

THE ARCHETYPE OF PARADISE: DYING IN HOLIDAYS DOES NOT SOUND COOL

Maximiliano E. KORSTANJE

University of Palermo, Larrea 1079, Buenos Aires
mkorst@palermo.edu**Abstract**

Holidays play a vital role in the configuration of our life. Our most profound expectancies are posed to this magic moment. However, under some contexts, what starts as a dream ends in a nightmare. It is unfortunate this is the case of victims of Villa Gesell's tragedy, resulted when a ray impacted directly to a beach. Nobody is immune of tragedy, even at holidays. This essay review explores not only the anthropological roots of risk and paradise, but also the journalist discourse to cover the event. Far from the general opinion, disasters affect tourism, we strongly believe it strengthens its attractiveness.

Key words. Vacations, Rites of passage, Tourism, Risk, Tragedy.

JEL Classification: B25, F5, I3, P1

I. INTRODUCTION**Reminder of the victims**

Source: Clarín. 11-01-2014

The present essay review explores the anthropological roots of holidays as well as gives an interpretation of the elementary forms of tragedy. As subjective actors we elaborate a biased view of the world. Whenever the principle of reality meets with our cosmology, it is the disaster. It is not clear the boundaries as to what an extent a disaster (tragedy) should be defined. While some specialists consider the number of victims would be credible criterion, others reject the idea. It seems to be as though the concept of disaster seems to be contextual of each community. What would be more than interesting to see is the response of society when its logic of production is broken. No matter than the cipher of victims, disasters are aimed at re-defining the social institutions of society by outstanding events.

In the first days of January, a lightning hit the beach during a storm in Villa Gesell generating a sentiment of panic by various days in the national-character. Unlike other disasters where mass-death takes shape, this event typically produced a limited damage to community. However, it took the life of four teenagers while almost 20 holiday makers were wounded. This event not only shocked the public

opinion in Argentina due to the victim's age, but also paid the attention of official and authorities; some of them even visited the site in person.

Sociologically speaking, holidays represent a special instance of our life where all our needs and desires are fulfilled. It is common workmen spent considerable amount of money during their vacations. As a catalyst mechanism, holidays are very important to industrial societies because they protect the mental health of work-forces. Any aspects or event which threatens these sacred spaces may affect the logic of production and of course, the trusts of people in their authorities. Let me explain to readers originally holidays were created by Roman Empire to legalize a period of working life for its citizens may return to visit relatives and friends or following other purposes as entertainment. Given by three months, these leases were known as *feriae*. Etymologically, the term *feriae* was employed not only for Germans to denote holidays (*ferien*) but also by other Romanic language as Portuguese (*ferias*). Equally important, modern vacations configure with the sacred space where the subject can take distance from its rules. This helps him to regulate their sentiment of frustration and retaliation. The typical material asymmetries generated in times of work, are catalyzed in leisure space to avoid the social disaggregation (Krippendorf, 2009; Korstanje and Busby, 2010)

The workforce is finally reintroduced to work again assuming its basic functions in the society. This is the reason behind the importance of holidays for social ethos. The tragedy of Villa Gesell begs the question, what happen when this paradise is hit by disgrace or misfortune?.

At a first glance, four indicators are present in the journalist discourse of this event:

- The tragedy of Villa Gesell was an exceptional and outstanding event and for that it should be told.

- News dreads public opinion whenever children or vulnerable women are in risk.
- Irrespective of the nature of events, the mass-media elaborate the ideological discourse in order for social institution not to be attacked.
- Any disaster does not affect tourism, but increase the attractiveness by the site.

The text can be divided into three parts. At a first stage, the risk is discussed from the eye of specialized literature produced in tourism fields to the moment. Secondly, we explore the anthropological elements that form the idea of heaven and paradise tourism. Last but not least, the reports of four magazines and important newspapers are analyzed to give a conceptual framework to expand the current understanding of the problem. Our thesis is that holidays are a significant aspect of our life because they serve as catalysts of all frustration and deprivations produced by the work. As a profound attempt to recreate the lost paradise, holidays emulate the prosperity which took place whenever the humans and gods lived in harmony. Any event that threatens this logic not only generates a serious effect in the society but also a new way of considering life and death.

