Papers

Night of terror in the city of light: terrorist acts in Paris and Brazilian tourists’ assessment of destination image

Noite de terror na cidade luz: os atos terroristas em Paris e a avaliação da imagem de destino por turistas brasileiros

La noche de terror en la ciudad luz: los actos terroristas en París y la evaluación de la imagen de destino por turistas brasileños

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Resumo

O território contemporâneo pode ser considerado um dos males do século XXI e suas ações têm atingido um número cada vez maior de alvos não combatentes. Os grupos extremistas estão à procura de lugares com grande circulação de pessoas como pontos turísticos para realizar os seus ataques. Os atentados almejam alcançar um maior número de kafirs, termo para definir os incrédulos ou infiéis da doutrina islâmica, ou obter uma maior atenção da mídia. Assim, o presente estudo objetivou entender como turistas brasileiros, que estavam em Paris, percebem a interferência da noite dos atentados em 13 e 14 de novembro de 2015 na imagem turística da cidade. A investigação foi qualitativa exploratória com a triangulação dos dados: pesquisa documental, questionários abertos e depoimentos em vídeos, com o uso da análise de conteúdo. Os resultados mostram um impacto mediano na atividade turística, porém pouco importante na imagem da cidade de Paris nos meses subsequentes aos atentados, sendo o fluxo de visitantes reestabelecido em curto prazo. A relevância primordial deste artigo foi compreender o impacto na demanda turística pós-atentados terroristas a partir da percepção dos turistas sob a imagem do destino.

Abstract

Contemporary terrorism may be considered one of the evils of the 21st century and it has hit an increasing number of non-combatant targets. Extremist groups are looking for places with large circulation of people to carry out their attacks. The attacks aim to reach a greater number of kaffirs, term to define the unbelievers or infidels of the Islamic doctrine, or to receive greater media attention. Thus, the present study aimed to understand how Brazilian tourists, who were in Paris, perceived the effect of the night of the attacks in November 2015 in the city’s tourist image. The study was qualitative in nature with data triangulation: documentary research, open-ended questionnaires, and video testimonies, with the use of content analysis. The results show a medium impact on tourism activity, but little importance in the image of the city of Paris in the months following the attacks, with the flow of visitors resumed in the short term. The primary relevance of this article was to understand the impact on tourist demand of terrorist attacks from tourists’ perception of destination image.

Keywords:

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is considered since the 20th century, and more precisely in the 21st century, the main problem today’s world is facing (Goldman & Neubauer-Shani, 2017). Several times terrorist agents were able to promote their ideals, mainly religious ones, to the world, through the dissemination of fear, terror, and causing many deaths and losses (Nye Jr., 2005; Frey, Luechinger & Stutzer, 2007). Some authors (Bergen, 2001; Wright, 2007; Burke, 2007) have researched the emergence of Islamic radicalism, showing the development of Islamic orthodox theories in the Middle East and how this would later impact the world, with large-scale terrorist attacks.

The so-called new terrorism emerged in the 1990s, when terrorist groups were no longer operating in isolation in their own territories, but in numerous nations. As such, they have been able to expand their ideals through extremist interpretations of the Islamic religion (Petkova, Martínez, Schlegelmilch & Redlener, 2017). It is also in this new context that it is possible to see the largest amount of material and human losses caused by terrorist acts (Hoffman, 1998; Bergesen & Han, 2005).

In Paris, on November 13 and 14 2015, eight successive attacks took place, killing hundreds of people and hurting over 350 (Estrada & Koutronas, 2016). According to Nevalsky (2015), the events, labeled by communication channels as “night of terror”, was related to the Islamic State – IS (formerly known as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). The extremist Muslim group planned it, as vengeance for the French bombings and military interventions in Syria and Iraq, as well as the political support for the United States and the cartoons denigrating the image of the prophet Mohammed, made by the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo (Woo, 2015).

Roughly, some 10% of France’s population is Muslim, which makes it one of Europe’s countries with the largest Arab and Islamic population. This large Arab-Islamic presence is deeply related to the colonial French period (in North Africa, in the Middle East, and in the Southeast Pacific), mainly with the occupied territories in Africa that were inhabited by Arabs, rooted in Islamism (Hourani, 2013). Currently, there are some conflicts between the French people and the immigrants, due to the allegation that the latter are trying to Islamify France.

The country has been suffering successive radical Islamic attacks, especially from 2015 onwards. In that year alone, 149 people died and hundred others were injured, besides the number of failed attempts the intelligence services have averted (Estrada & Koutronas, 2016). Such attacks are vindicated by the discrimination and social exclusion suffered by the large number of inhabitants from the Muslim community in the country (Bozzoli & Muller, 2011). The secular law of 1905, approved in 2004, has caused great dissatisfaction among part of the Muslims because of the ban on the use of religious symbols and prayers in education institutions and, in 2010, the ban on niqab (Islamic face veil with only eyes showing), causing dissatisfaction...
among extremist groups (Castanho-Silva, 2018). For some decades, France has been afflicted by Islamic terrorism, especially in strategic areas, such as airline companies and hotels, which has impacted local tourism negatively.

The tourism industry and terror attacks are far away from each other in their conceptual propositions, but they both use common criteria for their actions, such as the narrowing of borders, engagement of people from several parts of the world, and the use of technology both for moving and for communication (Sonmez & Apostolopoulos, 1999; Samitas, Asteriou, Polyzos & Kenourgios, 2018). According to estimates by Île-de-France and France’s Regional Tourism committees in their 2016 report, the terror attacks in France from 2015 onwards have had severe negative impacts on tourism, such as, for example, drop in the number of overnight stays in accommodation establishments. The reduction of 4.7% in tourism demand in the city corresponds to €1.3 billion drop in tourism revenues in 2016 (Seraphin, 2017).

In tourism, destination choice is based on several internal and external aspects. Some of them are related to risk perception and, above all, to secure consumption of services (Sonmez & Apostolopoulos, 1999; Liu & Pratt, 2017). There are some models that try to explain the destination choice process. One such model is Crompton’s (1992), which explains the tourist decision-making process as rational and active, where the consumer has a great level of engagement in the choice of the destination to be visited, based on internal forces motivated by either previous knowledge of past experiences, and external forces explained by information provided by third parties and even the media (Lepp & Gisbon, 2008). In the model, there are sets of destinations that will not be chosen, inept set, and rejected set. The criteria for excluding them are based on previous unpleasant experiences and negative comments (Marion, Reintinger & Schmude, 2015).

