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TOURISM AS A FORM OF NEW PSYCHOLOGICAL RESILIENCE: THE INCEPTION OF DARK TOURISM

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ABSTRACT:

Tourism industry is considered as an activity based on higher tolerance to frustration, in other terms as a resilient industry. At some extent, the diverse threats that impinge on tourism in late modernity not only did not alter its logic, but strengthened its presence worldwide. Concepts as dark tourism or thanatourism started to be adopted and applied in tourism-related research. Nonetheless, these studies are not interested in revealing neither the anthropological roots of the issue nor the representation of founding trauma (as sacralisation of the dead). Natural and made-man disasters give lessons to communities that are rechanneled by means of mythical mechanism of resiliency. Tourism, from our end, does not seem to be a resilient industry but it works as a mechanism (one among many others) society develops to intellectualise the disaster.

KEY-WORDS:

Disaster, Trauma, Death, Society, Tourism

1. INTRODUCTION

Recently, particular attention was given to the dark tourism as a form of enhancing tourist destinations. Thousands of visitors seem to be lured to consume death or sites where mass death took place in the past. Our appetite for consuming death is associated to a much older fear to be killed. This, of course, raises interesting questions: Is thana-tourism a cultural entertainment or a new type of repressed sadism? Why are people being captivated by the disaster and suffering of others represents one of the most striking aspects of dark tourism Even though a countless studies have focused on mass death as a form of cultural entertainment in tourism and hospitality fields (Lennon & Folley, 2000; O'Rourke, 1988; Miles, 2002; West, 2004; Laws, Prideaux & Chon, 2007; Blom, 2000; Stone, 2005; Kaelber, 2007; Tarlow, 2005; Lisle, 2007; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Strange & Kempa, 2003; Erfurt-Cooper & Hall, 2009; Gunlu, 2010; Cohen, 2011), few research has emphasized on the anthropological roots of dark tourism or thana-tourism highlighting its connection with ethnocentrism and nationalisms. The existent body of knowledge ignores the role played by the sacralisation of the dead in the process of anthropomorphism that ultimately ends in

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exhibiting a place wherein suffering, tragedy and curiosity converge. Present conceptual paper explores dark tourism as a sub-type of psychological resilience that helps the community understanding the nature of disasters that operates in the principle of contingency. Museums, battlefields, masterpieces of art, cemeteries, and other zones of disasters refer to events mythically constructed to fulfil economical needs. These sites are commoditised and broadcasted by mass media as mythical archetypes that reinforce the social bondage and cultural values of every society. The state of exemption and admiration these type of objects/places wake up are opposed to the adversities these heroes faced. Current paper aims at confirming whether tourism is a resilient activity and it represents one of the social mechanisms by means a society may recover to a disaster situation. From immemorial times up to dates, sites of disasters (as Pompeii in Rome, battlefields and other sites else) attracted thousands of travellers interested in knowing further about tragedy. Dark tourism sites and disaster memorial sanctuaries are forms of domesticating death. Psychologically, this exhibits a way to intellectualise the uncertainty to tolerable conditions.

2. DESIGNING THE EXPERIENCE OF DARK TOURISM

What is important to discuss here, is that death represents a nothingness which remains beyond the human understanding, a mystery that is symbolised in diverse ways. Experiences are often very hard to grasp and evolve depending upon the context. Sheng & Chen (2012) paid attention over the five key factors that may very well determine the museum attractiveness: a) easiness and fun, b) cultural entertainment, c) personal identification, d) historical reminiscence, and e) escapism. On one hand, these staged spaces are aimed at creating a thematic allegory based on certain event (the quest of history) to receive a specific discourse that is very close to ideology. On another, museums allow combining emotional and spiritual factors to create the tourist experience (Sheng & Chen, 2012).

Why people are being captivated by the disaster and suffering of others represents one of the most striking aspects of dark tourism. Even though in recent years, a countless valuable studies have focused on mass death as a form of cultural entertainment for West in tourism and hospitality fields (Lennon & Folley, 2000; O'Rourke, 1988; Seaton, 2000), few researches have emphasised on the anthropological roots of dark tourism or thana tourism. More interested to analyse the phenomenon from a managerial perspective, the existent body of knowledge ignores the role played by the sacralisation of the dead in the process of anthropomorphism that ultimately ends in exhibiting a place of staged-authenticity. This raises an important question: *how to feel and remind the suffering of others*?