II. DISCUSSIONS AROUND RISK

Following K. Tierney's observations, risks should be defined as "any probability or real event that causes damage to the integrities of victims". The discussion is given in the following terms. Constructivists allude to risk as social construes which have no meaning beyond the limits of community. Others, rather, not only do not agree with this belief but argue some risks are real and can be prevented through the application of precautionary doctrine. This means that any society reserves by itself the possibility to intervene in potential situations of risk for some actors or the whole community. Besides, constructivists have serious methodological limitation to explain the supposed social nature of risk. In fact, every discipline has developed its own definition of risk and of course its own form of application in the fields (Tierney, 1994). To cut the long story short, what we can add here is within sociology, two contrasting waves have historically discussed what the risk is. The former explores the probability of harm, focusing on the effects of unseen risk for societal system. The latter, rather, takes attention to the perception of citizens and the paradox this thought generates (Duclos, 1987). The specialized literature in risk-management said that bad evaluation of risk may lead to bad decisions. If this happens, the efforts to mitigate risks open new ones.

On the risk society, the surveillance has been adopted as an efficient form of protection, but paradoxically, it declined the social trust among persons. In view of that; Zygmunt Bauman (2011) explains that risks are social construes introduced by the modern thought to control and monitor the future.

Through medieval times, the happiness has been restricted to few people. It can be reached only through suffering and expiation. The revolution of US not only brought a radical change in the way that happiness was searched, but also created an egalitarian hierarchy for all free men has the right to be happy. The global right to happiness broadens the competence among workers, but at the same time it reduced the real probabilities to be happy. As a result of this, risk was introduced not only to regulate the uncertainty generated by the unfamiliarity respecting to future, but also to confer the subject the liability for its failure.

Similarly, Ulrich Beck considers that the process of modernity opened new global risks, which are unfamiliar by medieval mind. Chernobyl in Ukraine was the symbolic epicenter of the role played by technology in fabricating new risk. If technology was in past used to give further security to daily life, today it is generating new important risks that threaten the human existence. In "risk society", the classical modes of productions, which were oriented to the fabrication of merchandises, set the pace to a new community that creates risks (Beck, 2006; 2011). By this vein, Anthony Giddens acknowledges globalization as a project has its success based on two key factors. The money serves as a mechanism of connecting presence with absences, which produced an enlargement of the world. The second element is the net of experts, who not only evaluate the potential risks but also allude to the knowledge for that risk to be mitigated. Starting from the premise that experts monopolize the trust of lay-people, risk is for Giddens what the society creates to its well functioning (Giddens, 1991; 1999). Do we live in an atmosphere of constant risk inflated by journalism?

Nowadays, news about disasters, virus outbreaks and other cataclysms produced by the acceleration of technology instilled a sentiment of fear, as never before in the public opinion. Of course, the message of journals was responsible for that. In the Risk society, adds Beck (2006), the web of expertise not only has monopolized the production of knowledge but also has developed new technique to find, control and mitigate the negative effects of global risk (Giddens, 1991). Social risks are an essential side of the life in the post-industrial societies. Enrooted in the economic production of society, risks subordinate the loyalty of citizenry to its government (Harvey, 2004; Lemke, 2001; Douglas and Wildavsky, 1983; Rifkin, 1988).

On the opposite side, N. Luhmann (2006) explains the difference between risk and threat has not dully defined by the specialized scholars. Any risk not only entails a previous profit, but also is subject to a previous decision making process. Rather, threats are externally fixed. The self cannot respond to dangers or threats. The contingency plays a vital role in the configuration of risk, based on the principle of early intervention. While airplane accidents are risks for company owners, they are threats for passengers. To

put this in bluntly, passengers have nothing to do to avoid the accident, nor were they compromised in the process of costs or engineering maintenance. The misunderstanding seems not to be accidental. M Korstanje argues that the construction of risk, as a narrative, helps to avoid of responsibilities and duties blaming others. It triggers the precautionary principle where all interventions are legalized to prevent the risk, but the problem is that to what an extent risks are defined and categorized is still unresolved (Korstanje, 2010; 2012).

