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PECULIARITIES AND DIFFICULTIES IN DARK TOURISM MANAGEMENT AND CONSUMPTION

This research mainly focuses on the consumption of dark tourism destinations, particularly destinations related with genocide. Dark tourism combines very contrary ideas and means, balances between historical representation, touristic activities and psychological, ethical and managerial aspects. This sector suffers from contradictions in defining activities; it is difficult to explain and understand its development through demand and supply dimensions, through the practical usage of traumatic events, consumerism, equity and controllability sides. The main issue analysed is that sites of atrocity face a commodification of people, monuments and services versus the actual value and message of a destination.

Key words: Genocide, Holocaust, death, trauma, contested heritage, consumer culture, dark tourism.

Introduction

Dark tourism has been labelled as ‘fatal attraction, thanatourism, disaster and conflict tourism, milking the macabre, dark side of tourism, tragedy tourism, “Black Spots” and *mea culpa* tourism’ and it has a long history back to the Middle Ages. However, it is a relatively new area of research, unrecognised by scholars until the mid-1990s, and many aspects of dark tourism still require further investigation to reveal the intricacies of the phenomenon (Ryan, Page and Aicken 2005, 191).

The modern age increased the “industrialization of death” in the late twentieth century, when the business became associated with all aspects of life. It changed society, its desires, its need for certain travel experiences, and the ways in which these special needs were satisfied. The question

arises as to whether these kinds of experience can be considered accurate in reflecting the traumas and emotions of sudden or unexpected death. It is likely that most fiction readers, cinema goers and television viewers have already experienced death through its replication.

The main motives for visiting destinations of horror and destruction seem to be deeper than just simple curiosity. Visitors are not only introduced to the idea of their own death by the projection of suffering and death of others. The significant other dead live in daily life by means of mediated channels and professions, i.e., architecture, mass media, obituaries, burials, funeral directors and even dark tourism. These mediators often seek a site or public space to domesticate the presence of death and communicate specific discourses. Thus, the main question remains as to how sites of torture manage the desires of special interest tourists and whether it is moral to satisfy their specific needs, undermining what used to be sacred and inviolable.

Problem

Dark tourism initially focuses upon sites of horror and destruction, but its extension begins to dilute the original concept of death. The problem of this analysis is from a theoretical point of view to answer the question: is it possible to categorise dark tourism into the concept of “modern tourism”; is it moral to interpret death through forms of entertainment and spectacle and to present it as a new form of education to keep the memory of dead; what consensus can scientists, managers of memorial sites and also society reach in order to present dark sites?

Previous Research

This analysis is based on research undertaken by various foreign authors: J. Lennon (2000), M. Foley (2000), T. Seaton (2008), R. Sharpley (2008), P. L. Berger (2008), P. R. Stone (2008, 2012) and others. Some factors, types and distinctions used were based on analysis conducted by G. Dann (2005), W. F. S. Miles (2002), Y. Poria (2013), D. MacCannell (2011) and A. Giddens (2008). Some specific phenomena and theories analysed by

J. S. Podoshen (2011), J. M. Hunt (2011), P. Nora (2005), N. King (2000), G. Ashworth (2002), J. Tunbridge (1996), J. M. Bradburne (2002) aided the better understanding of connections between dark past events and their presentation as a tourism product, facing theories of equity restoration, sites of memory, memory and its influence for narratives, the concept of contested heritage and the practical use of a hands-on approach.

Very useful information was also drawn from lectures by professors from the University of Bergamo: S. Taylor, G. Rossoni, P. Van Mensch, A. Macchiavelli, and R. Bonadei. The usage of analysis provided by such various authors, professors, dark tourism professionals and legal documents created a basis for further research and assisted in searching for answers around the chosen topic.

Tasks

- to identify differences between dark tourism locations and mass tourism destinations
- to analyse the peculiarities of dark destination management and difficulties that this sector faces because of its specificity
- to concentrate on how death is being packaged and sold to tourists, how this type of tourism is consumed
- to justify and deny the concept of how death and human atrocity can be used for tourism purposes with the help of two study cases
- to examine and to oppose the idea that this type of tourism is solely the demand of modern travellers

Objective

The objective of this research is to analyse a special interest tourism – dark tourism – and to investigate the issues that this sector faces in order to satisfy the needs of the modern traveller. The research examines the means provided to avoid misunderstandings in the interpretation of dark sites and also how these are combined with achieving visitor satisfaction. The main idea of the survey is to analyse whether it is possible to reach a balance between sacred death and entertainment.