The interpretation of other suffering is determined by perception and experience. Every tourist role in the field corresponds with diverse way of experiencing the site. D. S. Miller felt under her skin the pain for the hit of Katrina in New Orleans where she is native. Combining interesting questions about the connection between disaster and tourism with self-ethnography, her development illustrates how the impacts of disasters in communities take a pervasive nature. On one hand it entices outsider tourists who only want to see what is happening but on another, it calls for the assistance of a second type of tourists who are interested, like she, in helping to the obliterated community. If tourism industry does not want to help but to gaze, the glimpse into the harsh reality of New Orleans appeals to poverty and an historical unfair wealth distribution as the problems silenced by authorities. Paradoxically, Miller (2008) acknowledges that tourism revitalises the local economy in the process of recovery.

To some extent, the culture plays a pivotal role in the progress of giving sense to unfavourable events. The landscapes after a disaster should be reconfigured in order for survivors can adapt their expectances. Visiting sites where martyrs have died deserves attention for who were not involved. Tours often are sold beyond the devastated zone by operators and mediators that ignore the reasons behind the event. Similarly, Miller (2008) argues that her compromise as a native is not necessarily associated to the hedonism of mass tourism. Tourism not only can be useful for New Orleans to recover the former landscape of the city, but also echoes the presence of thousands of people who take pictures to the suffering of others. This contradiction of course paves the ways for the advent of misunderstanding. Her intriguing thesis is that tourism as such does not contribute to make the show of disaster, but the role of tourists. Ultimately, if poverty and racial problems generated the material asymmetries that facilitated the effects of Katrina, are not placed under the lens of scrutiny, the odds that the disaster can be repeated are only a question of time. At some extent, tourism is one of more resilient industries with a high adaptability to negative events (Chauhan & Khanna 2009). Is tourism a resilient industry or a form of resiliency to overcome social trauma?. The connection between humankind and nature seems to be unresolved for us. The fictionalisation of causes that led to catastrophes is often preliminary condition of human mind and a precondition the disaster takes room at a latter day (Finch et al., 2010). This begs an interesting question, is dark tourism a form of resiliency?.

3. RESILIENCY AND TRAUMA

Psychological resilience was originally coined as a term by the psychiatrist Viktor Frankl after his crippling experience in holocaust fields in Second World who combined the previous existentialist literature with Freudian psychoanalysis (Frankl, 1985). Based on the assumptions that resilience is the capacity to face, tolerate and overcome situation of suffering or extreme loss, many studies have been devoted attention to this post trauma process. Substantial evidences now show that resilience is a product of the convergence and interaction between the self and its environment (Werner & Smith, 2001; Boyden & Mann, 2005; Castro & Murray, 2010; Zautra, Hall & Murray, 2010; Korstanje, 2010). In addition, psychological resilience has been applied on a several secondary topics but one of the fields where this concept widely evolved has been the disaster and recovery process studies. Haigh & Amaratunga (2010:14) insist on the importance of researching resilience in the post disaster recovery process. Defining previously the resilience as an ability to recover the previous level of functionality in an acceptable way, Haigh & Amaratunga (2010) explain how the process of recovery is structured along with a broader need of learning of what has occurred. For McEntire, Crocker & Peters (2010) psychological resilience is strongly interconnected to the degree of vulnerability of victims and survivors. Erikson (1994), in this vein, explains that one of the aspects that predominates after a shocking event is a wide sentiment of superiority whereby one speculate that after all the life must go on. Resiliency represents a natural ability to learn from disasters.

Starting from the assumption that fear is not material but a universal deep-seated emotion, Hobbesian model is of paramount importance to understand not only the social interethnic conflict but also how the lack or presence of visible state determines the social behaviour (Williams, 2009). The accuracy and flexibility of Thomas Hobbes in order for his legacy to be applied today is one of the most fascinating aspects one comes across when delve into Hobbes's studies. In a recent review, Korstanje (2011) unearthed the contributions of Thomas Hobbes to create a valid and allencompassed conceptual framework to understand how resilience in context of disasters works. Based on previous assumptions that law and fear are two sides of the same coin, one might realise that the psychological fear corresponds with a grounding emotion by means the citizenship bestows the monopoly of force to Leviathan. At the same time, citizens who are motivated by the power-will seek to defeat others as a sign of superiority. After any disrupting event, the involving community faces eight facets which range from the sentiment of omnipotence which prevents people to be in contact with reality towards the memorial of reconstruction that nourishes an ethnocentric discourse. This happens because the resilience facilitates the orchestration of two contrasting feelings: the fear of death and the pride to overcome obstacles in contexts of adversities (Korstanje, 2011: 86). For that reason, it is not surprising to see memorials, festivals, or events in zones devastated by natural disasters. It is unfortunate the specialized studies in recovery process do not see in tourism an activity that helps revitalizing the economies of communities. This creates a gap between social sciences applied to on recovery process and tourism studies. However, tourism seems to be something else than a resilient activity, this will be the concept to discuss in the essay review.

