

Ensaio:

The Elementary Forms of Risk: The Mobility Immobilized

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ABSTRACT

Modernity and mobilities have been widely studied from many perspectives. Any movement opens new limens and boundaries that denote the status of travelers. In our days, neither the lineage nor the kinship determines the identity of subject. We often accept the belief that we live in a modern mobile world, which unlike ancient world, presents new opportunities to more free knowledge and social relations. But mobility engenders risks, and risk has been a buzz-word topic examined by sociology for more than 30 years. In contrast to current state of the art, that claims risks are negative elements that affect the advertising of tourist destinations, we argue that the risk is not only enrooted in capitalism, but also in the act of traveling. The concept of risk and mobilities are inextricably linked in the capitalist ethos.

Keywords: Tourism.
Modernity. Risk. Fiction.
Accident. Death

RESUMO

As Formas Elementares do Risco: A Mobilidade Imobilizada - Modernidade e mobilidade têm sido amplamente estudadas por diferentes vieses acadêmicos, nos últimos 30 anos. Muito embora seja amplamente aceito que estejamos vivendo em um mundo móvel, se em comparação com outras civilizações, pouco se considera que qualquer movimento ou deslocamento desafia a

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identidade e a pertença do sujeito ao território. A mobilidade, por sua vez, também gera riscos, levando a que o mesmo seja uma categoria de análise importante; em contraste com o que tem sido escrito, que postula risco como um aspecto negativo na propaganda de destinos turísticos, defende-se neste ensaio o risco como parte inerente da viagem e da mobilidade.

Palabras-clave: Turismo. Modernidade. Risco. Ficção. Acidente. Morte.

INTRODUCTION

Recently, sociology and anthropology have advanced considerably steps in exploring the risk as primary object of study (Duclos, 1987). For some reason, risk-related theories have certainly expanded beyond the boundaries of Social Sciences (Freudenburg, 1988; Becker 2011; Skoll & Korstanje, 2012). The risk changed the perception of the world as well as the current style of living as never before. The breakthroughs in the fields of technology brought interesting enhancement but with them, serious risks otherwise remained covered. The onset of this new century witnessed a great variety of disasters, turmoil and risks such as World Trade Centre attacks, SARS virus outbreaks, towards natural disasters with the sufficient power to destroy entire cities. What is the role of tourism in these timing times?, is tourism part of the problem or the solution?.

The discussion within Sociology seems to be far from reaching a consensus. Two schools struggle today to impose its own meaning of what a risk is. The school of 'probabilists' emphasizes on the mathematical nature of risk, which can be understood using complex algorithms and quantitative-led models. Employing rationality as the main source of analysis, science may infer and even prevent the risks enhancing the safety of society. Rather, other important voices, known as 'constructivists', prefer to think the risk as a social construal. One of the negative aspects, which are not resolved by quantitative models, is the concept of 'pre-emption' that leads towards the precautionary platform. Whenever society works hard to prevent risks, much earlier things happens, the democratic institutions are threatened by activists who are interested to fix their agenda to the government.

This discrepancy within a classical discipline as Sociology merits opening a conceptual debate, in this review, to agree a consensus of risk meaning. In the successive chapters, we explore the role of tourism and hospitality, as mobile industries, to accelerate or mitigate the negative effects of risks. Our thesis is that risks do not affect tourism, as many other scholars preclude. Every day the world is more mobile but this is superfluous. The self is immobilized, captured, trapped in order for the sensible realm to be cyclically reinvented. The constant acceleration of physical displacement, facilitated by leisure industries as tourism or hospitality, resulted in a psychological immobilization, previously determined by the risk (fear). To validate our hypothesis we provide an empirical study-case of an elderly couple (Roger and Mary) in Argentina. Over years, they are deprived to reach the benefits of mobility because of financial problems, both are retired person with the minimum salary, but once they situation was enhanced; risk and insurance companies absorbed their income.