Methods

The analysis is based on theoretical and empirical questions about the ways in which human beings individually and collectively experience trauma and respond to the traumatic experiences of others (war, genocide, violence) from a touristic point of view. The focus is on analytical research on the works of other scientists who have accomplished international acknowledgement in the dark tourism field, on the scientific articles and books of foreign authors. It also includes examination of international legal documents, institutional regulations and common perceptions of society through the prism of morality.

Methods And Materials

1.1. Theoretical Specificity of the Dark Tourism Sector

As a niche market, dark tourism can only be applied to a limited set of tourist experiences with a specific interest in war or massacre locations, places where mass amounts of death and suffering have taken place. However, dark tourism today does *not* present death *per se*, but represents *certain kinds* of death. As such, dark tourism and the sites of the commercialisation of death and disaster are referred to as mediating institutions between the living and the dead.

There is a need to indicate that the perceived socially immoral darkness of a site does not detract from its holistic image. The sites of atrocity as tourism attractions balance combining physical (e.g. artefacts, buildings, other materials), mental (e.g. historical information presentation, document preservation, organisation of educational activities) and energy-related (e.g. environment and the mood created at the site) aspects. In short, it deals with how physical materials, people's minds, historical and cultural background, management and even the political system work together and affect the image of the site.

1.2. Contradictions in Defining Dark Tourism

Authors J. Lennon and M. Foley claimed (2000) that dark tourism is typical of the twentieth century, that it is an inclination of post-modernity, which caused some negative consequences – a strong belief in technology and science eventually led to a disappointment in many cases. Dark tourism is a phenomenon of the twentieth century because:

- Earlier events did not take place within the memories of people who are still alive to validate them;
- Objects of dark tourism introduce anxiety and doubt about the project of modernity. The more technology, innovations, industry, science and the system of liberal democracy becomes advanced the more dark events occur because of these achievements.
- The educative elements of sites are accompanied by elements of commodification and a commercial ethic which /.../ accepts that visitation (whether purposive or incidental) is an opportunity to develop a tourism product (Lennon and Foley 2000, 11). The boundaries between the message (educational, political) and its commercialisation has become blurred. The meaning of a site is being changed to a spectacle.

Other professors – Graham Dann, Tony Seaton, Gregory Ashworth – proposed contrary ideas towards a definition strongly based on chronological distance and the increased number of negative consequences of modernity. They have said that sites are designed to provide commodified products and experiences, and this is clearly a phenomenon of the modern age.

However, professors Dann and Seaton asserted that dark tourism should not be restricted only to twentieth century events, because this delimits dark tourism and denies some very important examples. Such sites should be seen as ‘staged around attractions and sites associated with death, acts of violence, scenes of death and crimes against humanity’ (Ryan, Page and Aicken 2005, 192). G. J. Ashworth added that ‘living memory helps but it is not the essential condition of the attractive power of dark events’ (Ryan, Page and Aicken 2005, 200).

In conclusion, the professors opposing Lennon and Foley's definition claim that not the chronological order but 1) going to the site of death and disaster and 2) personalising the death or disaster to produce an emotive response to the site define dark tourism. Since tourism is a demand-driven sector, while there are tourists with needs for disturbing experiences, there will be dark sites to satisfy them. In addition, there are a few variables which make the concept of dark tourism supply more complex (Ryan, Page and Aicken 2005, 217–18):

- The immediacy and spontaneity of “sensation” tourism to dark sites of death and disaster compared with visits to organised sites or events related to near and/or distant historical occurrences;
- The distinction between purposefully constructed attractions or experiences that interpret or recreate events or acts associated with death /.../;
- The extent of an “interest” in death /.../ is the dominant reason for visiting dark attractions, e.g.: for political purposes, for education, for entertainment or for economic gain.

Tourism destinations are typically conceptualised as sites of leisure, meanwhile dark tourism involves visiting destinations where violence, human misery, death and crimes against humanity are the main attractions. Dark tourism includes both places with violent legacies and those at which violence is an on-going reality (Robb 2009, 51).

In conclusion, there are many contradictions in defining, classifying and analysing dark tourism attractions, but the gain of intangible experience cannot be denied theoretically or practically. There are potential differences between survivors, family members and those with no direct connection to victims. As well as experience of dark tourism sites, descriptions and classifications of places of people's misery also cannot be considered as uniform or objective, but more subjective and extremely individual.

