EDUCATION IN TIMES OF THANA-CAPITALISM.


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Introduction.

In the present essay review the concept of Thana capitalism is discussed as a new obsession to witness Others ‘death. When I originally formulated this thesis I was intended in studying tourism-related issues. I realized that the old pattern of holiday consumption started to change gradually but over the recent decades the apollonian concept of beautiness has been radically changed. Whether our parents and grand-parents enjoyed their vacations in paradisiacal destinations or gazing impressive landscapes, now consumers are strongly interested in visit places of total obliteration, or mass-death. This tendency which was baptized as “Thana or Dark Tourism”, was addressed by an incipient number of scholars but disorganized to propose an all-encompassing theory. Quite aside from this, the quest of witnessing disasters or spaces of suffering is not only limited to tourism, it can be found in Cultural Entertainment industries as TV, or Cinema. Newspapers, TV programs, movies and Channel stations as Assassination discovery cover scenarios where death is the main player. Observations of this nature led me to coin a new term “Thana-Capitalism”, which is defined as a new facet of capitalism where production and consumption has death as primary commodity. Of course, in times of thana-capitalism education faces serious disruptions which deserve to be discussed. This world rests on the
metaphor of life, but a condition only reserved for few souls. Most likely in a climate of social Darwinism where Noah´s ark is one of the most popular stories. The survival of the strongest entails the destruction of the rest. At time of witnessing others´ death, through TV programs, dark tourism or elsewhere, citizens feel they are living. The death is gazed to enhance the ego, since after all it confers the possibility to be in the game.

**The Crisis of Education.**

Over centuries, education played a crucial role in the configuration of social order. As Emile Durkheim puts it, the smooth functioning of society depends on the levels of skills and expertise developed by her constitutive classes. Education not only forges a role in the lay-citizen, but also confers its identity. When education faces a crisis it supposes the existence of a process of decomposition which comes from radical changes in economies. In XIXth century French education overcame a serious crisis of meaning which came from earlier shifts that marked the end of industrialism in a new economic form, modern capitalism. Although Durkheim was not enthusiastic in discussing the conceptual framework for the consolidation of a science of education, his interests were focused on expanding the understanding of education as a mechanism of control and socialization. People are often socialized to fulfil a position into the society, and in so doing, education gives the necessary values, knowledge and skills to operate legally on behalf of public order. The profession allows a re-organization of labour according to a much wider commodity-exchange that is cemented on the economic structure (Durkheim, 2012). Undoubtedly, the legacy of Durkheim seems to be worth-while to understand the intersection of economy and education.

Other pioneer in the crisis of education, Max Weber anticipated to the crisis of education from a different angle than Durkheim; however both agree a similarly-minded argument. In this respect, Weber acknowledges that the current crisis of meaning results from a previous dissociation between the call (das beruf) and profession. The process of bureaucratization, which is imposed by capitalism, depersonalizes the dreams or interests in what one likes to achieve in the life for a system of legal requirements each worker would have to be inserted in the market of labour (Weber, 2009). As the previous argument given, founding parents of sociology concerned on the advance of
capitalism as a cultural and economic project that commoditizes social ties, eroding the basis of trust, where social institutions daily interact. Basil Bernstein, senior sociologist formed in Marxism, found that education and classes are inextricably intertwined. Underpinned in the proposition communication pivoted education in a way that remained unchecked by specialized literature, Bernstein proposes that two different linguistic codes coexist in high and middle classes while lower classes only keep “a restricted code”. What are the differences of both?. In the language, the meanings of paragraphs are mainly framed into two types of codes: restricted and elaborated. While the former signals to inclusiveness that leaves behind the rational logic of means-and-ends, the latter one refers to an abstract condition where subject made a decision which has effects. Combining the best of Durkheim with Marx and Weber in education, Bernstein imagines the society as a hierarchal organization where upper classes made the decisions (using elaborate and rational codes) sooner or later affect lower classes. In this discussion, Education shapes the in-group members socializing the restricted or elaborated code (or both) according to the appertaining class (Bernstein 1964; 1972; 2000). Whatever the case is, education shows a clear paradox; Bernstein adheres, because top classes demand further education while lower less privileged groups have higher rates of drop-out, situating the problem of education as an immediate issue to address. Other relevant text in pedagogy was *The Crisis of Education* originally authored by H. Arendt. By the end of WWII, she realizes that “common-sense” is in decline. Distinguishing learning from education, Arendt explores the problem of education as a lying fact the authority and tradition are being divorced from the current state of production. More interested in seeing education as a form of training or specialization, which endorsed to certificates, policy makers are taking distance from the genuine learning (Arendt, 1961).