THE RISK AND SOCIETY

In his book *Social Insecurity*, Robert Castel examines how the civil rights paved the ways for the advent of a new way of conceiving the civility. The individual liberties set the pace to private property. Based on the hegemony of capital, the modern societies referred to the safety as a

mechanism to reduce the impacts of illness, poverty, disasters and old aging. If the medieval societies were subject to an unabated net of crises and dangers, the Modernity brought certain well-being. At some extent, this state of security that characterized the technological advance in industrial times corresponds with an inflation of perceived risk. Paradoxically, far from being more secure, people live scared by the news, or the scientific reports that discover the causes of new cancers.

In this token, Castel sets forward an interesting thesis: the feeling of insecurity would be defined first and foremost as an obsession for protection. The advance of technology and science in human domain entailed new unheard dangers in other times. This collective aversion corresponds with a lack of dependency among the different collectives that encompass the society. Towns and cities were protected in medieval times by the symbolic hegemony of Catholic Church, but afterwards the liberty and Modernity brought by certain autonomy of some agents respecting to others (Castel, 2006).

Similarly to Castel, Ulrich Beck (2006) argues that the process of Modernity has been modified the social institutions creating a bridge between perception and action. This radical shift commenced after the nuclear accident occurred in Chernobyl, Ukraine. Likewise, in normal conditions, disasters are the result of human errors, but after Chernobyl, Beck adds, the boundaries between classes and liabilities were blurred. The effects of Chernobyl developed a new a-hierarchical society where the most important commodity to produce was 'safety'. The property, as a main sign of status, sets the pace to a new commodity, the risk. In a complex world characterized by the excess of information, risk not only mediated between human beings, but also marked the pace of science (Beck, 2006).

Nonetheless neither Castel nor Beck focused on the role of media in drawing what specialists know as 'risk communication'. Bauman (2006) argues convincingly that risk is defined by its prone to future. Unlike disasters, which hit communities, risks are abstract constructions gushing in the near future, but never in present times. This happens because of elite needs from risks to create a much deeper state of psychological fear, to undermine the pressure of worker unions, in the capitalist system. The workforce that centuries ago, negotiated directly to capital-owners by means of unions, today is reduced to a simple commodity (Bauman, 2006). The success of capitalism to flourish everywhere is given by the decline of trust among citizens. This stimulates a free liberal market where the war of all against all, hallmarked by social Darwinism, determines the survival of the fittest in the society. At time modern capitalist societies create wealth, mobility and pleasure, thousands of workers are exploited in miserable work conditions.

Restructuring the contributions of French Sociology with British Pragmatism, Giddens (1991) intends to discuss to what an extent a micro-social theory as secure base and Attachment converges with macro-sociology of his previous thesis about 'RE-structuration'. Starting from the premise that Modernity works as a post-traditional order, which is based on the rationality and doubt, risk would be defined as a form of liability to intellectualize the uncertainty. The process of doubts re-channeled the connection between self and their care-takers from their infancy. If we should recognize that trust is the symbolic cocoon that provides a sentiment of stability to babies, even in their adulthood, it is not surprising to assume that the culture of risk will creates insecure personalities. The classical hierarchal order has changed forever, or mutated in new forms of organizations. The process of reflexivity has institutionalized the principle of radical doubt.

'Modernity reduces the overall riskiness of certain areas modes of life, yet at the same time introduces new risk parameters include high-consequence risk: risks deriving from the globalized character of the social system of modernity. The late modern world –the world of what I term high modernity- is apocalyptic, not because it is inevitably heading towards calamity, but because it introduces risks which previous generations have not had to face' (GIDDENS, 1991, p. 4). After reading this excerpt, one might question whether modern people seem to be more vulnerable than other generations. The moot point here is ¿why?.