1.3. Relationship Between Dark Tourism And Interdisciplinary Concepts of Trauma

‘The trauma metaphor /.../ teaches us about the limits and possibilities of human culture’ (Erll and Nunning 2008, 230). Unfortunately, trauma survivors quite often fail to transmit to others the truth and reality that they faced. Therefore, questions arise as to how to transfer traumatic experience from theory to practice and how to make dark tourism destinations work on the trauma model.

Professor Cathy Caruth believes that the trauma experience should remain inaccessible to representation, as it causes negative and self-destructive effects. This appeared even more credible after World War II because Nazi society and its experiments in social and genetic engineering represented particularly frightful examples of human self-destruction (Erll and Nunning 2008, 231). Since dark tourism locations are related to suffering and death, there is always a psychological moment around *how* the death and traumatic past can affect visitors and how to control these effects.

There are some problems that dark tourism destinations have to deal with because of the deconstructive trauma paradigm and the specificity of death and atrocity presentation:

- *The concept of trauma.* It equates the suffering of victims and violence
- *Fear of narratives.* Narrations have distorting and normalising effects and thus destroy the fundamental insights. Information provided may not be accurate or could be changed, suppressed or conveyed through a certain perspective
- *Aesthetisation of trauma.* This includes ignorance of scientific resources and presentation of dark destinations in a more aesthetic and artistic manner, denying the real originality.

As there is no totally neutral visitor – politically, personally or scientifically – it is impossible to avoid the different interpretations, attitudes and dissatisfactions of visitors. Dark tourism destinations differ from mass tourism and are appropriate for special interest tourists.

However, theoretical and practical experiences show that such places may cause destructive emotions instead of joy and affect general satisfaction with a trip, thus visitors should be aware of this fact.

1.4. Difficulties in Classification

Categorisation of death destinations is contradictory because of various criteria that are emphasised. However, post-modern societies are defined by consumption, therefore, there is an increased focus on the typology of consumption practices.

Tony Seaton, a professor of dark tourism, argued that dark tourism has a long history as a form of “the anticipation of death” (Stone and Sharpley 2008, 589), for example the planned executions during the Middle Ages. He suggests five categories of dark travel activities:

- Travel to witness public enactments of death (e.g. places of public execution)
- Travel to see the sites of individual or mass deaths after they have occurred (e.g. battlefields, death camps, sites of genocide, etc.)
- Travel to memorials or internment sites (graveyards, crypts, war memorials)
- Travel to view the symbolic representation or material evidence of particular deaths, often in locations unconnected with their occurrence
- Travel for re-enactments or simulation of death (plays, festivals, re-enactment of battles, etc.)

This classification is based on tourists’ experience of and participation in sites of violence, a curiosity or even abnormal wish to satisfy a need for a disturbing experience. It confirms the idea that the main criterion is consumption and consumer behaviour.

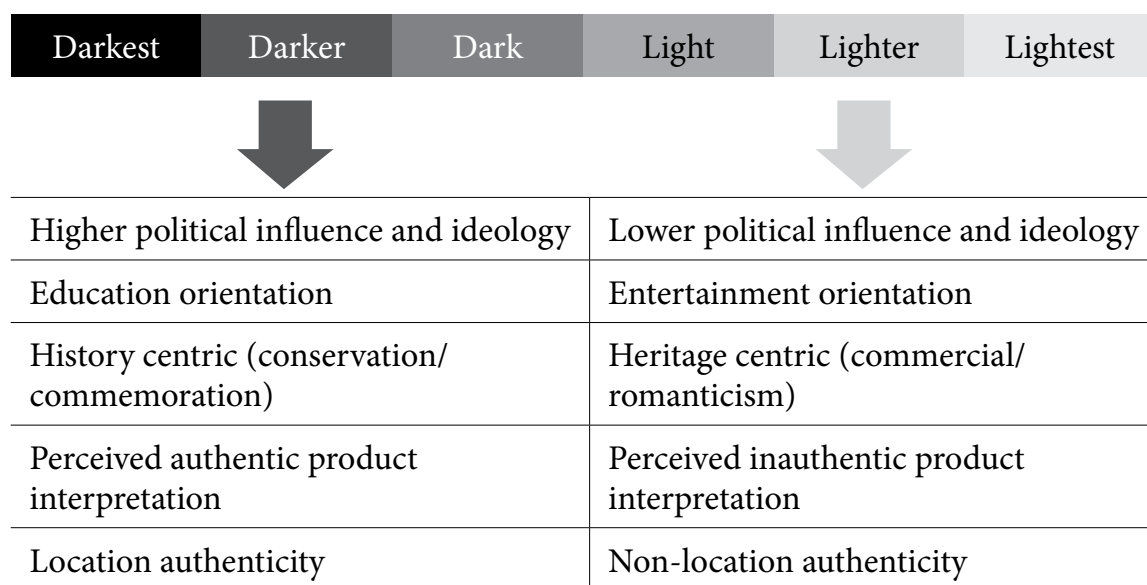
W. F. S. Miles proposed a distinction between dark attractions by shades of darkness (Farmaki 2013, 282). He referred to 1) actual sites of dark tourism and 2) sites associated with dark tourism.