An overview reveals that resilience, as this is given, not only encompasses the necessary financial resources or taken-for-granted aids to reconstruct the community but the training effectiveness, skills, equipment and other intangible assets to coordinate policies of reconstruction at long term (Grosskopf, 2010). Festivals and tourism showed their efficacy helping to reconstruct the community and its economy. Reminding and anthropomorphisizing disasters seem to be a way to give normalcy to a situation that naturally exceeded our control; in other terms, a way of ritualising death. Most certainly, resilience exhibits the ability to learn from disaster lessons orchestrating an efficient system of risk communication that helps mitigating new disaster effects. In the next section, we will examine the concept of thanaptosis, this means the process and details how death gains attractiveness for some sites. It is safe to affirm that the process of thanaptosis in post disaster contexts is of paramount importance to design a space of dark tourism.

4. THE THANAPTOSIS

Dark tourism can be seen as the legacy of a thanatopic tradition whose roots cannot be yet determined with accuracy by experts. Some scholars consider that the current fascination for death stems from Middle Ages and the habit of visiting craves and cemeteries during 18th and 19th centuries (Seaton, 1996; 1999) while others dwelled on the role played by mass media as the prerequisite for creating tourist spot with concentration in disasters and human catastrophes (Lennon & Foley, 2000). For some scholars, dark tourism shows a strong dependency of identity and ethnic affiliation because confers to certain group a sentiment of belonging and meaningful experience enrooted in the heritage and lore (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Seaton, 1996; 1999; 2000; Bruner, 1996; Dann & Seaton, 2001; Ryan, 2005; Chronis, 2005; Blasi, 2002; Conran, 2002).

Dark tourism according to Stone (2011) can be viewed as a pedagogical instrument to encourage health issues (something changing bad habits) in visitors. Centred in the examination of the Body Worlds exhibition, he argues that visitors who attend dark tourism sites should think inevitably about their own death. Visitors are not only introduced to the idea of their own death by the projection of other death's, but also generate a mortal gaze that opens the door to a contemplative sentiment about life. This means that ordinary people only can consider their own

death by mean of the mortality of others. The significant other dead lives in the daily life by means of mediated channels and professions as architecture, burials, mass media, mediums, obituaries, funeral directors and even dark tourism. In order to make our world a safer place to live, these mediators often seek a site or public space for taming the presence of death and communicating specific discourses (Stone, 2011).

To maintain the question of death on slippery grounds, Stephens (2007) introduces a new concept to understand this issue "the privilege of escape", as the temporal permit given to modern citizens to be in contact to strange forms of lives or customs. This behaviour does not take into consideration the ill-health or other unexpected experiences that can impinge on the travel. The Zones characterised by the presence of dark tourism, from Stephen's view, are functional to political interests to the extent of sacralising certain cultural values or spaces to create biased representation of history. Of course, she admits that universally travels encompass a profound sentiment of fear. However, dark tourism surfaced not earlier than 20th century as a combination of the privilege of escapement and the pleasure for extreme dangers (Stephens, 2007). Similarly, Simone-Charteris & Boyd (2010) recognise how places where outstanding events have been taken room, are a fertile source to be memorised or designed as sacred sites or cities of pilgrimage. Thurnell-Read (2010) warns concentrations camps and sites of dark tourism are fraught of meanings that visitors seek to structure their own experience about an event that unless otherwise resolved is beyond their understanding. This means that people recur to dark tourism museums to connect not only to the site but also achieve a comprehension of history. For Stone & Sharpley (2008) dark tourism should be considered "an experience" that allows the connection between the socio-cultural perspectives of death and consumption.