Unlike Beck, Giddens acknowledges that Modernity and industrialization are two different processes. While the modernity created the 'disembedding mechanisms', industrialization paved the ways for a re-restructuring of labor. As money, mobilities ad risks are based on the advance of technology. These mechanisms connects absences with presences, in a way of fluid communication. The process of reflexivity leads people to find themselves beyond the influences exerted by social institutions. At time, it creates a more mobile world, where citizens feel more free or dotted with further skills to face risks, Giddens alarms, and the fact is the world is more unpredictable. Nobody feel safe anywhere and anytime. We are living in a world where the 'worst is yet to come'. Unlike other times where rational decision making process marked a valid instrument to prevent risk, now the theory of complexity shows how the technology originally oriented to make our life safer is creating new un contemplated risks that may destroy our civilization (Giddens, 2011). Even though the state takes the control of trade and market, the logic of capitalism will not be broken. As Z. Bauman (2008) puts it, people and their societies are only concerned by those events that may collapse the economic systems, or the profits they daily earn. We live, doubtless, in an empire that processes the risk as a mechanism of discipline.

THE EMPIRE OF RISK

In sharp contrast with Giddens, Cass Sunstein (2006) develops a new conceptual framework to understand the inflation of risk, in a context where state is inefficient to change the situation. As a Chicago boy, Sunstein understands risk from the platform of probabilism. The problem, he adds, is that modern states are embracing populist claims where the risk is not interpreted with clarity. Government and its policy-makers must not follow what people want; they should accomplish what is beneficial for society. In his book, *Risk and Reason*, Sunstein acknowledges that the current inflation of risk depends on two main reasons, (a) the availability heuristic and (b) probability neglect. While the former refers to the mental disposition for reminding similar events that have lower probabilities of materialization, the latter one neglects the real probabilities of risk in the daily life. Both mechanism works together, by paving the ways for embracing an atmosphere where citizens believe 'securitization' must be granted by state, over other democratic values. However, to what an extent, we are sure these demands are objective, and were scientifically studied. History is fraught of examples where governments simply collapsed by accepting biased and irrational citizen's demands. Dorner's experiment, precisely, demonstrates how lay people and even experts make daily decisions that virtually lead to extreme and irreversible states of emergencies. Decision making process seems not to be circumscribed to rationale neither an all-encompassed view.

Last but not least, in opposition to Giddens and Sunstein's argument, Niklas Luhmann (2006) has criticized the thesis of risk society because of the increasing alarmism it spreads in public consciousness. Certainly, Luhmann adds, risks always are rooted into a previous profits or benefit, whereby the subject should decide. It corresponds with the principle of contingency. Unfortunately Beck has problems to distinguish risk and threat. While risk signifies a previous

decision by the self, threat refers to something external to the self. A terrorist attack, an airplane accident, or natural disasters are threats, since the victims have no direct decisions on the factors that determined the event, and of course have no resources to avoid its effects. To put this in bluntly in an airplane accident passengers on board have no way of avoiding their fatal destiny. That way, they are not facing risks, but threats. Risk is here generated by the company owners whose cut-off policies risen the probabilities of accidents. Here Luhmann says an interesting point, generally, those persons who creates the risks, never face them.

In this respect, J. Richardson (2010) contends that threats which jeopardize society are introduced in the social system by means of knowledge. Risk, in these terms, would be the efforts to intellectualize the future by offsetting costs and benefits. The final decision made on the possibility to face or avoid the damage is given by the degree of contingency, with respect to the problem to be solved (Richardson, 2010). This seems to be the reason why technology designed to mitigate risks under some conditions of uncertainty, generates new risks. A discussion of this nature, coined in the core of social sciences, has not been duly evaluated in tourism fields. In the next section, some of the more relevant studies in tourism risk are scrutinized.

THE RISK IS TRAVELLING

The theory of risk perception applied in tourism fields proclaims that risk is a serious problem to manage the international tourist destinations. It not only implies a bad advertising in tourist products, but also confers a precautionary message for public demand that decline the attractiveness of affected destination (Fuchs & Reichel, 2010; Goldblat & Hu, 2005; Henderson 2008; Aschauer, 2010). However, things are not as easier as the specialized literature suggests. In earlier studies, Korstanje (2009) has 'the fear of travelling' has been enrooted in the act of travelling from the inception of sedentary societies. Risk not only is a western creation, but also it pivots the configuration of our legal system. Abandoning home for new sensations, one of the needs of tourists, activates a set of diverse contrasting emotions, as fear, anxiety and uncertainty. Although states regulate mobility by the necessary infrastructure to protect the travelers' safety, risk always persists. At the time the sense of controlled risk makes the travel something exciting, hospitality allows a friendly encounter between hosts and its guest (Korstanje, 2011a). This raises a more than interesting question, is technology conducive to risk perception in travels?