These internal and external facts, along with the perception that risk rises after a terrorist incident, may determine the motivation of a tourist not to visit a destination (Buigut & Amendah, 2016). This means that the new transnational terrorism, by using the international media to promote its values and show its strength, impacts tourism negatively (Waters, Wallin & Hartley, 2018). Hence, the destination image has a very important role, as it represents a set of beliefs, ideas, global impressions, and feelings used in the destination choice process (Embacher & Buttler, 1989; Prayag, 2008; Molina, Gómez & Consuegra, 2010). Therefore, the feeling of insecurity, xenophobia, and public policies to restrict border crossing may either cause or contribute to tourism flow drop.

Building on the interconnected facts and theories, the current study aimed at understanding how Brazilian tourists, who were in Paris, perceive the effect of the night of the attacks in 2015 in the city’s destination image. In order to do so, an exploratory qualitative investigation took place with triangulation of documentary research, open-ended questionnaires, and video testimonies. The three phases of content analysis proposed by Bardin (2011), pre-analysis, exploration of the material, and treatment of the results, helped in the process of exteriorizing the facts. The research is justified by the need to deepen the theory about destination image (Liu, Li & Yang) and on terrorism (Muigut & Amendah, 2018; Silke, 2003), as well as how the fear culture, promoted by terrorist acts, impacts the tourism phenomenon. The main contribution of this research is to identify how individuals perceive destination image after a terrorist attack.

The article is structured into sections. After this introductory section, it offers a brief literature review about terrorism, international tourism and terrorism, and tourist destination image. The third section addresses the methods adopted. Then, data analysis and discussion of the results are presented. Finally, the conclusion of research is tackled.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Terrorism

Etymologically, according to the website Orígem da Palavras (2017), terrorism comes from the term terror, deriving from the Latin terror, “fear”, and terrere, “to scare” or “cause fear”. The term terrorism has the same origin of the word terrible.

As there is no definitive concept of what terrorism is, each researcher or individual interested in the area will define it according to their own point of view (Samitas et al., 2018). There are also problems, according to
Cronin (2002), in defining it because of the difficulty in categorizing events, as the classification of each attack is subject to political legitimacy. Cronin (2002) still argues that terrorism is an abrupt action or threat of this action, which acts violently against innocents to win political victories. Terrorism can still be characterized as a practice carried out by one group or state against another group or state using brutal methods (murders, kidnappings, and crimes) to create an environment of public emotional instability to achieve political, social, or religious ends (Shaw, 2000; Choi, 2010).

The problem in defining terrorist attacks is mainly due to different approaches to what is a terrorist action (Sandler, 2015). Therefore, according to Drakos and Kutan (2003), there are also no ethical standards against which to measure the outcomes of an attack or level of danger, considering the place of the occurrence and who is hit. This means that, even if an underdeveloped country suffers an attack with a greater number of casualties, it will receive little attention from the media and, thus, in the statistics, if compared to an attack in a developed country (Nitsch & Schumacher 2004; Kiliçlar, Usakli & Tayfun, 2017).

Currently, the number of victims of terrorist attacks has been increasing (Samitas et al., 2018), because the attacks are gaining greater proportions, even in a smaller number of occurrences. The number of lethal attacks, according to Frey, Luechinger and Stutzer (2007), stems from the specialization of fundamentalist groups regarding the technologies used and for preferring mass casualties, so that their causes gain greater media visibility.

Islamic fundamentalism, the jihad and terrorism began to grow in the postwar period from the 1950s, especially when British colonialism in Asia clashed with Russian pretensions to enter the Asian market through Afghanistan, culminating in the Soviet invasion of the country (Wrigth, 2007). Due to the Cold War, in an attempt to contain the advance of communism, the US began to finance the mujahidin (holy warriors) to fight the Russians in the Afghan territory. However, these warriors later joined the Islamic cause and trained other combatants (Bergen, 2001).

Hence, US imperialism, which made it the ultimate exponent of a Western culture to be wiped out by Islamic jihad, provided not only tactical but also ideological training of the main leaders and intellectual mentors of al-Qaeda. These factors, along with the failure of organizations such as the CIA and the FBI, even in the face of information foreshadowing bin Laden's actions that resulted in the 9/11 attacks, which changed the course of international terrorism history (Burke, 2007; Wrigth, 2007).

As such, terrorist phenomena cross borders and reach people of the most varied nations and their practitioners make use of technology during the actions and use tools of international communication, as already reported in the introductory part of this work (Sonmez & Apostolopoulos, 1999). These practices impact the development of the tourism industry, which is why there are various studies aimed at understanding the relationship between terrorism and tourism (Araña & León, 2008; Buigut & Amendah, 2016).

### 2.2 Tourism and International Terrorism

Tourism, like all service sectors, may be vulnerable to various threats (Liu & Pratt, 2017). Natural hazards such as hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanic activities or man-made hazards such as destruction of heritage sites, the construction of dams destroying natural environments, and wars are among those. Whatever the cause, the outcome is the same: a negative impact on the sector, either on tourism supply or demand (Samitas et al., 2018). In the case of natural hazards, demand returns to previous levels faster or with less effort (Sonmez & Apostolopoulos, 1999). Otherwise, when the cause of the abnormality is a human action, such as terrorism, the return of consumers requires more effort and yet with the risk of not recovering, tarnishing the image of the destination where the attack occurred (Tarlow, 2006).

Various crises can affect businesses, the tourism industry, and travelers’ destination choice process (Walters, Wallin & Hartley, 2018). According to Stafford, Yu and Armoo (2002) there are external and internal factors that justify the previous statement. The internal factors are associated with business management failures such as misconduct, fraud, and lack of values. The external factors, on the other hand, according to Freytag, Krüger, Meierrieks and Schneider (2011), are divided into two environments: the physical and the social or human environment.
Physical environments can be affected by natural disasters and technological failures. Social or human environment is subdivided into two types, the first being the confrontations (which can be exemplified by internal crises, such as protests against governments’ policies as those that have emerged in Brazil over the last few years) and the second type would be called malevolence, which could be exemplified by terrorist attacks in tourist regions. Tourism is negatively affected by these situations (Amorim, Soares & Tarlow, 2015), be them terrorism, social instability, or crime, but both supply and demand adapt to situations despite greater impacts (Walters, Wallin & Hartley, 2018).