Ultimately, Ulrich Beck explains convincingly that the current problems in education that are altering the daily life of citizens come from the transformation of social institutions, which maintain the surface but changing the core. These mimicked institutions seem to be emptied from their original function, assuming others new shapes (1994). The society where Beck writes poses the risk as a mediator between institutions and citizens. The society of risk, technically, starts with the nuclear accident in Chernobyl, Ukraine. This event reorganized the already-existent hierarchal order to a new reflective logic. In decline,
the classic institutions created by welfare state were unable to protect citizens no longer. Ulrich Beck, who was one of the pioneers in envisaging a radical change in political making up, argued that the sense of community is now based on the risk perception (Beck, 1992). In the society of risks, the process of knowledge production leads to a state of complexity that creates a paradoxical situation. The same technology originally designed to make safer the life of people, if unregulated it can result in a real disaster. The old Word of classes where the first Marxists exerted their radical critique has set the pace to a new one. The classic division between riches and pours, or have and have-nots has gone forever. Now, all citizens seem to be equal before to risk. The stage of globalization that accelerated the transport orchestrated a closed-system which is very well market-oriented to mass-consumption. However, the production of risks seems to be inverse proportional to the current distribution of wealth. This suggests that concepts as wealth, democracy, or equality will be replaced by security, risk, protection and so forth. At some extent, capitalism showed a lack of permeability with enviroment which may usher Occident into an ending collapse (Beck, 1992).

In this respect, other senior sociologist, Anthony Giddens adheres to Beck that the process of reflexibility institutionalised a culture of risk, or “radical doubt” altering the ontological security of lay-peoples. Based on the Attachment theory, Giddens acknowledges that social trust works as a protective cocoon, which is given by care-takers to child in earlier stages. Any potential failure that undermines the social trust will result in serious doubts in its adulthood. The same applies for modern society since modernity undermines certainness in some parameters of daily life, while adopting high levels of risk. The successive enhancements in the knowledge-based technology make society more vulnerable because decision-making process reproduces paradoxically new risks.

“The reorganization of daily life through abstract systems creates many routines forms of activity having a higher level of predictability than most contexts in pre-modern cultures. Through the protective cocoon, most people are buffered most of the time from the experience of radical doubt as a serious challenge either to the routines of daily activity or to more far-reaching ambitions. The dilemma of authority vs doubt is ordinarily resolved through a mixture of routine and commitment to a
certain form of lifestyle, plus the vesting of trust in a given series of abstract systems” (Giddens, 1991: 196)

Although, Beck, Giddens and his followers deserve recognition by identifying not only that institutions were mutating, but risk posed as a mediator between citizens and their institutions, no less true is that capitalism is far from proposing a world where all citizens would be equal. Furthermore, no less true is that the society of risk sets the pace to a new capitalism, (thana-capitalism), where the presence of death allows changes otherwise would not be feasible. In days of Thana Capitalism, the life is seen as a long trace where only one will be the winner. The death of others, which is present in Media, Journalism, TV Programs not only feel us special because we are in trace after all, but also remind how special we are. This is the reason why disasters captivate today to global audience. At the time, they exhibit the disgrace in “Others” news reinforce the supremacy of West over other cultures. Secondly, leisure practices as classic Sun and Sea tourism is changed to new forms where mass-disaster or mourning spaces are the main attraction. This new segment, known by some specialists as Thana-Tourism or Dark Tourism, recycles spaces of disasters or mass-death to be visually commoditized to international consumers who need to be close to Other’s death. If older leisure practices embraced an apollonian view of beautiness that invited workers to spend time and money in paradise-alike destinations, now we are witness of the rise of a new class, death-seekers.

Thana-Capitalism in the sense of reality.

