity of the present status-quo, at any given destination. At the same time, this study does not claim a universal validity; its conclusions are valid exclusively for the given time and space.

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Résumé

Cette thèse recherche le tourisme et le terrorisme, ensemble, à leurs points de croisement. Malgré ses nombreuses limites et imperfections, la thèse s'efforce de contribuer à la recherche existante sur le terrorisme et le tourisme et de poursuivre la discussion tant sur les prémisses théoriques que sur l'exécution pratique de la recherche anthropologique de ce phénomène. Le principal objectif de recherche est assez simple : quel est le rôle du terrorisme dans la formation d'une destination du tourisme? Le choix de Louxor comme destination touristique était incontestable ; seuls quelques endroits dans le monde ont une telle concentration de monuments historiques importants et une aussi longue histoire de voyages organisés que cette ville provinciale de Haute-Égypte. La ville de Louxor a aussi été choisie pour son lien à la fois avec le tourisme en plein essor et les événements terroristes tragiques.

Cette thèse est divisée en quatre sections principales. Le premier intitulé *In Search for the Anthropology of Terrorism in Tourism* présente au lecteur les enjeux théoriques de la recherche sur le terrorisme dans le phénomène touristique en introduisant des concepts théoriques sur lesquels s'appuie la recherche proprement dite. La deuxième section, *Research Design* traite des aspects pratiques de la recherche. Il introduit l'ethnographie comme méthode de recherche et justifie son utilisation dans la recherche sur le tourisme en général. La deuxième partie de cette section est consacrée aux enjeux éthiques de ma recherche, en particulier en ce qui concerne le consentement éclairé qui s'est avéré être l'un des enjeux majeurs lors de ma recherche. La section intitulée *Egypte, the Showcase of Terrorism in Tourism* passe en revue différents groupes terroristes, énumérant dûment leurs attaques contre les touristes et les infrastructures touristiques. Enfin, *Luxor Between Tourism and Terrorism* cherche des réponses aux questions soulevées dans la section théorique tout en essayant de positionner le terrorisme comme un phénomène lié et entrelacé avec le tourisme moderne.

Shrnutí

Předkládaná disertační práce se zabývá fenoménem terorismu v cestovním ruchu. Práce se snaží přispět k dosavadnímu výzkumu terorismu a cestovního ruchu a rozvinout diskusi ohledně jak teoretických východisek, tak praktického provedení antropologického výzkumu tohoto fenoménu. Hlavní cíl výzkumu je poměrně jednoduchý: jakou roli hraje terorismus při utváření turistické destinace? Volba Luxoru coby stěžejního místa pro výzkum byla nesporná; jen málo míst na světě má takovou koncentraci významných historických památek, a tak dlouhou historii organizovaných zájezdů jako toto provinční město v Horním Egyptě. Kromě toho je město Luxor spojeno s jedním z největších teroristických útoků v moderní historii, a to neslavně známým Luxorským masakrem z roku 1997.

Disertační práce je rozdělena do čtyř hlavních částí. První s názvem *In Search of the Anthropology of Terrorism in Tourism* uvádí čtenáře do teoretické problematiky výzkumu terorismu jako fenomén cestovního ruchu s uvedením teoretických konceptů, o které se se následně samotný výzkum opírá. Druhá část, *Research Design*, se zabývá praktickými aspekty výzkumu. Přibližuje etnografii jako metodu výzkumu a zdůvodňuje její využití ve výzkumu cestovního ruchu obecně. Druhá část této sekce je věnována etickým otázkám mého výzkumu, zejména s ohledem na informovaný souhlas, který se ukázal být jedním z hlavních problémů jeho úspěšného provedení. Poslední dvě části obsahují aktuální etnografický výzkum v Egyptě a zejména v Luxoru: Sekce nazvaná *Egypt, the Showcase of Terrorism and Tourism* se zabývá různými skupinami teroristů souvisejících s tím, jak převádějí své útoky na turisty a turistické infrastruktury. Poslední sekce *Luxor Between Tourism and Terrorism* hledá odpovědi na otázky vznesené v teoretické části a zároveň se zasazuje fenomén terorismu do kontextu moderní podoby cestovního ruchu.