Together, the attacks to World Trade Centre, other disrupting events as the SARS outbreaks, Swine Flu and serious natural disasters alluded to the formation of risk-management policies. Specialists and policy makers realized that the concept of sustainability seems not to be enough to grant the success of tourist destination in a context of uncertainty. The pioneers' research in Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992) evidenced the connection between risk perception and nationality. Further, the goals of travels were of paramount importance to determine the risk perception. Particularly, R. Schluter (2008) calls the attention to reconsider the nature of tourism, which is more than a simple industry. Beyond its resiliency, tourism may be directly affected by negative news or events generating serious economic problems not only for workforce, but also to investors and local stakeholders. The needs of reminding the travels as something unique and special are the reason why tourism depends on the subjective experience to survive.

At a first glance, interesting outcomes has been found that risk perception correlates to the attachment to the soil. Those tourists, who lived in NY or dwelled nearby to ground-zero experienced further problems to manage their holidays than other groups. Though, variables as aging, genre or employment were key factors to predict risk perception, the fact was that people living in NY manifested to be much time without touring (Floyd, Gibson, Pennington-Gray y Thapa, 2004; Floyd, Gibson y Pennington Gray, 2003).

Rather, Reisinger and Mavondo (2005) found contradictory results. Neither proximity nor residency was important to risk correlation. In fact, Risk perception would be explained by the compromise of self respecting to threat. Being risk-avider or risk-seeker depends on how the individual personality evolved in the life-span. Therefore, the personality, and not the nationality, configures how the risk is perceived. As previously discussed, Kozak, Crotts and Law confirmed that those personalities which show a low-frustration tolerance, were prone to perceive more risk, than others more open. The risk seems not to be so important unless by the perception of travellers. And such a structure is formed by the tolerance to social change. What would more than interest to discuss is the role played by the cognitive-system of people to deter or exaggerate risks. This begs a more than important question, is risk social or a real construal. Some societies have panic to death while others to soul

condemnation. Korstanje and Olsen (2011) and Korstanje and Tarlow (2012) agree societies or human groups may reach major degrees of sensibility whenever their more vulnerable and youth agents are in danger. Horror movies genre, above all in US, emphasizes on the protection of tourists as the precondition for humankind. The archetype of villain is defined by its affinity to torture or killing innocent tourists. There would be a tourist imaginary which produces and disseminates political and ideological messages to audience.

III. UNDERSTANDING THE ARCHETYPE OF PARADISE

Almost all indo-European cultures bespeak of an exemplary centre, or heaven where the gods dwell on. The human weakness and frustrations that anyone can experience in its life do not exist in the paradise. Humans have historically showed a strange fascination to trespass the boundaries of paradise. It exerted a great attraction to mortal humans. In perspective, the paradise symbolizes the original state of grace where humans and gods coexisted in peace. Fallen into the vanity, pride and hate, human-mind corrupted itself to be expelled by the gods. From that moment on, paradise was banned to humans reminding not only its weakness and limited nature, but also their avarice. The role of technique pivoted the human superiority over the rest of nature, but was not sufficient to conquest the paradise. Joseph Campbell (1997) explains the concept of paradise stems from the Persian which means *pairi* (*surrounding or nearby*) and *daeza* (*prohibited*). The sin not only re-signified the well being of humans in this world, but also its obsession by control and perfection.