The supremacy of technology leads us to consider failures in the function of machines as improbable. In lieu of God, our modern civilization believes blindly in the advance of progress and technocracy. This seems to be one of the themes; Phillip Vannini (2012) deals with in his ethnography entitled *Ferry Tales*. Any disaster is a question of time if we consider as human beings our existence is determined by death. Vannini reminds the Queen of the North sinking, a Wednesday morning. This vessel was on route to Gil Island (Canada) where finally hit. The reasons behind this tragedy were certainly unknown, and this becomes in a criterion enough to travel there. Alternatives explanations were based on human errors (this is the first assumption in this type of accidents).

It is not surprising that travel agents and tourist operators do not advertise the pain or suffering, they rather encourage the consumption of an amazing landscape. Vannini's experience not only remind us how important are the contribution of existentialism to see travels as displacement to nowhere, in fact the Queen of the North has never arrived safely to its destiny, but also the connection between mobility and uncertainty. After all, as Vannini put it, life is a continuous movement. This seems to be precisely the point of entry in this

valuable and well-written project. The nature of life and its vibrancy is often represented by the accident. This means that our dependency of machines, not necessarily should be a result of accidents, but 'road accident' warn us about our symbolic dependency from mobility and speed. Written in polished English, the book *Ferry Tales* explores affective dimension of movements to the extent of recreating a new type of understanding about our excessive trust in technology. The connection between consumers and machines are strictly determined by dialectic relations. The research of mobilities in urban anthropology helped scholarship to see that concepts as nationality, boundaries, sovereignty are in ongoing re-negotiation, this means on movement!.

Nonetheless, Vannini's acknowledges that mobility is established and controlled by the degree of capital and its rapidity of expansion. Those discourse aimed at encouraging the right of mobility for some actors, entails a counter-force that immobilizes others. The intention of this book is overtly centered on the biographical experiences of mobilities as well as the political economy or demographic trends that formed the macro-structure around travels. By this way, our ethnographer recurs to the 'more-than-representational theory' which focuses on the significance in practices and senses in sharp opposition to symbols and cultural codes. This new methodology re-questions the existent definition of technology (mainly referred to machines and instrumentality). Rather, Vannini clarifies that technology should be considered in connection with technicians (experts or users), technics (tools) and techniques (ways). What Vannini taught, surely seems to be that the surrounding world is always the same, only our way of interpretation is being radically changed. To what an extent, a fictionalized sense of mobility engenders immobility is not directly responded in *Ferry Tales*. Quite aside from this, it gives illustrative explanations to understand the aesthetic of movement and death.

In accordance to Vannini's text, P. Virilio (1996, 2007) creates a conceptual bridge between fictionalized reality and interpretation. From his perspective, the mediated reality works as a fictional depiction that generates a counter-effect in which case the heterogeneity of meaning is substantially minimized. The information is processed and framed under a mega-complex where the subjectivity of involved people is frequently reduced to a new form of mass-consumption. In consequence, for Virilio information's overload places a progressive sentiment of loneliness that leads people towards sadness, reclusion and despair. Physical rapprochement and revelation of what is in secret encourages the needs of conflict paving the ways for the upsurge of hegemony of information. The acceleration of the mass-transport means triggers an state of confusion for what the present and future are blurred. Starting from the premise that physical distance holds the legacy of ancestors, laws and tradition, the speed will facilitate a converse state of indifference characterized by the condensation of present.