Originally, the term was coined by William Cullen Bryant (1948) to describe a state of nostalgia to see life through the eyes of death. It signalled to the needs of recycling life through death and vice-versa. In other terms, we are not born to live, because we are dying while growing. This neologism comes from the word Thanatos (Greek) which means death. In the psychological fields, one of the pioneers to discover the force of Thanatos to sublimate our desires was Sigmund Freud. Across over the psychological structure of individuals, two in-born drives coexist: life and death drives (German, tribes). The death drive can be understood as a bodily instinct to return to a state earlier our birth. Whether Eros was orientated to protect life through sexual energy, Thanatos appealed to the (self) destruction (Freud, 1920).
In this token, modernity and death seems to be inextricably intertwined. Phillipe Aries calls the attention to the fact that in Middle Ages peasants were subject to countless dangers and real death was just around the corner. With the expansion of life expectancy, modern citizens expanded their hopes to live but undomesticated the death producing a paradoxical situation. Effects of disaster or mass-death will resonate in modern capitalist society higher than in medieval times (Aries 2013). In a world full of social inequalities, not surprisingly, death corresponds with a criterion of exclusion but what is more important; in the current times, death-seekers not only are moved by Thanatos or a death-drive, but are in quest of reinforcing their ego by the Other’s death. Only in this way they feel unique, exceptional or beyond the law. These cultural values which are new for many social scientists, has revolutionized the already existent notion of beautiness. As Auge put it, travellers over past centuries were captivated by the reading of novels which engaged the reader with the next trip. The role of imagination was a powerful instrument to imagine “the Other”, whereas modern tourism was introduced to neglect and subordinate the position of the Others. In consequence, lay-people do not make the decision to travel elsewhere; rather, the image of travels at dream destinations is imposed to consumers (Auge, 1997). Nonetheless, the World described by Auge is pretty different than this. Those landscapes, which some time ago, inspired poems, writers and poets set the pace to the advance of news, or TV programs that tell us how “Others” die, or zones effaced by natural disasters. This is one of others indicators that evinces we are inevitably passing from risk capitalism to Thana-capitalism. To understand the reason of their own life, death-seekers (within Thana Capitalism) need to experience death through the eyes of “Others”. To put this in bluntly, modern citizens need to gaze how others die in order to have a meaningful live. In medieval age, peasants were physically constricted to move freely but their imagination took often them to places where others cannot easily go. Religion and the belief in a better world hereafter configured a social ethos that makes medieval man happier. In modern times, mobilities played a vital role expanding the boundaries where geographically a citizen may travel but its imagination declined to a small-world. In a realm, where God has died, the consciousness resists to die accepting in terms of Riesman an Other-directed view of life (Korstanje, 2015). In his classic work, *The Lonely Crowd* Riesman was the first to note economy and social organization are inevitably inter-linked. The good-
exchange delineates the cultural institutions to forge a common “character. In Ancient times, tradition-directed character imposed to an economy of subsistence, where tradition and lore plays important positions as organizers of social life. With some economic changes brought by mercantilism, the tradition oriented trait set the pace to a new one, inner-directed development. In times of Reform, puritanism appealed to the law-abiding and self-conformity. After WWII, American society experienced the change to “other directedness” where people are in quest of events that occur beyond their immediate scopes. This other-directed personality not only allowed a state of exchange and wealth accumulation but also paved the ways for the advent of globalization. The interests for others which can be expressed in modern tourism or even in journalism are a direct effect of this trait. The problem of a society attached to spectacle was originally addressed by Guy Debord in 1967, in his masterful work *The Society of Spectacle*. Following Debord, one might realize that daily life is being degraded by the imposition of representations, stereotypes, and images to the extent that “the being” embraces merely appearing instead of other values. As commodities, micro-social relations are emptied according to representational landscapes that are dramatically exposed. Unless otherwise reversed, the society of spectacle irremediably will usher humankind in an atmosphere of inauthenticity, and fetishism (Debord, 1967).