Undoubtedly, one of the most recognized scholars who has focused to the understanding of myths was Mircea Eliade. His thesis aims to reveals the roots of social practices as embedded with mythical structures. Myths are more than stories, they determine the cosmology of human groups to the extent to indicate what people should do in contexts of uncertainty. The founding myths allude to practical guidelines to overcome problems as founding parents did. It is not surprisingly, Eliade adds, the act of discovery is symbolically associated to a type of baptism, where the new land receives a new name. Cosmologies, at the same time, are created and destructed by action of fire or water. The world we experience around us should be obliterated some day in the same way. The process of creation (genesis) or destruction (apocalypses) emulates the mow of grass. Like the camps are mowed to be sowed later, the world is created to be destroyed in an ongoing basis. The same logic remains in the play of rules and duties. The world of labour ends where holidays begin. The rules are destroyed to regulate our life later again. Travel leisure, as a rite, not only reminds us the cosmological and cyclical movement of the world, but also the needs to return to home. The

temporal suspension of rules helps society to regulate its functioning, its frustration or material asymmetries produced by economy (Eliade, 2006).

As the previous argument given, tourism emulates the sense of lost paradise in many forms. Korstanje and Busby (2010) acknowledge that once exiled, human beings were obsessed to recover the prosperity of paradise. In so doing, the quest of pleasure and the lack of suffering were two pivotal elements. Travelling to rest in a resort is a rite of passage where the travellers needs to found a new essence. Like the sin, social rules are suspended in tourism. The return to home equals to the renovation of forgiveness. It is incorrect to think tourism and religion are inextricably intertwined, because in the tourist rite much of religion remains. Victor Turner (1988) alludes to the vital cycles as rites of passage, which separate the subject and re-socialize it into a new group of belonging. The psychical movement is of paramount importance to create a considerable distance between the rules of older and new groups. This belief was continued by C. B Cohen who thought the paradise as a political construction, or a discourse engendered to create asymmetry between a centre and its periphery. The curiosity exploited by marketing is conducive to the cultural values promoted by metropolis.

IV. METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

In the present research, we have chosen the qualitative method to portray a meth-discourse that expands the current understanding of disasters and tourism. Above all, how the sentiment of consternation paves the ways to attractiveness. Since qualitative-view is not intended to give explanatory outcomes by multi-variable methods or the quantity of cases, only three newspapers were selected as valid sources of information. The gravity of qualitative-research is given by its capacity to describe the problem not by the number of interviewed participants. Meaning is preferred than measuring (Krippendorf, 2004). The employed methodology was the analysis of content, or analysis of discourse. The news were extracted from El Argentino, Clarín and La Nación newspapers. All they have different ideological attachments. The original goals of this research are based on the discovery of narrative of disasters presented by journalism. At this stage, whenever the victims are holiday-makers or tourists the response of society to this event is stronger than other cases. Tourism not only plays a vital role in the process of production, as the lost-paradise where workforce rests, but also articulates a net of ideologies that legitimates the capitalist-ethos.

V. THE TRAGEDY ON THE BEACH.

On 09 of January in of current year, a lightning hit a beach, known as Afrika, at the tourist city of Villa Gesell. This event resulted in four fatal victims and many wounded people. Immediately, it went into prints

not only in the papers but also in mass-television. Although the Climate national organization warned about the storm a couple of hours earlier, the lightning took room suddenly from one moment to other. On the air, a bunch of specialists debated to what an extent the Climate National Department, an organism dependant of State, can predict with certain exactitude the geographical zone where the lightning will hit. The media and journalism reported this unfortunate event as “the tragedy of Villa Gesell”. At a closer look, the national information reveals that almost 50 holiday makers and travellers lost their life last year in similar conditions. In many aspects this event was common, first and foremost in rural areas. Why so this generated so fear in public opinion?.

On this section, we will find the archetypes or conceptual elements that explain how this sentiment of fear not only is manipulated but also offered to others for visual consumption. Clarín entitles *Escribe Clarín “La caída de un rayo en la hora pico del día de playa rompió la apacible vida de vacaciones y provocó la muerte de tres jóvenes de 17, 19 y 20 años en un balneario de Villa Gesell. Otras 22 personas quedaron heridas, entre ellas una chica de 16 años que anoche seguía internada en gravísimo estado”* (Fuente: 10-01-2014 “Un Rayo mató a tres jóvenes en una playa de Villa Gesell”. Clarín edición digital. http://www.clarin.com/sociedad/mato-jovenes-playa-Villa-Gesell_0_1063693658.html) [the lightning strike at the Peak time of a day at the Beach, surprised the routine of a day of holidays when three teenagers lost their life of 17, 19 and 20 years old in Villa Gesell. Other 22 holiday-makers were hospitalized with serious wounds, even a young girl of 16 years old who was between death and life].