Wilson (2008) argued that mass media plays a pivotal role in shaping an all-encompassed image of the history that engenders a specific narrative. This discourse appeals to an elaborated historicity which not always coincides with real facts. Based on the case of prison museums in Australia, she contends that dark tourism is a form of merging past, present and future into a one-sided discourse. This was the case of Australia, a nation seen as a site of prisoners and convicts who were in disagreement with Victorian norms in England. The narratives of inmates have been mingled with other narratives giving a countless variety of other sources. From Auschwitz to Alcatraz, prisons have wakened up the admiration and attention of social imaginary in west. The reason why former prisons in Australia attracts international tourists seems to be related to the stories narrated surrounding such sites. These places alternate two relevant aspects: *a*) emotions enrooted in the need of fleeting encounter and *b*) the opportunity to digest trauma and disgusting events. In view of this, Wilson (2008) synthesises a set of commotional personal narratives linked

to the history of Australia as a land of prisons indentifying the social and psychological factors which determined to what extent the prison is a consumable good for tourism and hospitality. International visitors have the ability to select, alternate and reject those narratives which do not match with their own psychological and cognitive profile. What in one point is permitted in other is hidden.

A concentration camp can be considered as a site of mass death for ones, or a simply form of cultural entertainment for others depending of many factors as age, nationality, ethnicity and even language. As instruments to enhance certain values or collective identity, heritage and dark tourism provide attendants and sightseers of special significance; and of course, the political importance given to these sites follow much broader political interests. The discourse in these types of spaces is associated to the participation of some groups and the exclusion of others. Sometimes, stakeholders do not share the similar-minded gaze respecting to an event and its meaning. This can engender serious short-circuits in the process of communication. Above all, a heritage site is a space of agreement among different actors that is being continued in the threshold of time (Poria, 2007). However, the importance of heritage sites in tourism literature has been somehow overemphasised or has been circumscribed to questions related to profits, management and financial success. Dark tourism places after all intend to respond resoluble questions closing hermeneutically the answers to practical concern – Why did this happen?, Could we have prevented a situation like this?, and Who is responsible for this? are three of the most common points of discussion around which the discourse of death is built.

Following this, Stone (2006) develops a new concept around darkness that refers to the spectrum of dark-tourism. Some varying degrees of darkness come from seven types of dark sites ranging from darkest to lightest. One of the most interesting concepts of Stone's model seems to be associated to the level of attractiveness of certain place. Basically, there would be some sites fraught of political ideology which denotes location authenticity. Based on death and suffering, these sites are past-centric and provide attendants with a coherent framework for educational goals. Otherwise, there would be other type of sites created for remembering a certain event that has not taken place in the site of memorial. These sorts of spaces are heritage centric and maintain a lower political ideology. In addition, Stone (2006) typifies seven diverse products enrooted in the curiosity of death which transmit a set of different messages to society: a dark-fun factories (entertainment based on simulated suffering of others), b dark exhibitions (learning opportunities), I) dark dungeons (penal codes and reinforcement of law), d dark resting places (romantised sites of commemoration), e dark shrines (secondary or peripheral sites of remembrance for victims, f) dark conflict sites (commoditisation of battles and wars), g0 dark camps of genocide (sites where

genocide has been practiced). Every typology of dark sites encompasses a specific discourse transmitted once and once again to a wider range of tourists who manifest variety in their expectances. Last but not least, Winter (2011) considers that death is a key factor of dark tourism but not the only one. This sub-industry allows activating a social memory that confers a special experience created by several processes. Visitors often perpetuate these cultural values and are involved in specific behaviours which can be explored by research. Based her assumptions on warcemeteries, Winter recognises how social memory of war is possible thanks to commemorative practices that give sense to some groups and their places. Linking families and nation states, war and dark tourism appeal directly to emotional arousals. The sacrifice is reminded according to a performance enrooted in the nationalism. In this vein, it is important to keep in mind that visiting places of disasters or battlefields perpetuate a form of feeling and select a special narrative that gives sense to such event. Dark tourism seems to be a political expression that closes people with their lore and expectances. Based on the assumption that the existent literature is insufficient to explain thanaptosis simply because the majority of these studies are not empirically rich, Biran et al. (2011) explain that the motivation of visitors who consume dark tourism sites seems not to be pretty different than those who seek for heritage. Similarly, these limitations lead us to think the appetite for death not only is not the primary concern of thana-tourism but also a deeper emotional heritage experience.