The technology of transports and the way people travel are more complex forms of hegemonies that should be somehow reversed. The process of acceleration, resulted from technological advances, declines the trust among human beings. For that, technology is condemned to solipsism. Virilio ethically examines the role played by machine in the threshold of time. The speed has been historically placed at disposal of who is in conditions to pay for that. Whereas some international visitors in first class can connect cities in few hours, others as migrants are immobilized to be the prey of their societies. At the time, the current society of consumption emphasizes on the needs of travelling, thousands of migrants are traced and jailed because their illegal condition of residency. These contrasting policies are happening simply because the late-modernity brought an excess of work and leisure for ones while others are immorally relegated to live under the line of poverty and pauperism. The culture of work set the pace to the culture of value. We are not appraised any-longer for our behavior but

worth. The professionalization of war is running in parallel with the modern tourism. From horses to tanks, the advances in techniques of war are historically channeled for entertainment means in periods of peace.

The advent of motor allowed a substantial improvement in the forms lay-people travelled as well as the affordable time changing the boundaries between here and there. In this vein, movies represent a fictionalization of human sensations revitalizing the asymmetries that ushered humankind towards the shelter. Far from fixing problems, the fear closes the door to otherness accelerating the probabilities of disasters. We are not interested in reversing climate change, because we enjoy of a good air conditioning system at home. The world is becoming in a great air-conditioning ethos. In this conjuncture, it is important not to lose the sight that international tourism revitalizes the ancient colonial violence that characterized the XIXth century. The building of isolated resorts and Club-Meds seem to be fortresses in a desert. Symbolically, Virilio (1996; 2007) refers to desert as a state of *emotional desolation*, emptiness caused by the indifference of others. Tourism was historically designed as a disciplinary mechanism of control, which engendered a strong financial dependency from periphery respecting to center. The writing skills that sheds light in ancient history, today has set the pace to traveling that marks the borderlands between civilization and its barbarity.

No less truth is that the metaphor of mobility has been widely studied and explained by scholarships over the last 20 years. One of the pioneers, who have devoted his entire life in doing so, was John Urry (2002, 2007). Per his viewpoint, late-capitalism has changed the means of production, alluding to sign as a mediator between goods and peoples. In this context, the tourist-gaze reformulates a new type of being in this world, where spaces are visually expropriated. In Urry's account, tourism would have never surfaced in other times because it is associated to the aesthetical values of modernity. As social activity, tourism not only depends on the geographical displacement through the territory, but appeals to a change, to a temporal rupture with rules of daily life. This leads Urry to recognize that being tourist means the convergence between two contrasting logics, leisure and labour. Unlike other authors, Urry is convinced that tourism is a modern phenomenon. The tourist-gaze expropriates the presence of others respecting to specific forms of socialization, creating signs and ways of interpreting them. The technological advance in the fields of transport created a new mobile world, where, Urry adds, almost 600 million arrivals are annually counted at international airports.

Based on the primacy of mobility by subordinating aesthetic values, he argues that workers are trained not only to work, but also to evade by alluding visual curiosity for landscapes or anything what turns unfamiliar to them. At some extent, one of the aspects that define tourism besides the mobility seems to be the curiosity for the other. Tourist gaze not only organizes geographical spaces, but also persons and forms of expectances in a timeframe. Its primary function is associated to give the necessary resources in order for the economy of signs endures (Urry 2002; 2007; Lash & Urry, 1993; Sheller & Urry, 2004; Urry & Larsen 2011; Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006). The theory of tourist gaze has been revisited by many scholars. Much time earlier Urry, M. Foucault theorized on the gaze as a disciplinary mechanism that organizes and determines the social behavior. The power conferred to gaze is based on a social discourse that legitimates the practice. Although Urry has not innovated too much in this approach, his legacy has widely recognized by applied research in the sociology of tourism (Germann Molz 2014).

Frederick Buell (1994) places the problem of mobility and globalization under the lens of scrutiny. Beyond his criticism, he advocates for a new theory of globalization that understands

the pervasive position of culture in the threshold of time. West not only colonized the peripheral world by introducing the idea of white superiority, but also the beliefs of 'commonalities' in heterogeneous aboriginal landscape. As it has been formulated by colonial powers, culture serves for two diverse purposes. On one hand, it appealed to forge a sentiment of 'we' against 'they', who were portrayed as 'inferior'. On another, the process of decolonization post WWII created the inverse stage. However, the meaning of culture never was questioned. Today, culture is sold by tourism and global industries. The merits in Buell's work consisted in discussing critically the belief that late-modernity commoditizes cultures. To put this in bluntly, culture as an invention of colonial West expanded globalization to worldwide.