The above column is characterized by the idea of uniqueness or exemplary nature. The tragedy of Villa Gesell not only is unique because it is very strange, but its causes remain beyond the human control. What is important to debate is the connection of disasters with exceptionality. From every tourist destinations where this lightning hit, only Afrika, in Villa Gesell city was a selected place. In this vein, the sense of uniqueness is determined by the selection of natural world that indicate the victims has been chosen by the Gods. Pagina 12, another magazine wrote:

“En la playa de Villa Gesell, un resplandor iluminó la tarde, oscurecida por nubes negras, y hubo un ruido atronador. El dueño del balneario vio caer “una bola de fuego”, y un vecino, que se retiraba de la arena, de un segundo al otro notó que “la gente corrió a las carpas y desde allí empezó a pedir ayuda a los gritos”. El ministro de Salud provincial, Alejandro Colliá, confirmó que el rayo que cayó a las 5 de la tarde sobre la playa mató a tres jóvenes, de 17, 19 y 21 años, y dejó 22 heridos, seis de ellos, niños (Fuente. 10-01-2014 “La Fatalidad llegó como un resplandor mundial”. Página 12. URL. <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-237450-2014-01-10.html>).[At the Beach in Villa Gesell, a radiance of light illuminated the evening

darkened by dense clouds, this was the moment when after a scary thunder, the owner of Beach saw how a ball of fire struck against the people who ran shouting for help and assistance. The official Minister of Health, Alejandro Colia, confirmed that the lightning hit on 5 o'clock killed three teenagers and wounding 22 persons, 6 of them were children].

The focus is given to the youth of victims, who are not ready to die. The profile of victims are selected by their professions, some of them showed a promising career, as well as other assets that present them as vulnerable actors. Employing excerpts as "they come from a tiny town" or his folk was fewer than 10.000 inhabitants or these were his first holidays, journalism attempts to bring an idealized image of teenagers. Love stories or the personal achievements were valorised in almost all reports no matter than the newspaper.

The hot point of discussion is the surprise factor generated by the lightning. Victims not only were resting at time they encountered their death, but it is very difficult to explain the policies so that the same cannot be repeated in a near future. The subject is gazed by a cold-destiny that does not discriminate by race or wealth. The following paragraph is self explanatory:

"Agustín, Priscila y sus familias estaban juntas en Villa Gesell de vacaciones desde hacía una semana. Llevaban adelante la rutina de cualquier grupo de amigos en vacaciones: asados por las noches, paseos por la peatonal, mates en la playa, almuerzos frugales y juegos de vóley en la arena. En eso estaban cuando el rayo los sorprendió. De ahí en adelante, entonces, todo se oscureció: el presente se convirtió en tragedia y sinsentido" (Fuente: 11-01-2014. Clarín "Cuatro Muertos por el rayo, la tragedia de Priscila y Agustín unió el dolor de sus familias". http://www.clarin.com/sociedad/tragedia-Priscila-Agustin-dolor-familias_0_1064293707.html).

[Agustin, Priscila and their families were together in Villa Gesell, enjoying from a good day of holidays. They were like us like many other people, barbecue by the nights and touring in the day, mates and sports at streets. But the lightning not only took away the life of their relatives, but also brought an disaster without sense]

It is important to note that if some groups are not biologically prepared to die, as children or women, societies respond empathically re-directing all symbolic resources to correct the glitch or at least explain the situation to survivors. This behaviour is very present in the coverage of media post disaster-contexts. The media and journalism is a moral watchdog which gives meaning to understandable events. The effects of events are not determined by their causes, but by the psychological interpretations of journalists.