However, problems of dark-tourism studies lie in two primary aspects. At a first glance, the needs of memorials after a disaster are not new. In Ancient Rome, for example, many travellers visited sites of mass-death as Pompeii or spaces where revolts were crushed. Like 9/11 memorials, Roman Empire reminded annually the tragedies of Teutenburg (Germany) after Emperor Augustus left two of his legions to be systematically massacred for being fallen into a ambush. Every year military parades were organised in all provinces of Empire in honour of the victims. These events and festivals enticed thousands of visitors, non-Romans, interested in knowing further about this battle (Korstanje, 2009). Other example like this contrasts the belief that dark tourism corresponds with a modern issue. Secondly, the specialised literature focuses on the administered questionnaire as the only and scientific led methodology to study tourist behaviour or emotions in dark sites. This creates serious contradictions in responses because there is a dichotomy between what people say and do. These superfluous techniques are not enough to explain fear-mongering conditions. Stone (2011) has envisaged that ethnography and other non-intrusive methods would be better recommended to research the link between societies with death. Some informal interviews should be combined with visual approaches. The meaning is more important than measure. What is the connection among disaster, thanaptosis, dark tourism and resiliency?.

5. A NEW CONCEPT FOR DARK TOURISM

Merleau-Ponty (1964) argues that the "only" authentic experience in this world is death. In this encounter, I bring me close to the other because I discover myself in the other, precisely, as I may unveil my self consciousness of life in the consciousness of death. Both, in this game, life and death seem to be inextricably linked. We, humans, living ignoring death but our existence is fortuitous. As we exist with others, we live by means of the death of others. Human beings may be unaware of death if their ontology is reduced to the state of animals. The consciousness is a strange ability to accept and reject. The price of freedom in humankind is framed under the awareness of death. The fear of death resulted from the needs of expansion, limitless to live forever. The sacred experience coincides with a moment of greatest cohesion and self-awareness. Following this explanation, Aries (2011) emphasises on the process of secularisation as a key factor that led people to deny death. Throughout Middle Ages communities were daily subject to disasters, famine and wars; death was accepted and considered part of life. Cemeteries, shrines and sanctuaries were built beyond the boundaries of the city. With the advent of modernity, the religious sacrifice for a better life in the other world set the pace to secular love for the worldly possessions. Paradoxically, the cemeteries are relocated in the core of cities but death remains in oblivion. While the West developed a strange love for this world, death not only is denied but also undomesticated. From that moment on, we choose to live feigning as death does not exist. The emergencies and disasters put this simulacrum in crisis in so far the sacred-experience is accepted (Aries, 2011). Where are our relatives when they are dead? Is the love a bond that death may interrupt forever? If so, what is the essence of love? Why us, and why now? All these questions surface when the connection of humans is suspended. Dark tourism, and of course resiliency are forms of responding these troubling points.

Philosophically speaking, the causality of events corresponds with specific factors. A society should be understood as a system, which elements are inextricably intertwined. Complex systems characterize by an ongoing turbulence that under some circumstance fabricate risks. In view of this, societal systems look to reach the "Homeostasis" in case of disruption. Homeostasis may be defined as property of any system to regulate its inner environment not only controlling potential glitches but also keeping stability (reference). A disaster, unlike the risk which is an inoculated danger, exhibits chaos and lack of control but sooner than later, the society finds the necessary mechanism in order for the stability to be restored. If this does not happen, the society faces a stage of fragmentation. Whatever the case may be, the resiliency helps in this process to bring trust to

survivor after a shocking event or a situation of extreme obliteration. What is the role of tourism or dark tourism at this stage?