The concept of tourist-gaze as well as the idea of a mobile world appeals to the old colonial stereotypes; Buell acknowledges that the efficacy of capitalism consisted not only in transcending the market, introducing the concept of cultures through post-war period, but creating a hierarchy of the world (three worlds) where first one was in the superior ladder than the other two. The third world represented the sign of deficiency but was morally authentic. The "inauthentic" west, which was characterized by greed, anomie and conflict, should help under-developing countries to reach modernization and rationality.

Culturally, there is still stronger tendency toward hierarchy in the three worlds theory. This cultural hierarchy, however, has proven as brittle as is has been tenacious. Thanks to a vigorous survival of cultural attitudes from Euro-colonial Past, the first World sees itself and is seen as the source of high modern culture and scientific rationality, of universalism and universal literary and artistic genius (Buell, 1998, p.23).

In this vein, Dean Maccannell (1999) argued that Urry made an incorrect diagnosis of the problem, since the tourist destinations are built irrespective of the subjective gaze, which is culturally systematized or structured by the society. In his view, the sightseeing corresponds with a social structure which is associated to economic production. Other more subtle critique studies focused on the idea tourists are the only one who can gaze others, even sometimes tourists become in objects of others (Gillespie 2006; Germann Molz, 2014). In other case, tourism appeals to exploit not only the sight, but also other senses (Dann & Jacobsen, 2003). Despite this abundant criticism, less has been said about the theory of mobilities. At some extent, sociologists agree we live in a hyper mobile world. Somehow, this doctrine has never questioned.

This means, to what extent in Third World, even first ones, may we affirm citizens are mobile?.

RETHINKING THE THEORY OF MOBILITIES.

The first point in this debate relates to Johan Huizinga (1999), who some years ago, developed an interesting model to understand the role of 'chivalry' in Middle Age. Europe was subject not only to cruelty, pestilence, wars and a lot of human privations, but also their authorities showed indifference respecting to populace's suffering. More interested in their private issues than the daily life, kings and nobility governed behind the back of their peoples. In order for the medieval society not to collapse, Catholic Church invented the 'archetype of chivalry', which served not only to clean the monarchy's image, but also by controlling the surfacing discontents in serfs. The question whether chivalry emulated values associated to 'cooperation', protection of weaker serfs and justice was oriented to hidden the reality, ameliorating the degree of cruelty, servants were subject in these times.

In this notes of research, we propose that the same applies for the global concept of mobility. The real-world shows not only we are not mobile citizens, but also it produces an ideological effect in popular opinion, which strengthens the sentiment of belonging. As Zygmunt Bauman put it, the modern world offers two types of mobilities, while some are legally encouraged to travel worldwide, others are impeded to pass the national borders. Thousand millions of workers that are pauperized by the existent capitalist-machine are unable to travel (Bauman 1998a; 1998b), as Urry precludes. Even in Argentina like many other Latin American countries, workers are soliciting credits to bank to finance their holidays. Whether decades ago, annual leave was the price at the end of the year of work, nowadays the Work-force not only has lost much of employment-related benefits but the influence of workers unions declined. Since professionals are only contracted by a specific period of time, one of the most common modern fears associates to the uncertainty for the next one. The job insecurities are one of the worries of lay people today (Sennett, 2011; Castel, 2000; Korstanje 2014). It is logic to think that if the conditions of labor have been precarized, the same applies for mobilities. It is interesting to discuss how risk and mobilities are inextricably intertwined. The late modernity has brought more vulnerability to workers.