The third element found in journalist discourse is the view or opinion of specialists or experts. A column entitled as "what are the policies to follow to prevent a situation like this?", Clarin reports, "*alejarse de piletas, desenchufar electrodomésticos y no utilizar teléfonos*

celulares al aire libre, son algunas de las medidas preventivas dadas a conocer por el Ministerio de Salud bonaerense, luego de la tragedia por la caída de un rayo en una playa de Villa Gesell. Evitar permanecer al aire libre, no permanecer en la playa, no detenerse en zonas donde también puedan discurrir gran cantidad de agua, como ríos, lagunas o piletas, alejarse de terrenos abiertos y despejados como predios deportivos u otros lugares similares (Fuente: 10-01-14. Clarín. *¿Qué precauciones hay que tomar ante una tormenta eléctrica?*, http://www.clarin.com/sociedad/precauciones-tomar-tormenta-electrica_0_1063094125.html). [Being far from water-pools, switch off the appliances and do not use the handy-phones are some of the measures of precaution the Minister of Health reported after this event. It is important not to stand nearby to wet sites such as rivers, lagoons, or water pools as well as taking distance from open spaces].

Any situation is normalized by the introduction of ideological mechanisms as the statics, based on the needs of showing other similarly-minded events happened before at any other places or times. These trends introduce a deep-seated idea where the public space becomes dangerous. In a conjuncture where the countless risks that threaten the society the responsibility of death is personal. The function of experts consists in conditioning or changing the biographies of victims. Most certainly the self is instructed on the steps to follow in case of disasters, even internalizing its own identity to expert's gaze. As the psychoanalyst who creates and tells us our own biography, the specialist exerts considerable influence on the lay-people even advising how to live. Unlike other decades where the disasters were covered by their causes or fundamental reasons, this means that the audience needed to know why it occurred; now the journalism focuses on the personal assets of victims. One hundred blue collar workers worth less than 4 rich teenagers. This change is based on the following explanation. The capital in the postmodern times is not being replicated by the organization of labour as classical Marxists proclaimed, but by the risk anyone can absorb.

Although, Ulrich Beck was a pioneer in adapting the risk patterns to sociological review, he did not distinguish between risks and threats. This viewpoint was considered by Luhmann, ie, as alarmist simply because in daily life, people who are involved in decision making process never face any risks. Korstaje has argued convincingly, to shed light in this debate that Beck merits recognition in many aspects by his innovative investigation, even if it has serious conceptual problems at time of explaining how the society of stratification works. Not only Beck, per his view, did not realize the active workers perceive more risks than retirees, but also there are some examples that contradicts his assertion that risk-society blurs the hierarchy. Although the concept of reflexivity is evident, the buying of some insurance to diverse

portions of capital indicates this new society is not so egalitarian so Beck claimed for. The power and authority of groups is determined by their abilities to face risks and buy insurance policies. In industrial times, if the added-value of merchandise characterized how evolved the hierarhization of society, in our times, the groups are ranked respecting to their possibilities to find, control and mitigate the risks. The energy or triviality in the response of society respecting to some event, will depend not only in the type of victim, which means some actors are preferred and others rejected, but also in the biological ability of reproduction and consumption. Young people are posed on the top while retirees are abandoned at old people home.

In this process, the figure of nature is opposed to the human desire to live forever. Underpinned in the proposition that nature is transformed in the enemy of humankind, it should be domesticated by the use of technology. The quandary is given in this situation. If the technology serves for humans to domesticate the wilderness, it opens the doors for the advance of risks. Inadvertently, technology creates risks which were not originally taken into consideration. Last but not least, the limitation of technique is placed under the lens of scrutiny by means of the international protocols of science. Clarin reports “*el fenómeno climático fue “una repentina tormenta con un gran movimiento ascendente de aire y agua y gran actividad eléctrica”*”, dijo el Servicio Meteorológico Nacional. “*No se pudo detectar vía radar porque no tiene alcance hasta la zona, fue seguido por imagen satelital”*”, explicaron a modo de justificación por la falta de alerta” (10-01-14 Clarín “Un Rayo mató a tres jóvenes en una playa de Villa Gesell”. http://www.clarin.com/sociedad/mato-jovenes-playa-Villa-Gesell_0_1063693658.html).