Although the 2001 9/11 attacks in the United States were not against tourism, they had a major impact on the activity and stimulated strategies previously not applied in the control of international travel safety, especially at airports. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) estimates that, after the event, tourist demand across the globe fell by 10% and unemployment rose in the sector (Paritas, 2015; Samitas et al., 2018). From then on, there has been an increase in studies on the impact of events of this magnitude on tourism. Lepp and Gibson (2008) argue that the use of the media in exploiting the news of such attacks, especially when the action is against the state, would increase terror, adding more members to terrorist causes.

As the years went by, and after successive attacks, the protective measures were getting tougher and the facilities more monitored (Piazza, 2013). Therefore, attacks on the most vulnerable targets have increased, in this case, passers-by in public environments, where the flow of tourists fits. In addition to this vulnerable public, terrorists choose tourist destinations to hinder attractiveness and lower revenues for leaders (Pizam & Fleischer, 2002; Tarlow, 2006).

Terrorist attacks are unpredictable and different from each other (Freytag et al., 2011). The negative consequences for the affected destinations, victims, and tourist companies are diverse, one of the first is the immediate cancellation of flights, followed by a reduction in tourist activities, a drop in tourist demand or a shift of this demand to safer places, a reduction in prices charged by companies, operational problems (loss of luggage, massive queues, and flight delays) (Pizam & Fleischer, 2002; Paraskevas, 2013). Increasing costs on security and advertising measures to improve destination image causes companies to pass these costs on to consumers (Ritchie, 2004; Buigut, 2018).

### 2.3 Tourist Destination Image

Destination image was the subject of many academic debates over the last 30 years, being one of the main topics within tourism studies (Prayag, 2008). In the 1970s, Crompton (1979) already defined image as the sum of beliefs, ideas, impressions, and perceptions of individuals about certain places, events, and objects. Subsequently, some researchers understood it as ideas and perceptions conceived collectively or individually about a given place (Embacher & Buttler, 1989; Stylidis & Cherifi, 2018). In a more holistic definition, destination image is understood as the gathering of global impressions and feelings coming together in image construction (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991).

Image is important as it exerts a strong influence in destination choice, besides affecting the intention to return or recommend a given locality (Chi & Qu, 2008; Molina, Gómez & Consuegra, 2010). Studies on destination image are multidisciplinary, being based on anthropology, sociology, geography and, especially, on marketing (Gallarza, Saura & Garcia, 2002). Thus, the image is a brand used to distinguish two or more places and the construction of this positive vision occurs through branding (Blain, Levy & Ritchie, 2005; Foroudi et al., 2018). Despite all these studies, the conceptual structure of the image and some theories related to it need further investigation (Liu, Li & Yang, 2015).

Image is composed of attributes, i.e. destination features encompassing different aspects, dimensions, and forms (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Beerli & Martin, 2004; Chi & Qu, 2008). Tourist attitudes and behavioral motives are often altered by image, interfering directly in the choice of destination, and attributes are indispensable factors in this decision (Chon, 1990). Therefore, image formation has great variation from one research to another, as they come from varied backgrounds (Bastida & Huan, 2014).

Echtner and Richie (1991) propose a three-dimensional model featuring three continuums: functional-psychological, addressing the tangibility and abstraction; common-unique, with the peculiarity and the generality; and attribute-holistic, dealing with isolated characteristics and a greater aura. Another study of the 1990s...
states that the set of psychological, social, and external stimuli will generate the image of a certain place (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999).

In the 2000s, studies highlighted other meanings, for example, Gallarza, Saura and García (2002) indicated a static and a dynamic process. In the first, the interaction between destination image and tourist was the key; in the second, the structure interacted with image formation. Therefore, others point to the existence of socio-demographic factors (age, income, gender, occupation, etc.) and psychological factors (values, personality, previous knowledge, etc.) that include personal factors (Beerli & Martin, 2004). Therefore, the evolution from less complex models to multidimensional models to evaluate the destination image is clear (Moraga, Artigas & Irigoyen, 2012).

Motivation is closely linked to destination image, with emphasis on the psychological factor, because even if decisions are inherent to individuals, something in this context will cause them to seek stress reduction, a routine change, or merely the new, as explained in Iso-Ahola’s model (Simková & Holzner, 2014). A trip is not the result of a single motivation, the choice is permeated by a complexity of elements. For this reason, the most varied destination choice models have been formulated in recent years. The image acts as a fundamental component in some of them. The study by Crompton (1979) divides the options between known and unknown destinations, several aspects of the image definition can be identified as requirements for the selection of a known destination. In Schmöll's (1977) selection model, there are four dimensions acting to support tourists’ decision, and the image is present in the dimension of “external variables”.

Thus, it is clear that the theoretical construct of image is not yet unified. Since destination is an essential element of the tourism product, and both are responsible for the formation of the experience (Pine & Gilmore, 1998), the rise in the number of the studies on image in its varied dimensions is indicated. Consequently, there will be a greater understanding of the dynamics between destination image and individuals’ collective ideals and beliefs, as well as guidance for managers to create images that are more conducive to tourism flow (Chen et al., 2015).

3 RESEARCH METHOD

The present study was carried out through an exploratory qualitative research (Laville & Dionne, 1999). Creswell (2016) advocates the triangulation of sources and data in qualitative research to ensure its reliability and validity. Considering these aspects, this research made use of data triangulation, using documentary research, open-ended questionnaires, and testimonies of what happened by videos from three Brazilian news programs (Jornal Hoje, Jornal Nacional and Fantástico).

Initially, documentary research was carried out through a systematic review of literature, which presented two phases: the first one was exploratory, conducted on Google Scholar in order to verify in which formats the subject was approached, and the second was directed to the articles available on Periódicos Capes and also by Science Direct. In the article search protocol, the words terrorism, tourism, destination image, and France were used in Portuguese and in English. In a second moment, a questionnaire was administered in a virtual environment (e-mail and social media), hosted in Google Forms in November 2017. A total of 14 questionnaires were obtained. They were aimed at collecting the impressions of Brazilian tourists who experienced the terrorist events of that time.

Non-probability convenience sampling was used (Sampieri, Collado & Lucio, 2006), from the identification of people known by the authors of the survey, who lived in Paris and had witnessed the terror acts, and could indicate Brazilian tourists who went through the same situation. Therefore, snowball sampling technique was also used, as participants indicated other people for the sample. After that, closed groups on social media Facebook were surveyed. These groups’ members corresponded to the profile of those interested in the purpose of this study. In the platform there are a relative number of groups, but the questionnaire was only made available to those indicated by the people selected at the first moment.