The epicentre of Thana Capitalism comes from the attacks to World Trade Centre in charge of Al-Qaeda, an event occurred 11 September of 2001. This shocking blow represented a turning point where Islam radicalism showed not only the weaknesses of West, but also how the means of transport which were the badge of US, were employed as mortal weapons directed towards civil targets. Educated and trained in the best wester universities, jihadist showed the dark side of the society of mass-consumption. Many of the steps followed by Al-Qaeda were emulated from a Management guidebook. All these discussed indicators set the pace to a more complex scenario, where economy turns chaotic (unpredictable after financial stock and market crisis in 2008) where the atomized demands become in a competence of all against all (in the Hobbesian terms). The Darwinist allegory of the survival of strongest can be found as the main culture value of Thana-Capitalism in a way that is captivated by cultural entertainment industries and cinema. Films as Hunger Games portray an apocalyptic
future where the elite govern with iron rule different colonies. A wealthy capitol which is geographically situated in Rocky Mountain serves as an exemplary centre, a hot-spot of consumption and hedonism where the spectacle prevails. The oppressed colonies are rushed to send their warriors who will struggle with others to death, in a bloody game that keeps people exciting. Although all participants work hard to enhance their skills, only one will reach the glory. The same can be observed in realities as Big Brother, where participants neglect the probabilities to fail simply because they over-value their own strongholds. This exactly seems to be what engages citizens to compete with others to survive, to show “they are worth of survive”. In sum, the sentiment of exceptionality triggered by these types of ideological spectacles disorganizes the social trust.

Last but not least, capitalism signals to the constructions of allegories containing death prompting a radical rupture of self with others. Whenever we see ourselves as special, put others of different condition asunder. In a context of turbulences, the imposition of these discourse are conducive to the weakening of social fabric. Thematising disasters by dark-tourism consumption patterns, entails higher costs the disaster repeats in a near future. The political intervention in these sites covers the real reasons behind the event, which are radically altered to protect the interests of status quo. The political and economic powers erect monuments to remember sudden mass-death or trauma-spaces so that society reminds a lesson, which allegory contains a biased or galvanized explanation of what happened. Though at some extent, community needs to produces these allegories to be kept in warning, the likelihoods the same disaster takes hit again seems to be a question of time (Korstanje 2014).

In sum, Thana-Capitalism offers death (of others) as a Spectacle not only revitalizes the daily frustrations, but enhances a harmed ego. Visiting spaces of disasters during holidays, or watching news on terrorist attacks at home, all represents part of the same issue: the advent of new class death seekers.

**Education in the era of death seekers**

The dilemma of education in times of Thana-Capitalism was radically different than Risk-Society. Not only syllabuses and Curricula are based on the needs of individual experience in the fieldwork, but also
people employ travels as mechanism of education. Though the idea of being there is not new, it was forged by colonialism long time ago, now it surfaces the belief that visiting sites of heritage or history is a valid way to understand how the past evolved. This seems to be the reason why, in thana-capitalism, pleasure, education and leisure have been intermingled. The old division of leisure and work as imagined by Dean Maccannell has set the pace to more diffusing forms of consumption. In retrospect, lay-citizens make the decision to travel to tourist destinations to work, and even at their desk they imagine themselves by surfing through the imaginary of leisure (Kaelber 2007; Podoshen et al 2015; Tzanelli 2016). Today, virtual technology is used to visit sites otherwise would be unaffordable. Doubtless, as Rodanthi Tzanelli puts it, dark tourism or thana-tourism invites to a profound discussion to what we understand by tourism. These types of sites which are characterized by mass-death or human extreme suffering are visited virtually or directly by a growing segment of tourists (Tzanelli 2015; 2016).

Those scholars interested in dark tourism issues agree that visitors are aimed at experiencing new sensation, or are in quest of novel experiences, where the “Death of Others” serves to shed light on their own lives (Seaton 1996; Stone 2006; Stone & Sharpley 2008; 2011; Cohen 2011; Strange & Kempa 2003; Buda & McIntosh, 2013; Korstanje & George, 2015). In this respect, Seaton defines Than tourism as the travel dimension towards thanaptosis understood this as a trip to a site wholly or partially motivated by the desire of meeting death (Seaton, 1996). Others of the authorative voices of this topic, P. Stone addresses this meaning anew taking into consideration the wider role of media, in covering not only spots of disaster as ground-zero or New Orleans but other interesting sites as memorable prisons as Alcatraz or Auschwitz. The complexity of this issue leads Stone to see Dark tourism under the lens of a spectrum which oscillates from lightest to darkest dimensions. For Stone´s account, dark tourism represents an anthropological needs to anticipate the own death by means of Others´ death. In retrospect, this deep-seated issue mediates in ways of filter between life and death crystallizing a modern symbolic platform so that the self to negotiate the ontological meanings of its own mortality (Stone 2012). Rather, Erik H Cohen (2011) dangled the possibility dark tourism works as a mechanism of education that learn to next generations further on those events that caused a great trauma
to society. In view of that, Cohen divides *in populo site*, which signalled to those sites where disaster took hit, from, *re-created sites* more oriented to exploit profits from a sad event. The concept of authenticity delineates the borders of visitor´s experience to the extent to generate different types of reactions. For Cohen, Dark tourism epitomizes an instrument which very well can be used for educative purposes.