[This normal weather pattern was a sudden an electric storm with ascendant movement of air and water, the National Climate department adds. Therefore, we were unable to find the exactly zone where the lightning were more probability to fall because our technology is not adequate. This was the justification of the organism by the lack of insistence in the warning communication message]

The so-called inefficacy of National Service Office in preventing the effects of storm by the lack of resources is counterbalanced to the risk to affects the image people have about holidays. The tragedy of Villa Gesell is carefully addressed by the media not to instil a bad message, a disrupting message which can jeopardize the institutions of rest and leisure travels. At the time, the NSO is widely criticized, the holidays as main social institution is preserved. To put this in another terms, media and journalism blame for this NSO to protect the institutions aimed at revitalizing workers. In fact, holidays as a catalyst mechanism not only ensure the rests of workers, but also play a crucial role in configuring the rules of labour. The mandate of relax, in this token, is given by law after a period of production. This lease not only is temporal but limited to the status of workers and their income. As a sacred-

site, vacations emulate the lost-paradise so that the workers can continue producing goods and merchandizes. The term tragedy is anthropologically speaking given to those events which can collapse or decline of trust in the social system. If the beach fulfils the sacred space where all desires of tourists are satisfied, the process should not be subject to any inconvenience. Besides, the figure of technique never is questioned. Media broadcasted its emphasis on the efficacy and trust for technology. The responsibility was given to victims, who did not abandon the beach spite the storm advertencies.

The archetype of death, which is often memorized by the community ties survivors to the story of victims. The space where fell the first bodies remains a sacred space which attracts many visitors. The attractiveness for the death or suffering of others serves as an instrument to domesticate future in a context of uncertainty. The genesis of dark tourism is not related to the capital, or the “thanaptosis”, but to a profound attempt to exorcise death. To put this in other terms, gazing the death of others, one avoids its own death. It is clear that tourism has the possibility to recycle itself. The curiosity for death is not very easy to grasp. As Maccannell said (2011) nothing connects tourists to the relative of victims unless by the combination of indifference and happiness by avoiding being there when the lightning hit. The misfortune of others reinforces the self-happiness. At a closer look, this happens in a moment of humankind where postmodernism blurred the ethical boundaries among citizens. Survivors are subject to a “narcissist character”, where they feel superior or outstanding because they are still alive. The act of surviving not only generates a pretext to feel different from others, but gives a sign of status. Within a society, based on hedonist mass-consumption it is not surprising an emotional detachment between tourist-gaze and observed people. Therefore, tourists look insistently to be close the tragedy but after it occurred. Feeding oneself from the other’s disgrace is a valid tactic to feel omnipresence and unique in many senses. In the decade of consumption, what cannot be understood, this means the death, is visually consumed.

CONCLUSION

Unlike the hunter-gathers communities, where the dichotomy between nature and humans does not exist, industrial societies develop “a dwelling perspective” of the world. Based on the opposition of terms as higher, lower, outer or inner, the modern sedentary societies experience a substantial change respecting to their environment (Ingold, 2000). Certainly, sedentary societies build the image of a paradise which regulates the frustrations of daily life. Because of the modern human mind is obsessed to recreate the lost paradise, is the reason why the technique persists. The social foundations of society are shaken by events like this, which confronts to official

discourse. Through we agree tourism is an industry of great resiliency, in view of its capacity to re-cycle its means of production, the point seems to be that the

voice of expertises is never questioned. Risk and science are inextricably linked.