Actual sites of dark tourism	}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp (Poland) • Chernobyl (Ukraine) • Groun Zero (New York) • Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (Cambodia) • IXth Fort in Kaunas (Lithuania)
Sites associated with dark tourism	}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USA) • Grūtas Park (Lithuania) • Torture Museum (Holland) • Museum of Occupation of Latvia (Latvia)

Table 1: *Distinction and examples of dark tourism attractions according to W. F. S. Miles and the author.*

Miles implied that the former are darker places which tend to be more history-centric and have a higher political influence. He considers time as an influencing factor which causes the visitor’s perception of whether the site is “dark” or “darker”. Recent events are darker, because of a higher level of empathy for those who suffered.

Philip R. Stone classified degrees of “darkness” that are influenced by a variety of spatial, temporal, political and ideological factors (Stone and Sharpley 2008, 11). The “spectrum of supply” ranges from the “darkest” to the “lightest” forms of dark tourism according to the perceived level of “macabreness”:



Shorter time scale from the event	Longer time scale from the event
Supply – not purposefulness	Supply – purposefulness
Lower tourism infrastructure	Higher tourism infrastructure

*Table 2: The spectrum of dark tourism supply
(according to the author based on Stone and Sharpley 2008, 579)*

Richard Sharpley proposed four shades of dark tourism on a basis of a link between what a site offers and the perceived experience (Farmaki 2013, 283):

1. Black tourism – a pure dark experience
2. Pale tourism – minimal interest in death
3. Grey tourism demand – visitation motivated by fascination
4. Grey tourism supply – a reference to sites which exploit death by attracting tourists with little inherent interest in the site

Through this categorisation he offered a more holistic view of tourism and incorporated supply and demand factors, because he based his categorisation on two aspects:

- Dependence on the degree of interest or fascination with death on the part of the tourist
- The extent to which an attraction or exhibition is developed in order to exploit that interest or fascination (Stone 2006, 152).

In conclusion, every typology of dark sites encompasses a specific discourse. Although the motivations of visitors vary from learning, historical interest and sympathy towards victims, there are also tourists who search in sacred places of death for a re-enactment of death and brutality or to satisfy their interest with the abnormal and bizarre. Various classifications and analyses of their outcomes have profound implications for marketing, which may help to improve the management of dark tourism sites.

1.5. Analysis of Consumer Culture Theory

CCT – consumer culture theory – studies the consumption choices and behaviour of consumers from cultural and social points of view. It is sig-

nificant in this research because it deals with consumption perspectives towards dark tourism and the reactions of citizens in relation to tourism activities held there, and raises the question of the adaptation of equity theory and controllability in such destinations. Most atrocious past events and perpetrators have long since passed; as a result, dark sites are now explored and analysed by new generations of people. CCT gives explanations as to how dark tourism is accepted and consumed by societies.

1.5.1. Equity Theory

Equity theory deals with unbalanced exchange in terms of inputs and outputs that individuals make in, and get from, any particular exchange. Inequity exists when the proportions of outcomes and inputs are unequal (Podoshen and Hunt 2011, 1334).

In the context of tourism, equity theory is important because heritage sites are closely related to cultural identity, both of which are reflected in business activities, e.g., victims show attempts to restore lost equity through the marketplace and their actions can remain steadfast long after a distressing event, which also affects tourism decisions.

Tourism as a business activity also expresses values, ideologies, attitudes or personal experiences. The activities developed in dark tourism destinations allow visitors to come face-to-face with the collective past. However, many visitors judge materials based on their limited information, or dark heritage sites are not operated by people with direct ties to it. Therefore, stress arising from inequity plays a motivating role to take certain actions in order to reduce the relational imbalance.

1.5.2. Controllability

J. S. Podoshen and J. M. Hunt (2011) explained that in a certain way, a touristic site is a place where input and output of information, materials and environment meet, all of which are strongly connected with equity restoration. Thus, visitors in destinations face the final results of others – museum managers, historians, politicians, interpreters, etc. – and their decisions as to what and how will be presented to the public.