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1 Website created and financed by the Brazilian Ministry of Education to offer free access for more than 21,500 academic journals for the Brazilian academic community.
The open-ended questionnaire proved to be one of the possible tools to collect data. In this way, since this tool was suitable for the purpose, the wording of the questionnaire, besides common sense, and good writing, meet some criteria such as unambiguous writing, accuracy, and exclusion of inductive, presumptive, and hypothetical questions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2006). The open-ended questionnaire in electronic format became the most valid option for this study, since all participants lived outside the state or country of residence of the researchers. Therefore, not all individuals involved were available to be contacted via video calls. Thus, 11 questions were elaborated to assess: (a) feelings on witnessing the attacks; (b) the reaction of the population after the attacks; (c) the impact of the attacks on the relationship between foreigners and the French; (d) security measures imposed by the government; and (e) the impact on the tourism activity. The questions can be found in Figure 1.

**Figure 1 - Open-ended questions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open-ended questions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Where were you on the night of the attacks?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) What was your feeling when you heard about it?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) After the attack, the French president adopted some security measures, did you find the actions valid? Justify.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Overall, how was the reaction of the French?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Thinking about the effects of government actions, do you think people feel safer over time? Why?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) What actions has the French government been taking or should take to prevent further attacks?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Can these actions interfere with the lives of foreigners residing in France or wishing to visit the city of Paris?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) After what has happened, have you notice any difference in treatment with foreigners or certain ethnic groups?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) In your opinion, do people continue to visit Paris, or has the flow of visitors reduced in some time after the attack?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) Do you feel secure in the city of Paris today?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) We would like to let you free to comment in detail any information about what happened that was not asked.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* The authors.

Subsequently, in order to validate the primary data, a detailed survey was carried out on YouTube for materials containing testimonies from Brazilians who were in France at the time of the attacks. Thus, to triangulate data collected in the open-ended questionnaire, testimonies of individuals on the experience were sought after.

To locate the videos with the testimonies of Brazilians on YouTube, the following search protocol was used: "terrorist attack in Paris", "attack on the Stade de France" and "attack on the nightclub Bataclan". Several videos were found using these phrases, however, the videos that brought testimonies of Brazilians about the attack were restricted to only three news programs, all of them from the network Rede Globo, Jornal Hoje, Jornal Nacional and Fantástico. A total of 10 videos were found, all of them were posted between 13 and 15 November 2015 on the YouTube channel.

As the survey sample was comprised of Brazilians, videos from non-Brazilians were not selected. The editing of the reports in the videos does not show the questions of the reporters, in this way it is not possible to evaluate if the testimonies were induced. The limitation was mainly due to the fact that the time elapsed between the attacks and the production of this work, since it was two years after the attacks and possibly many of the materials are no longer available on the Internet.

Content analysis was used as a methodological tool to aid in the data analysis process, since it is often used to obtain an in-depth understanding of the most diverse forms of communication (Bauer, 2002). The messages are analyzed considering the influence of the contexts to achieve a theoretical foundation (Franco, 2007). Bardin (2011), in his study, demonstrates the strong subjectivity of the analyzed objects, which drag the researcher to extremely fertile ground, being this the most applied perspective of the present time. Three phases are foreseen in the process: pre-analysis, material exploration, and treatment of results. In the first phase, skim-reading and the preparation of the material was carried out, and indicators were established. During the second phase the categories (code families) were created a priori, that is, they were predetermined
from the objective proposed in the study. The last phase was devoted to the inferences and interpretations of the results, condensing, and highlighting relevant information.

3.1 Categories creation

After the definition and preparation of the units of analysis – open-ended questionnaires and transcription of testimonies – the constructs of terrorism and the impact on tourist destination image were used to delineate the categories that served as data analytics tools. Categorization is a process of classification of the components of a set by differentiation and grouping from pre-determined criteria (Bauer, 2002; Franco, 2007). The criterion can be semantic, syntactic, lexical, or expressive (Bardin, 2011). In the present study the semantic criterion was used since it considers the topic a factor of union or separation of statements. Then, the categories used in the analysis of results were defined as shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Definitions</th>
<th>Theoretical framework</th>
<th>Constructs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feeling</td>
<td>Ability to feel, disposition to be moved, to impress, to perceive and to appreciate something</td>
<td>Choi, 2010; Goldman &amp; Neubauer-Shani, 2017; Shaw, 2000; Stern, 1999.</td>
<td>Terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public policy</td>
<td>Programs, actions, and activities developed by the State</td>
<td>Estrada &amp; Koutronas, 2016; Piazza, 2013; Sonmez, 1998.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Quality or condition of who or what is free of dangers, uncertainties, assured of damages and possible risks; situation in which there is nothing to fear</td>
<td>Buigut, 2018; Liu &amp; Pratt, 2017; Ritchie, 2004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xenophobia</td>
<td>Distrust, fear, or dislike of foreigners by those who judge them, or by what is unusual or comes from outside the country</td>
<td>Bozzoli &amp; Muller, 2011; Castanho-Silva, 2018.</td>
<td>Impact on Tourist Destination Image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impacts (Tourism)</td>
<td>Impression or very strong effect left by a certain action or event</td>
<td>Buigut &amp; Amendah, 2016; Crompton (1992); Prayag, 2008.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The authors

From the definition of categories, the analysis took place in four stages: (i) inventory of the transcriptions was made to identify the words of the same semantics; (ii) classification according to the categories; (iii) counting of term frequency; and (iv) inferences were made about the material, considering written and verbal manifestations, as well as gestures and expressions in video testimonies. Thus, these steps uncovered how constructs researched were presented in the data, contributing to the understanding of how terrorism affected destination image from the perspective of Brazilian tourists.

The analysis of the results is presented in the following section and is initially structured with the information obtained from the open-ended questionnaires, following with some excerpts extracted from the video testimonies, and finishing with a summary of information supporting the a priori categories.

4 ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

4.1 Analysis of Open-ended Questionnaires

In this section, the data collected from participants on the open-ended questionnaires are presented and analyzed. The questionnaire was built and made available to Brazilian tourists who have witnessed the incident in Paris. It is important to highlight that the discussion of the data was based on the concepts presented in the literature review, — second section of this paper —, used to guide the interpretation of the collected elements. In addition to the direct questions, in order not to limit understandings and seeking to understand other opinions about the main topic of research, as well as to complement the answers of the questionnaire, there was a blank space at the end of the questionnaire allowing respondents to freely detail any impression about the event that was not addressed in the previous questions.
Regarding the aspects related to the question that addressed respondents’ feelings when they learned about the attack, the expression “fear” was found in five responses, similar feelings were also identified, such as "dread", "panic", and "anguish". This information can be observed in some excerpts from participants’ responses, which were selected and presented as follows:

"Of despair and fear of having another terrorist group in another part of the city doing another attack." Female, 34 years old, nutritionist.