In this respect, M Korstanje (2011a; 2011b) has argued convincingly that it is difficult to acknowledge sedentary societies, as modern ones, are mobile. At a first glance, the concept of risk, which is related to private property, is applied on sedentary cultures, which are characterized by lower degree of mobilities. Secondly, our travels are unreal similarly-minded to the traditional carousel where the point of departure and arrival are the same (turn-around trips). This is the exact difference between tourists and migrants. While the former will come back to the illusion of home, the latter one goes in one-way direction. Our thesis is that mobility serves as an ideological discourse to keep the declining workforce under control, in the same way, chivalry was for medieval peasant. In the next lines, we will discuss in depth the empirical indicators that validate our belief.

At a first glance, the World Bank would offer ciphers that validate the hypothesis of mobility. Proponents of mobility embrace numbers, which apparently are impressive, but neglect others perspectives. The evolution of trends is prioritized than direct percentage in the relation flux of tourist/total population. Let setting the following example, how much important is tourism for nations?. In 1995 almost 3.839.927.091 tourists visited the world using diverse means of transport, while it rose to 7.513.041.898 in 2012². However, this amount represents a marginal portion of whole population. Starting from the premise we are 6 billion persons, the global tourist flux represents less than 1% (0.001%). Although the rise of tourism, from its outset, is unquestionable, no less truth is that only few people are able to travel. Secondly, tourism-led statistics often are manipulated or interpreted depending on the source, and or the agency which financed the research. It creates a serious problem to make a coherent diagnosis.

The financial crisis that hit US in 2008 has accelerated the unemployment, and the outsourcing, which led to the labor precarization in central and peripheral economies. Per statistics given by International Labor Organization, there is a gap between central and peripheral economies respecting to people who can reach a job. While European Union register a rate of unemployment of 10.6% of total workforce, in African countries as Lesotho, Mauritania, Mozambique the rate goes from 30% to 60% respectively. Even, many policy-makers are really concerned on the state of labor in Europe today. Far from being subjective, Spain and Greece has a rate of 25% of unemployment, followed by Portugal 15%, Croatia

² Statistics of World Bank. International Tourism, number of Arrivals. 1995-2012.

17.6%, and Ireland 11%. This reality contrasts sharply with central economies as US (5.8%), UK (6.0%), Germany (5.1%).

The Spanish anthropologist Ivan Parro (2010) has conducted an excellent ethnography where documents how 'los parados' [unemployed citizens] has reduced their horizon of planning and expectances, many of them has sacrificed their holidays because of survival purposes. To this tragedy, once might speculate many others are working beyond the legal system, deprived from all social and health benefits workers have. Most likely, one of the paradoxes of global capitalism is that many families are not able to go in holidays because of budgetary cut-offs, few ones spend more resources and money annually. In Spain, recent investigations reveal that only 36% of families vacationed while almost 64% opted to stay home. As a product of financial crisis whips Europe a couple of years, these families had not financial resources assigned for tourism purposes³. Analysts were surprised when realized that the "tourist spending" increased for more than 1.000 euros per capita (6.4% in three years). Undoubtedly, the current crisis has affected local economies declining the possibilities of ordinary people to vacation. Nonetheless, far from being a mass-industry as the specialized literature accepts, tourism was a common practice of global elites; a tendency which was accelerated after the crisis in 1972/1973 produced by Arab-Israeli war. It is clear how tourism has posed as a growing industry, but this privilege is not for all. Why tourism moves in a world of contrasts?.

THE RISK IN THE THIRD WORLD (THE MOBILITY INMOBILIZED)

If this is not substantial evidence, we may present the story of Roger and Mary which is self-explanatory. This story was collected in a personal ethnography in Bragado city, Buenos Aires, Argentina, as a part of a wider project. Defying the existent theory of mobility, this is the story of an elderly couple subject to immobility for many years. Roger and his wife spent almost 15 years without traveling anywhere for holidays or leisure. They simply had no money to do that. Except with the assistance of their daughters, they would not have been able to meet their basic needs. Nonetheless, one day, Mary received an inheritance that allowed her to buy a small car, a model C3 Citroen. Mary and Roger not only were very happy because with their car there was the possibility to move toward the destination they wanted. This freedom, deprived to Mary for a long time, paved the way for renewed contacts with relatives, or to plan for holidays to other Argentine cities. Once they realize the dream of having a car, one day (pressed by the media news) they visited an insurance company they were told about all options and clauses so they feel safe. They went ahead by contracting a set of coverages which ranged from accidents to robbery. At the time, Roger and Mary did not calculate how to pay the costs of maintainance and coverage. They became indebted to a bank. Finally, they had to sell the vehicle to meet their basic needs. The Argentine economy soon went into recession the global crash starting in the United States. Two of their daughters lost their jobs, and their husbands became unemployed.