From the outset, the specialized literature in dark tourism issues was strongly influenced by the paradigm of education. Dark-site consuming or slumming corresponded with individual attempts to situate in the other´s world. Exegetes of dark tourism as a topic embedded with heritage and education hold the thesis that the allegories transmitted by monuments or dark shrines are individually accepted or reject according to an earlier cognitive structure. This suggests that dark-tourism consuming centres on individual “experiences”, which bespeak from the biographies of subjects. Given this, as Biran, Poria and Oren (2011) agreed, current literature in dark tourism should explore the problem adopting tourist experience as a key factor in the fieldwork. The relations of discourse, symbolic meaning and experience are vital to expand the current understanding of thana-tourism. With focus on Auschwitz-Birkenau, researchers allude to the fact that visitors hold a heritage experience, which is enrooted in a tragic past event, than a thanaptopical quest of death. This begs a more than interesting question, is thana tourism a type of new education for people to understand tragedies in the past?

In earlier studies, Korstanje & George (2015) have widely criticized the belief that indicates dark tourists are Heritage-seekers by two main reasons. At some extent, experience does not suffice to understand the correlation between two or more variables. Even interviewed persons are unfamiliar with their inner world, or in other case they lie to preserve their interests. Methodologically speaking, though death-seekers respond they visit these space to gain further knowledge and sensibility about others ‘death, no less true is that other motivations remain hidden. This is the reason why Thana-tourism and Thana-capitalism should be placed under the lens of critical scrutiny.

**Thana-Tourism Reconsidered**
Some philosophical concerns arise around the role played by technology in this process. As Richard Hofstadter puts it, not only did capitalism make use of profits, exploiting the workforce, but also
introduced successfully “social Darwinism”, which reinforced the axiom of the survival of fittest as a new ethics. In other words, we “play the game” because the opportunities to defeat our opponents are exaggerated (Hofstadter, 1963). The competition fostered by the ideology of capitalism offers the salvation for few ones, at the expense of the rest. To realise the dream of joining the “selected people”, we accept the rules. Whenever one of our direct competitors fails, we feel an insane happiness. I argue that a similar mechanism is activated during our visit to dark tourism sites: we do not strive to understand, we are just happy because we escaped death and have more chances to win the game of life. In this respect, George H Mead, one of the founders of symbolic interactionism, criticized that many readers show a unpleasant experience at time of reading bad news in newspapers or magazine, but despite to this, they were unable to stop to do it. He assertively concludes that the self is configured through its interaction with others. This social dialectic introduces anticipation and interpretation as the two pillars of the communicative process. The self feels happiness through the other’s suffering - a rite necessary to avoid or think about one’s own potential pain. Starting from the premise that the self is morally obliged to assist the other to reinforce a sentiment of superiority, avoidance preserves the ethical base of social relationships (Mead, 2009). Nonetheless, this in-born drive has been manipulated beyond the limits of a reasonable narcissism.