"Denial, it seemed a lie that something like that had happened." Female, 28 years old, student.

"We were returning to our home [...] when we noticed that the subway panels announced the risk of an attack .... We were very afraid, but it was a different feeling of fear of violence in Brazil. The feeling was one of indignation, but also of uncertainty [...]." Male, 33 years old, university professor.

The proposition found in these excerpts was feeling, referring to the ability to perceive something. The main feeling of the answers confirms the etymological judgment of terrorism, which states that it is an act that especially causes fear in individuals (Sandler, 2015). Even in their diversity of concepts, opinions, and perspectives (Samitas et al., 2018) and regardless of their motivation, whether political, economic, social, or religious (Goldman & Neubauer-Shani, 2017), terrorist acts are used to generate negative impacts in places. It is possible to perceive in the participants’ accounts that the feeling of fear prevails in individuals as an initial and main reaction, which strengthens terrorists’ agenda by damaging destination image for tourists. Besides fear, indignation is also present in the reactions.

Two further questions sought to understand how the Brazilians observed the security measures adopted by the then French president after the attacks and if these were enough.

"They were needed at the moment, at least to give a certain sense of security." Female, 34 years old, nutritionist.

"I found border control consistent, but I did not see any sense in the curfew." Female, 34 years old, engineer.

"Yes, but not the duration of the action, which was very long and that disrupted the circulation of airplanes in France." Female, 27 years old, counselor HR/IT.

"Yes, if nothing was done the attacks would have continued." Female, 46 years old, teacher.

"There was the tightening of a security plan that already existed, called Vigipirate. The army took the streets with more force, there was a ban on marches and demonstrations, and the security plan (Vigipirate) was strengthened." Male, 33 years old, university professor.

Eleven affirmative answers of the total of the questionnaires were observed, some with reservations, but agreeing with the security actions. The third question was intended to measure whether foreign residents felt safe in the French capital.

"Yes, I feel safe, but like every Brazilian always with caution." Female, 34 years old, nutritionist.

"Yes, much more than in Brazilian capitals." Female, 32 years old, researcher.

"It depends on the region, depends on the number of people around, depends on the time of day, depends on the place, depends on the type of transportation." Female, 29 years old, lawyer.

In these two previous questions, it was intended to measure the respondents’ sense of security, whether they understood it as quality or not, i.e., whether they felt protected or far from any danger after the terrorist acts. The participants’ responses make it clear that the fear of a new attack is present in the day-to-day life of the city, although there is a sense of security with precaution. Tighter security actions bring a sense of encouragement, but it is not an easy situation for the government to manage in the medium to long term. As noted by Pizza (2013), monitoring to prevent terrorist acts is increasing after a few years of successive attacks, this can help in the sense of security of residents and tourists.

In the fourth question it was asked how they perceived the reaction of the French after the 2015 attacks. The following answers were obtained:

"They did everything to show that they would not be intimidated. The other day, even with parks and squares closed, there were many families on the street, children playing on the sidewalks. I thought it was brave." Female, 34 years old, engineer.

"In the first days, everyone stayed at home, Paris was empty... then everyone went back to life." Female, 28 years old, student.
"The next day there were no people on the street, the ones that left were scared. Overall, a mixture of sadness with revolt and a positive attitude to try to be strong and not let go of terrorist threats." Female, 32 years old, researcher.

"There was a national commotion, they created a solidarity network to house people who could not return to their homes the night of the attack. The next day was a lot of homage to the victims, but we noticed in a park (Grand Pelouse - Cité Internationale Universitaire) that many families were with their children occupying the public spaces, it was a way of resisting barbarism." Male, 33 years old, university professor.

The intention at this moment was to inquire about the reaction of the native population through the eyes of foreigners, in this case the Brazilians, and thus measure the peculiarities and values of the people from the place when being stimulated by something tragic like a terrorist act. Frey, Luechinger & Stutzer (2007) argue that after the acts, at one point, there is a public commotion followed by a social claim to the rulers for more severe measures against organizers and perpetrators of catastrophic events. The Brazilians who answered the questionnaires affirmed the previous concept, reporting their willingness to show themselves as strong and united even in a hostile environment of fear and insecurity.

In order to understand the public actions carried out by the Parisian authorities, two questions were raised in relation to protection measures. The first question asked whether residents of any nationality, including the respondents themselves, felt more secure over time.

"I do not know, I think it depends on the person, or the group of people. There are people who feel safer with the army on the streets, there are people who do not." Female, 34 years old, engineer.

"I do not know, I did not feel insecure. Cultural issue. In fact, having full-time soldiers circling where civilians stay gives a greater sense of insecurity." Female, 27 years old, counselor HR/IT.

"Yes, much more policing and control in the entrance of busier places." Female, 32 years old, researcher.

"No. It is virtually impossible to predict where an attack will take place. And putting military personnel everywhere causes more panic." Female, 35 years old, photographer.

"I think everyone knows they're not safe, but they go on with their lives normally." Female, 35, lecturer guide.

The second question examined the actions taken, which would be to avoid further possible attacks.

"France is following the Vigipirate plan, where surveillance is doubled in all public places and investigating people who have a suspicious profile. I do not think there's anything more that can improve the situation." Female, 34 years old, nutritionist.

"Maybe more border control. The terrorists were European citizens, they can come and go without control. I think the government could also monitor the population more, especially those with a record of radicalization." Female, 34 years old, engineer.

"More police on the streets and should have more control over immigration and borders." Female, 25 years old, architect.

"More intelligence investigation." Female, 34 years old, journalist.

"I think international politics is the biggest problem." Female, 35, lecturer guide.

Although there is a latent difficulty in avoiding terrorist actions on the part of the authorities, the programs developed by the state sought, according to the above statements, mainly to limit and avoid other attacks, both before being confirmed and later, corroborating with the ideas of Estrada and Koutronas (2016). The strategy of placing a more visible military force on the streets is not sustainable in the medium and long term, because it is not feasible to have military personnel in every place that would be a possible target for terrorists. In addition, this can also cause a sense of insecurity in the population. Thus, the intelligence service of the country acted to prevent further attacks, which is confirmed in the above statements as also confirmed by the university professor. He reported:

"In the days leading up to the attacks, the Vigipirate Plan's warning numbers have intensified. I believe that the French police, through their investigations, already had a dimension of the possibility of an attack [...]" Male, 33 years old, university professor.