The late capitalism operates by maximizing the profits, which are concentrated in hands of international elite (capital owners). At some extent, risks correct the asymmetries produced by liberal mobility, which is a discourse aimed to controlling the workforce by what they may consume. In the fields of ideology, the capitalism has success because the produced wealth is concentrated in few pockets, expanding the belief that elite's practices are the common to

³ Source. Saving. ABC. ES. Maps of tourist expenditure in Spain. "Este es el mapa de lo que gastan las familias españolas en vacaciones". <http://www.abc.es/familia-ahorro/20140804/abci-gasto-familias-vacaciones-201407161326.html>

whole population. In doing so, we believe that tourism is a basic right of all citizens, when the empirical research shows the opposite. Much people are deprived for leisure practices and travels worldwide.

CONCLUSION

If the founding parents of sociology, Tonnies, Durkheim, Weber and Marx were concerned on the role of industrialism in society, the modern exponents focus on the influence of modernity in risk perception. This conceptual essay review was aimed at discussing diverse lens risk has in first and third world, presenting the story of Roger and Mary, an elderly couple who faced the dark side of risk. Undoubtedly, both mobilities and risk are inextricably intertwined in the capitalist ethos. As discussed, whilst the former opens the doors for a global elite to have benefits at once of investing their capital worldwide, other actors (as blue collar workers) who only have their labor to offer to the system, are torn to the scrutinize of diverse surveillance mechanisms that creates 'immobility'. This essay defies to paradigms; the first and most important, we do not live in the mobile world, secondly, the social status of global richer elite consists in creating risk moved to immobilize its workforce.

In this comparison, Korstanje, Tzanelli and Clayton (2014) observed recently that social Darwinism, introduced by capitalism not only forged an extreme competition among workers, but also fabricated a doom to grant its disciplinary mechanism of exploitation. The capitalist mind is alike Big Brother, a reality show where participants compete to win the first prize. Although competitors are many, only one will be the winner. This logic is held by 'social Darwinism', which promoted the survival of fittest. Basically, Bauman is not wrong when acknowledges Big Brother emulates the dialectics between workers and capital owners, where the profits of elite are granted to the ruin of the whole. As British anthropologist Tim Ingold (2011) put it, tourism exhibits a double hermeneutics, where workers are pressed to direct their saving to be paradoxically sanitized.

The dichotomy leisure/work was recently coined by industrial mind to legitimate a new way of social control over workforce. Leisure consumption prevents rank-and-file workers to gain further profits. To put this in bluntly, they concede to elite the marginal capital obtained by their wages. The old practices that banned the workers' leisure set the pace to new subtle but not for that less oppressive ways of domination. Far from being an agent of democratization, modern tourism reinforced the asymmetry among classes. Whatever the case may be, tourism serves as ideal so that the society does not disintegrate (Maccannell, 1999); and what this essay review wants to contribute is in questioning the roots of mobility-related theories. Ancient historians and archeologists understand that tourism is the maiden of empires. On one hand, it allows the connectivity of regions by imposing the belief in the exemplary center, a much deep seated idea of mobility, where the center exerts gravitation over the periphery. But at the same time, subordinated serfs are limited in the places they can visit (Skoll, 2011; Korstanje & Skoll, 2013). It is clear though the means of transport and technology have substantially been changed over the recent decades, the disciplinary mechanisms of control endure. In other words, we want to hear only the voices of winners, while losers of the system are hidden.

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