After all, Mead’s reflections could be applied to the act of visiting dark tourism shrines. To understand this we can revert to the myth of Noah and its pivotal role in the salvation of the world in Christianity. Slavoj Zizek agrees that Christianity needs from to pose a message of self-destruction which is emulated by Christ to become God. In the core of Christendom is enrooted a lesson that encourages the betrayal as a guiding value (Zizek 2003). Not surprisingly, modern capitalism has expanded by the social Darwinism old ideologies made possible. Whatever the case may be, Noah’s ark situates as one of the most influencing myths over the last decades. This legend tells us that God, annoyed by the corruption of human beings, mandated to Noah to construct an ark. Noah’s divine mission consisted of gathering and adding a pair per species to his ark so as to achieve the preservation of natural life. The world was destroyed by the great flood, but life diversity survived. At first glance, the myth’s moral message is based on the importance of nature and the problem of sin and corruption. But
when examined more carefully, the myth poses the dilemma of competition: at any “tournament” or game, there can be only one winner. In the archetypical Christian myth, Noah and the selected species stand as the only witnesses of everything and everyone else’s death. I argue that the curiosity and fascination for death comes from this founding myth, which is replicated in plays to date, stating that only one can be crowned the winner. Even, the “Big Brother” show, which was widely studied by sociologists and researchers of visual technology, rests on this principle. Only few are the selected ones to live forever on the screen, as is the case in religious myths such as those of Protestantism and Catholicism (both based on doctrines of salvation and understandings of death). In fact, Stone argues that the dark tourist experience is conditioned by a similar premise: a reminder that we, the survivors, are in the race and our sole purpose is to finish our journey. Still, there is much discussion on the influence of religion in capitalist ethos. In two must-read books as Consuming life and Liquid Fear, Zygmunt Bauman reminds that life has not possibilities to emancipate or gaining further meaning without the presence of death. For him, the capitalist ethos has changed the mentality of citizens, who do not even fulfil the function of production automata any longer. As commodities, workers are today exploited to sustain the principle of massive consumption, which is encouraged by capitalism. The “Big Brother” is such an example of how people enter competitions as commodities, to be selected and bought by others. Participants in this reality show know that only one will win, and the rest will “die”. “Big Brother”, for Bauman, emulates life in capitalist societies; it does so by enhancing the lifestyle of the few by “producing” pauperization for the rest. The modern state keeps in pace with the liberal market to monopolize people’s sense of security. This does not mean that states are unable to keep security, but that the market is controlling consumption by the imposition of fear. If human disasters such as Katrina show the pervasive nature of capitalism, which allows thousands of poor citizens to die, the “show of disaster” releases it from the responsibilities of the event. The sense of catastrophe, like death, serves to cover the inhuman nature of capitalism (Bauman, 2007; 2008).

Last but not least, the current spectacularised society has only one answer to crisis, when its economic system is at risk. The real causes of the disaster are ignored thanks to the spectacle of death, which is
reproduced in the media and famous TV series. What do we really know about the real causes of Auschwitz or 9/11? Could a museum explain the complexity of human nature? Bauman would say it would not. Any attempt to sacralise dying as a spectacle is the prelude of its neglect. Dark tourism is not different from spectacles such as those of the FIFA World Cup, and reality shows, such as “Big Brother”. All of them proclaim ideologically that only one may be crowned winner (Korstanje, Tzanelli & Clayton, 2014). Education in times of thana-Capitalism goes in this direction... encouraging a combination of narcissism and individualism which places the net of experts asunder an all-encompassing understanding of events. The sense of reality as formulated by Enlightenment divided into many worlds, where things are adjoined to stimulate the psychological desire. It engages the civilized self with a much deeper matrix of hyper consumption.

Conclusion
To cut the long story short, the idea of a Thana-Capitalism was inspired in what Baudrillard dubbed as “The Spectacle of Disaster”, as the main criterion of attraction. However, he did not give further references respecting to the rise of a new capitalism. He only was limited to explore the leading position of the media as a producer of “pseudo-realities”. Rather, we go in another direction. At a closer look, Disasters provides to Thana-Capitalism with the commodity to disorganize the social ties among workers in order to introduce an atmosphere of social Darwinism where all competes with all to survive. This can be observed not only in cultural entertainment industries but in other institutions as well, as a new trend in tourism to visit spaces of mass death and mourning. Far from being pursuing educational aims, rather, these sites are aesthetically designed to make feel visitors they are special. In a secular society where Gods have gone forever, life is imagined as a long race where only few are mythically empowered to win. The death of others represents a new opportunity to feel one is still in the trace. This confers an aura of superiority that leads individuals to narcissism. As a result of this, mistrust paves the ways for the social tie decline. The psychological effects of dark tourism, disaster-cinema, Newspapers covering tragic events, local crime or even programs as Assassination Discovery or Criminal Minds are not pretty different to what a survivor experience in post-traumatic contexts. Secondly, witnessing death represents a sentiment of narcissism that helps visitors to strengthen their own ego. Death-
seekers are not interested in heritage or in any other stories of victims; instead, they need to feel their supremacy over others who had not shared the same luck. If the sense of protection marked the pace in the society of risk, now witnessing the Other’s death (even Thana-Tourism) posed as the main cultural value of Thana-Capitalism.

References