In addition, Lepp and Gibson (2008) suggest that the widespread dissemination of terrorist attacks by the media makes more people feel empowered to join terrorist groups. This makes them stronger and increases the frequency of attacks. In addition, the more the media attention given to the acts, the more the terrorist groups' ideology is propagated. Thus, it is possible to perceive another difficulty for the authorities to avoid terrorism, because of the conflict of interests of the involved agents, terrorists, government, and media.
Therefore, as suggested by Pizza (2013), security policies need to be more stringent and able to carry out
surveillance in order to anticipate and prevent actions from occurring.

Another issue was to evaluate whether the security measures, through public policies, interfered with the
lives of foreign residents in France, as well as of tourists.

"Probably all control actions hit foreigners, especially if they are do not have the white and blond Eu-
ropean stereotype." Female, 34 years old, engineer.

"Yes, it depends on their origin. Honestly for Latino tourists it has not changed much, but for migrants
and tourists of Muslim origin, perhaps it has changed. I don't know this information to tell you." Female,
27, counselor RH/IT.

"It is possible that prejudice against Arab immigrants has increased and there is a greater security
checks at airports." Female, 32 years old, researcher.

"It's a different situation for those who live in a country without terrorism, like Brazil, but I do not think
it interferes with the life of the visitor." Female, 46 years old, teacher.

As in the previous question, it was intended to analyze how Brazilians perceived the treatment of foreigners
or certain ethnic groups, if there was any change after the attacks.

"There has always been differential treatment, perhaps after the bombings the prejudiced only found
the 'perfect' excuse." Female, 34 years old, engineer.

"No, prejudice against Muslims has always existed, but in Paris, the cultural mix is so great that you
do not see much racism or clear prejudice." Female, 27, counselor RH/IT.

"Yes, especially against Arabs and blacks." Female, 35, lecturer guide.

"Especially the Islamists, the looks, the distrust and the xenophobia. We had a Muslim friend who
suffered from what is called Islamophobia." Male, 33 years old, university professor.

With even more planned attacks and wanting to reach targets that cause more public commotion, there is
an intensification of acting in locations with easier and more vulnerable victims. These environments are
generally public, crowded places, such as the attacked points (Tarlow, 2006). Often various nationalities are
affected, as it happened in the attacks in Paris. In these cases, xenophobia becomes visible and broader
after the terrorist nationalities are assumed or discovered. Xenophobia is conceptualized as aversion for what
is different or, also, by hatred or fear of outsiders (Molina, Gómez & Consuegra, 2010). The two previous
questions sought to find out if this phobia was already identified by respondents before the terrorist acts or
if this arose from the attacks. The acts studied were promoted by issues already related to this aspect, when
Muslim peoples suffered discrimination and social exclusion years before the event (Bozzoli & Muller, 2011).

At another point in the questionnaire, it was sought to measure whether people continued to visit Paris or
they noticed a decrease in flow sometime after the attacks.

"Immediately I noticed a decrease in the number of Asians in the city, but now everything has returned
to normal." Female, 34 years, nutritionist.

"Tourism returned to normal one year after the attack, before that, there was a crisis in the sector." Female,
32 years old, researcher.

"I work with tourism and in the first months after the bombings the drop in the tourist flow was incred-
ible. And it was my worst working season in 2016." Female, 35, lecturer guide.

"[...] visitor numbers have dropped dramatically. But from February 2016 I realized that the city started
to receive a greater flow of tourists [...]" Male, 33 years old, university professor.

The intention was to assess whether the impacts of an act of such magnitude, such as a terrorist attack,
would have a substantial effect on tourism demand, since tourism activity may suffer negative impacts for a
variety of reasons (Liu & Pratt, 2017) and one of the main effects is on the balance of supply and demand of
a tourist destination (Walters, Wallin & Hartley, 2018). In 2015, with the terrorist attack in France, the impact
was caused by human action, by the number of deaths, and by the sequence of attacks, and instantly inter-
fered with flight cancellations and accommodation reservations (Seraphin, 2017), as well, in a slower con-
sumer return (Tarlow, 2006). Despite the period of recovery of destination image, the halt of attacks and
more severe security policies, there was not a very harmful impact on tourism, and within a year the tourist
flow returned to normal, as stated by the interviewees.

Paris and its inhabitants had an important role in reconstructing the image as a strong tourist destination,
this is understood in the statements:
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“The image of the terrorist attacks in the view of the French was an attack on the French lifestyle (liberté) and so even though there are security measures in the city, I feel that the citizens are keen to show that they will not be discouraged.” Female, 34 years, nutritionist.

“Parisiens do not enjoy sensationalist media and do not feed the fear of attack, they live life normally. They sometimes feel too controlled by the current security measures. Privacy and freedom are very relevant here.” Female, 32, researcher.

“Terrorism works because everyone has the impression they have narrowly escaped. The attack kills some, but reaches the entire population. Parisians make efforts to show that they are not afraid.” Female, 34 years old, journalist.

Even so, some foreigners feel moments of insecurity, even years later, as the 26-year old laboratory technician reports: "I was invited to a show in Bercy but I was not because I thought I was going to die"; and the 27-year old engineer: "I just think it is interesting to note that I do not feel safer and especially that I do not go to other places open to the public without controlled entry."

4.2 Analysis of Video Testimonies

Testimonies were used to confer reliability and validity to research through data triangulation. Thus, despite the few videos on the platform surveyed, after almost two and a half years of the events, testimonies of Brazilian tourists available on YouTube in the two days following the attacks were collected. This closeness is fundamental to ensure that a greater number of feelings and reactions can be revealed by the discourse of these tourists, bringing more elements to be analyzed, without loss of memories due to the time elapsed (Creswell, 2016). Therefore, the video testimony does not only bring the interviewee’s speech, but expressions, silences, and gestures to compose the analysis with the purpose of minimizing impacts and distortions of image editing.

Thus, when proceeding with the analysis of video testimonies, it was possible to identify the presence of characteristics in line with the questionnaires, as verified in the sections transcribed below:

"[...] people were scared, they created a climate of panic and ran back into the stadium. Then, everyone of course was scared and invaded the field, the lawn.” Female, journalist.

"[...] the panic picked up I think between ten to fifteen minutes from the end of the game. People began to want to leave, and that's where the famous word of mouth started. People saying, ‘they are not releasing the output!’, ‘What is happening?’. Worse than the blast of bombs is when you see eighty thousand people rushing past each other. It's like a race to the death [...]” Male, student.