Human beings are moved by two contrasting drives, one conservative the other destructive. The fear of death juxtaposes to the needs of transcending the imposed barriers (vainglory). In order for avoiding the war of all against all people deposit their trust to a third party, the Leviathan who is in charge of making the life safer by means of the respect of law (Hobbes, 1998; Pousadela, 2000; Strauss, 2006; Hilb & Sirczuk, 2007). If the Leviathan warrants the peace-state, society develops a sentiment of omnipotence (vainglory) that facilitates not only a geo-political expansion but also enhancing the self-esteem. However, this natural tendency engenders a risk because the society turns the back to the principle of reality. With the passing of time, risks and possible hazards are trivialised considering that the existent technology suffices to deter a potential state of disaster. The temporal stability of the system rests on three elements, ethnocentrism, technological advance and fear. While the former warns about the potential risks, the ethnocentrism and technology paves the ways for the advent of patriotism. Being part of some group or nationhood not only is understood as a pride, but also reinforces a sentiment of superiority respecting to other groups. Whenever the disaster hits, anyway, things changes radically; the survivors and eye-witnesses learn that after all they were vulnerable and their degree of development is not enough to reduce the degree of uncertainty. After a disaster one of the most troubling and shocking sentiment is the possibility of the same catastrophe appears again. This poses serious challenges to community all. The case of Katrina in New Orleans and Chile reveal how the law is suspended in contexts of emergencies, looting, thefts and other crimes flourishes at streets if the state is unable to keep the control. The recovery process is hard and slow. Under this conjuncture, one might question is society destined to break into pieces?

Many interests, expectances and material resources are echoed to reconstruct an obliterated community. At this stage, experts examine the reasons behind the event. It is worthwhile to note that the process of resilience is started by means of an orchestration of two contrasting feelings: fear to a situation of this calibre happens again, and pride for overcoming obstacles in adversities. The civility in hobbesian terms not only are replicated in the process of recovery post-disasters but also paved the way for the advent of the memorial of reconstruction. The memorial of reconstruction described in early point seems to be related to a much broader-seated ethnocentrism. Disasters have a pervasive nature. At the same time, they insufflate sadness and suffering but survivors feel a sentiment of superiority because they have survived. Any disaster generates a state of exemption by means of patriotism operates. If the community was not destroyed, survivor thinks, this was a sign of divine protection and personal strength. The process of resiliency that starts the recovery

performs diverse rituals not only to understand the event, but also to remind the reasons behind. Throughout these kinds of rituals, the involving society highlights its own sentiment of superiority creating what specialists denominated "the archetype of disasters" (Korstanje, 2011). Mass death wakes up negative emotions associated to fear, anxiety and uncertainty. If these emotions are not duly controlled, the community disintegrates. Archetype of disasters explains not only how the founding parents faced a similar event in past-times, but leaves a lesson.

Accompanied with the mythical guidelines that explain how the community was reconstructed, tourism, festivals and event management elaborate a specific narrative of how the events happened, a new story with emphasis on masculinity, outrage, heroism, and strength. This creates a sentiment of ethnocentrism that dissociates the own ethnicity from otherness. Unfortunately, this exacerbated discourse not only tends to preserve the power of status quo but also ignore temporarily the real causes that provoked the unexpected disaster. As a result of this, societies or communities are inevitably condemned to suffer the tragedy again. At this stage, dark tourism and tourism are functional to the reconstruction of community post disaster contexts. The site is commoditised and sold as a reminder to others who have not experienced the same, creating a discourse that revitalises the social bond. For that reason, we do not think tourism is a resilient industry dark tourism and tourism is mechanisms of resiliency proper of society to deal with disasters. Nonetheless, these lessons are biased, and politically manipulated by aristocracies. Since real causes of disaster are hidden in dark tourism sites, tourists are not involved in an authentic explanation, which paves the way for the disaster happen again. This creates a vicious cycle that is hard to stop.

6. CONCLUSION

To cut the long story short, if we follow the contributions of Baudrillard and Giddens, disasters are important for modernity and capitalism to recycle certain economies. The process of re-built in environments raises the price of soil improving the existent infrastructure. A couple of decades back, goods were fabricated for during all life under a standardized scale of production (fordism). This was radically changed with the advent of post-modernity. Now, goods are done to be replaced. The industrial economies need a constructive destruction in order for the capital to survive. Disasters are often mediated and commoditised by corporations that take advantage of the situation to introduce new products. To set a clear example, the global warming is creating extreme conditions of weather; Katrina of course was a product of this. In lieu of intervening in the specific factors that cause the climate change, societies prefer to re-cycle the obliterated communities to be

reconstructed. Thousands of tourists moving by curiosity or morbid fascination will pay for organised tours to be there and try to feel the shadows of survivors. Tourism will be at this stage of paramount importance to accelerate the times of community reconstruction but problems remains. A new similarly or worse disaster is only a question of time. After further discussion, the thesis of this conceptual paper is that tourism is not affected by disasters; rather, tourism is a result of disasters that prevents the societal order to be disintegrated.

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