REFERENCES

1. Bauman, Z. (2011). *La Sociedad Sitiada*. Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica.
2. Beck, U. (2006). *La Sociedad del riesgo, hacia una nueva modernidad*. Buenos Aires, Paidós.
3. Beck, U. (2011). *Convivir con el Riesgo Global*. En *La Humanidad Amenazada: gobernar los riesgos globales*. D. Innerarity y Solana, J (Editores). Madrid, Paidós, pp. 21-32.
4. Campbell, J. (1997). *Los Mitos. Su Impacto en el mundo Social*. Barcelona: Kairós.
5. Cohen, C.B. (1995). *Marketing paradise, making nation*. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(2), pp. 404-421.
6. Duclos, D. (1987). *Le Risque: une construction sociale?* En J. Fabiani, y J Thyès. *La Societéé Vulnérable*. Paris, Ecole Normale Supérieure, pp. 91-92.
7. Eliade, M. (2006). *El Mito del Eterno Retorno*. Buenos Aires: Eméce Editores.
8. Floyd, M., Pennington-Gray, L. (2004). *Profiling Risk: perception of tourist*. *Annals of Tourism Research*. Vol. 31 (4): pp. 1051-1054.
9. Floyd, M. Gibson, H., Pennington-Gray, L y Thapa, B. (2003). *The Effects of Risk Perception on Intention to Travel in the Aftermath of September 11, 2001. Safety and Security in Tourism: relationships, Management and Marketing*. Vol. 15 (2).
10. Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. California, Stanford University Press.
11. Giddens, A. (1999). *Consecuencias de la Modernidad*. Madrid, Alianza Editorial.
12. Harvey, P. (2004). *La Condición de la Posmodernidad: investigación sobre los orígenes del cambio cultural*. Buenos Aires, Amorrortu Editores.
13. Krippendorf, J. (2009) *Sociología do turismo. Para uma nova comprensao do lazer e das viagens*. Sao Paulo, El Aleph.
14. Krippendorf, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage 2004.
15. Korstanje, M.E. (2010). Reconsiderando el concepto de Riesgo en Luhmann. *Revista Mad: Revista del Magíster en Análisis Sistemico Aplicado a la Sociedad*, (22), p. 2.
16. Korstanje, M.E. (2012). *Bases para comprender la Economía del Riesgo: Modernidad, tabú y representaciones*. *Rev. austral cienc. soc.*, (22), pp. 5-24.
17. Korstanje, M., Busby, G. (2010). *Understanding the Bible, as the roots of Physical displacement: the origin of Tourism*. *E-Review of Tourism Research*, 8 (3), pp. 95-111.
18. Korstanje, M.E., Olsen, D. H. (2011). *The discourse of risk in horror movies post 9/11: hospitality and hostility in perspective*. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, 1(3), pp. 304-317.
19. Korstanje, M., Tarlow, P. (2012). *Being Lost: risk and vulnerability in the post 9/11 Entertainment industry*. Vol (1), pp.22-33.
20. Kozak, M, Crotts, J., Law, R. (2007). *The Impact of the pereption of risk on international Travellers*. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. Vol. 9 (4): pp. 233-242.
21. Lemke, T. (2001). *The birth of bio-politics': Michel Foucault's lecture at the College de France on neo-liberal governmentality*. *Economy and society*, 30(2), pp. 190-207.
22. Luhmann, N. (2006). *Sociología del Riesgo*. México: Universidad Iberoamericana.
23. Maccannell, D. (2011). *The Ethics of Sightseeing. Dean Maccannell*. Los Angeles, University of California Press.
24. Rifkin, J. (1998). *The biotech century*. NY, Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam.
25. Roehl, W.S., Fesenmaier, D.R. (1992). *Risk perceptions and pleasure travel: An exploratory analysis*. *Journal of Travel Research*, 30(4), pp. 17-26.
26. Schluter, R. (2008). *Turismo: una versión integradora*. Buenos Aires, CIET.
27. Tierney, K. (1994). *Sociology's Unique Contributions to the Study of Risk*. *Disaster Research Center*, Preliminary Paper, 204.
28. Turner, V. (1988). *El proceso ritual*. *Editorial Taurus. España*.