"The most frightening moment for us was exactly when we were at Gare Du Nord, a train station where we would move to the subway, and the police started to come running and saying: ‘leave the station fast, run out of the station’ [...]” Male, sociologist.

The above clippings reveal feelings of panic, fear of death, and fright, again it becomes explicit a social instability from violent acts, all these features present in concepts and definitions about terrorism, in line with studies such as that of Frey, Luechinger and Stutzer (2007), Choi (2010), and Fortna (2015). Other statements have demonstrated the need for people to feel secure:

"When we left, I asked the guy out there and he said it was a terrorist attack outside the stadium. Then the police asked everyone to enter the field and wait here until a second order.” Male, accountant.

"We were about 500 meters away from the bar that was machine-gunned, there were people from our group who were in the next bar and hid behind the counter.” Male, photographer.

"[...] I started to hear some noises, he said: it's gunshot, it's gunshot! I did not even know it was a terrorist attack. We hid behind the counter. Then, when I left the bar, there were a lot of people injured and dead in the street.” Male, advertising.

Safety is an attribute that composes the collective impressions, feelings, beliefs, and perceptions of the tourist in destination image formation (Stylidis & Cherifi, 2018), and can interfere in the process of choosing the destination (Crompton, 1979). Thus, an issue such as this may lead to an instability of tourist activity, causing a decrease in demand and even unemployment (Parra, 2015), which may lead to the loss of local attractiveness (Pizam & Fleischer, 2002), besides of increase the security costs, which are passed on to tourists (Buigut, 2018), and higher prices may hamper demand normalization.

The last aspect of the statements in which convergence was identified with the questionnaires: xenophobia, as can be seen in the following excerpt:
The elements present in the above section resemble those found in the open-ended questionnaires, and demonstrate that the existence of xenophobia precedes events, acting as a factor of discrimination of these religious groups, and this is intensified by intolerant government policies according to Bozzoli and Muller (2011) and Castanho-Silva (2018).

4.3 Summary of categories

It was possible to perceive in the testimonies the presence of three categories: feeling, security, and xenophobia. In the feeling category, the most recurrent words are those related to death, totaling eight repetitions (50%), in general, coming from fear and exposure to a situation impossible to control (Englund & Stohl, 2016). The emotions present in the speeches were primarily negative, demonstrating states of panic, despair, and dread (Liu & Pratt, 2017, Buiguit, 2018). The word happy was used to show contentment because of the distance from the site of the attacks. Although the word police appeared five times (41.7%) in the security category, its use had an unfavorable impact, since it appeared in moments of uncertainty. Already eight (25%) citations expressed the need for protection. The fear of xenophobic reactions with the Arab ethnic group or with similar physical characteristics was present in two (50%) of the allusions in one of the categories identified. A summary of the words in each category can be found in Table 2.

The questionnaires presented all the semantic categories chosen for the study. The Brazilian tourists in Paris, in six of the questionnaires that were answered, said they were afraid of what had happened. This is the most prevalent feeling in virtually all tourists after the attacks (Buigut & Amendah, 2016; Kiliçlar, Usakli & Tayfun, 2017). Feelings such as panic, dread, anguish, and indignation indicated the reaction of those close to the attacks or in places where they occurred. Other individuals reported on impotence, apathy, uncertainty, and denial in the face of the facts and, finally, the sadness for the lives lost.

The reaction of the French population, in the view of the Brazilians, was of shock and fear initially. This reaction of the French was also noticed in the studies of Seraphin (2017) and Nevalsky (2015). Some participants said “the next day they made a point of going out, going to the coffees and showing that Muslim extremists would not be able to spread terror among the French.” From this and other fragments brought in the previous section, one notices the awakening of a nationalist feeling (Estrada & Koutronas, 2016), against the attacks, these reactions were identified in nine (64%) of the questionnaires.

Regarding security, eight (57%) of respondents did not feel safe despite government actions (Castanho-Silva, 2018), while two questionnaires (14%) stated that despite preventive measures, terrorist acts are unpredictable, and the government hardly will be able to anticipate a new attack. This information shows how difficult it is to control terrorist actions and how tourists are apprehensive about it (Samitas et al., 2018). As for the emergency measures adopted in the public policy area, eleven (79%) of the Brazilians surveyed showed agreement, the rest indicated discomfort with some actions, such as the curfew.

Regarding the continuity of public policy actions, the answers presented greater variability and there was no harmony between the practices adopted. A total of six respondents pointed to the need for greater border control as perceived in the statement: “terrorists were European citizens, they can come and go without control.” Others declare French international politics to be the main cause of the incident, that is, they believe that avoiding conflicts with the "Islamic countries" would be the solution. Other tourists suggested greater investments in intelligence and international cooperation agreements to restrict terrorist actions. These findings are in line with studies by Saha and Yap (2014) in which they propose international policies aimed at reducing conflicts between countries, more specifically with Islamic countries.
Table 2 - Categories versus Testimonials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Testimonies</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feeling</td>
<td>People got scared</td>
<td>4 times</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We got scared</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Everyone, of course, is scared</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The scariest moment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It created a climate of panic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The panic occurred within 10 to 15 minutes</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It was a very desperate moment</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I saw death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It was a race to death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lives and dies, dies and lives</td>
<td>8 times</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Race to death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I'm going to die, I'm going to die</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bruised and dead people on the street</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I'm glad I came back to Brazil</td>
<td>1 time</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It was banned by the Police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The police started to come running and saying 'get out of the station'</td>
<td>5 times</td>
<td>41.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The police were telling us to run away</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The police asked everyone to come in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Security forces must act to curb suspects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I could hear some gunshots</td>
<td>4 times</td>
<td>33.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He said: it's gunshot, it's gunshot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From the bar that was machine-gunned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hide behind the chairs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hid behind the counter</td>
<td>3 times</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We hid behind the counter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People who are Arab or look like Arabs</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inflated by hatred and fear</td>
<td>1 time</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Generates prejudice</td>
<td>1 time</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The authors

Another factor investigated in this study was the presence of xenophobia in the relationships between the French and foreigners, the responses were balanced, seven people found no interference, while seven people believed in this interference. Therefore, despite the claims of some tourists, and considering previous measures of the French government as the prohibition of the use of niqab, this perception may not represent a social reality. This misleading statement may be due to a distancing from the tourist or even lacking ethnic characteristics similar to the Arabs (Castanho-Silva, 2018).

When evaluating a possible reduction in the flow of tourists, this study sought to measure the impacts. five (35%) respondents stated that there was a decrease in the first months after the attacks, while nine (64%) declined to believe in the reduction of visitors in the city. Thus, France presented a peculiar situation in 2015, as it became the scene of many consecutive attacks, and these actions had an immediate reflection on the tourist activity. The country has seen an increase in international tourism since 2010, and in 2016 the tourism sector generated revenues of US$ 42.5 million, a decrease of 5.34% compared to 2015. Regarding international arrivals, despite a reduction of 0.9% in the indexes, France ended 2016 in the ranking of the ten most visited countries in the world, with a flow of 82.6 million tourists, and expected to recover in 2017 (UNWTO, 2017). The impact existed moderately on the figures presented, corroborating the perception of Brazilian tourists when they stated that they did not perceive a reduction in the flow of visitors in Paris.

From the perspective of destination image, insecurity was a stimulus present in the responses, despite public policies and the most ostensive border policing. However, the unpredictability of the attacks announces any place as a potential target, not only Paris, that is, to stop visiting it does not make certain of the distancing of the danger. This result could appear differently in another locality, but Paris has a consolidated image over the years - the City of Light - a positive brand built and fixed in international tourism and this makes it different from other cities and/or other products (Blain, Levy & Ritchie, 2005; Son, 2005).
6 FINAL REMARKS

Contemporary terrorism does not only aim at indomitable fear, panic, terror, but the overthrow of a cultural imperialism (Hoffman 1998; Samitas et al., 2018). The phenomenon of tourism has intensified over the years, as it allows a momentary contact with dissimilar others without acculturation or hybridization as Wainberg (2005) argues, tourists have a voyeuristic look and concealed in a false anthropological fusion, and in this precarious intercultural communication the return to beliefs and values is kept unshaken. Therefore, in the society of hyper-spectacle, entertainment, and economy of experiences, tourism is the main star and when cities are marketed as in a show business (Lipovetsky & Serroy, 2015), they become the scene of attacks. The extremists want more media attention, and without a stage they would not exist.

The Night of Terror in Paris totaled eight attacks, highlighting the bombs at the Stade de France, located in the Saint Denis district near Paris; shootings at Le Carillon restaurants, Le Petit Cambodge, La Belle Team and Café Bonne Biere; a suicide bomber blew himself up against the Comptoir Voltaire restaurant; and the action of three suicide attackers, shooting inside the nightclub Bataclan, where the band Eagles of Death Metal was playing. They killed 93 people and another 217 were injured in the attack. In addition, at least 20 civilians were taken hostage for two hours (GTD, 2017). The present study contributed to the understanding of the relationship between the attacks described above and the image of the city of Paris, as well as the consequences of these actions in tourism demand, from the Brazilian tourists’ perception.

The main goal of this research was to evaluate the impact of terrorist acts on destination image of Paris from the Brazilian tourists’ perspective. This aim was achieved by identifying information that Brazilian tourists share the same feelings of insecurity of residents and visitors in the city where the attacks occurred, but that did not diminish the desire to remain or return to the city of Paris. In addition, the most ostensive actions adopted by the government did not cause discomfort to the point of being a reason for not returning to the city, on the contrary, there is cooperation between residents and tourists in the actions to avoid attacks of greater proportions, since it is practically impossible to prevent terrorist acts. Thus, it is plausible to state that terrorism is minimally affecting tourism in Paris, and that Brazilian tourists have not changed their mind about visiting the city, even in this context of fear.

Much of the cultural dispute between France and the Islamists is due to Orientalism, which is a Western European style of domination over the East, colonizing it, restructuring it, and gaining authority over it. This concept begins with British and French colonialism over India and the biblical lands. However, this relationship is not one-sided, the Orient starts to define and integrate the civilization and culture of Europe (Said, 1990). Therefore, xenophobic policies adopted by the French government disregard the existence of a cultural miscegenation of French society stemming from its own colonizing policy, with Islamists who are also French and are in their homeland.

According to Oz (2004), a fanatic is an altruist who wishes to free himself from the influence of a Western culture contrary to his ideologies. Therefore, the cure for this behavior can be through humor or arguments, in which it is intended to overcome these ideals with something better. These elements are present in the Charbonnier (2015) chronicles (better known as Charb), dealing with laic humor, atheistic skepticism, and even the paradox between religious belief and fanaticism.

The use of terror in order to expand particular ideals will not disappear, even though it has unimpressive results about people’s intention to return to the affected city. Unfortunately, every year it is possible to see just the opposite, with increasing atrocities and the development of better methods of achieving the objectives of terrorist causes. Thereby, it is worth reflecting on how the media could exploit the news without financial capital being superimposed on the human, since it is confirmed, based on theories, that without repercussion, the attacks would hardly expand so much. It is necessary to create more ethical methods and more democratic, safe, and less sensationalist information management. Combating attacks is possible, but war is not the most appropriate way to stop it. Peaceful paths to dialogue can emerge through international diplomacy, and will be the most effective means of combating terrorist practices (Saint-Pierre, 2015).

Finally, respect for the academic world and opinion makers by the terms “terrorism” and “terrorist” would build a foundation for debate and would not increase discomfort and prejudice. Attitudes such as these would widen the dialogue, for in the absence of an agreement among nations, when absolute evil is created to
propose a remedy closer to disease than cure. In a world where war prevails in politics by other means, the solution would be to believe in individuals, to invest in the construction of a sense of responsibility and hospitality with one's neighbors, without restricting moral responsibility for the other and forgoing the frontier between cultures (Bauman, 2017). However, this discussion is still incipient and needs more debate on the issue.

The research presented some limitations. First, the variety of concepts involving terrorism, because the absence of this definition allows it to fit into many situations. However, the tying of a concept would put some actions of supposedly legal states in the framework of terrorism. Secondly, the impossibility of directly interviewing the tourists participating in the research, since this practice might have provided a wider range of information for the cross-referencing of the theoretical basis with the results. Finally, the distance from events, since individuals were essentially one of the pillars of the study, it is normal to forget (loss) some details over time (Creswell, 2016).

Another possible investigation may address the perspectives of the natives of the City of Light, seeking to identify the residents' feelings and gaze on opening the doors of their city for tourism purposes, even leaving room for danger, as is the example of terrorism. A second research proposal would be to conduct a study of another tourist destination targeted by attacks but without a positive image as deeply rooted in the collective mind as is the case of Paris.

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Night of terror in the city of light: terrorist acts in Paris and Brazilian tourists’ assessment of destination image


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