Controllability is tied to a visitors' choice of action. It has a strong connection with the observation process: it means an evaluation of what

is seen, and sometimes interpretation is already done for the visitors and they have no chance to do it themselves. In the context of distressing events, controllability takes on even greater importance because victims can easily distinguish between being responsible for the distressing event and being responsible for the solution (Podoshen and Hunt 2011, 1337).

1.5.3. Thanaptosis

Thanaptosis (Korstanje and Ivanov 2012, 60) describes a process through which death increases the attractiveness of some sites. Death is a key factor in dark tourism, but not the only one. This sub-industry allows social memory to be activated, refers to deeper emotional heritage experiences, and also combines the privilege of escapism and pleasure in extreme danger. This concept suggests that the meaning of a site is much more important than the measures, especially when visitors have the ability to select, alternate and reject those narratives which do not match their own psychological and cognitive profile.

2. Particular Difficulties in the Representation and Management Implementation of Dark Tourism Destinations

2.1. Is There a “Proper” Way to Present Dark Memories?

The question ‘what *could* and is *needed* to be represented to wider audiences’ occurs when there is not only an expressed need for a particular version of the past, but a nostalgia for a *certain kind of memory*. Pierre Nora stated, ‘there are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory’ (Nora 2005, 7). Consequently, societies create sites based on their own consideration of what is important and truly worth being presented, commemorated and kept in the minds of future generations as culturally or historically essential.

Modern memory entirely relies on the visibility of the image and, as Nicola King stated (2000), archives, libraries, tape and video recordings, computer files, monuments, even historical fiction and drama have

become necessary, because “real memory” has been lost. Usually it is not the event itself that is significant, but the meaning we give to it; therefore, it is impossible to avoid confronting certain models of memory in terms of intersubjectivity, which leads to *confronting* the other, instead of *understanding* the other. There is a need for mutual recognition of *self* and *other*.

This chapter focuses specifically on the analysis of dark destination management and means which are used to increase the awareness and understanding of tourists about painful events. Dark tourism encompasses general tourism strategies typical where there are products to sell.

2.1.1. Contested Heritage

Gregory Ashworth and John Tunbridge explained how different groups of society try to maintain a heritage site not only as an object but also as the immaterial meaning attached to it. ‘We live in an increasingly fraught world where religious, ethnic, national, political, and other groups manipulate (appropriate, use, misuse, exclude, erase) markers and manifestations of their own and others’ cultural heritage as a means for asserting, defending, or denying critical claims to power, land, legitimacy, and do forth’ (Silverman 2011, 1). The word “contest” captures the idea of a quarrel over a physical body itself and its immaterial components, since communities are not homogeneous, and neither is their heritage.

Ashworth and Tunbridge introduced a “dissonant heritage”, where different groups attribute different stories to a certain object or landscape. The Estonian professor of cultural research K. Kuutma stated that, ‘the construction of cultural heritage is always an act of politics and power, it depends on who defines cultural heritage and who has the control to conceptualize it’ (Kuutma 2012, 1).

The dissonance created by atrocity raises complex issues of interpretation for those who associate with victims, perpetrators and observers (Ashworth 2002, 363). It seems logical that unpleasant past events should be forgotten; however, there are certain groups or societies who intentionally keep bringing traumatic or atrocious memories to the surface. As J. Ashworth stated (2004, 4), ‘the memorability of atrocity

simply makes it a powerful instrument for those who identify themselves as victims'. A more complicated question is why perpetrators would want an atrocity to be memorialised. There seems to be a logical aim to avoid the creation of such heritage, however, dark tourism destinations rely on historical facts and their preservation in order to educate future generations about how history formed the local culture and people's mentality and perception of certain things. Also, they perform a role to prevent cruel events in the future, promote human rights and tolerance and draw the line between past and present.

"Black spot" tourism destinations involve the concept of death, which was considered to be a taboo topic and definitely not a subject to be sold and consumed. Trips are arranged to sites that are temporally vastly separated from the context of the human suffering, its social structures and constraints. What is remembered and what is forgotten profoundly shapes the way in which the histories of contested sites are constructed.

2.1.2. Negation of Dark Past Events by Witnesses And Historians: Its Influence on Tourism

Theoretically, tourism is about "intense pleasure" and "fun", which is hard to say about dark tourism destinations. They mostly become memorial places which have to balance the wonderful and dreadful, remembrance and entertainment.

Dark tourism destinations focus on certain periods of time, concentrate on the final results of human cruelty, missing out mentioning the further lives of those who survived. In the case of the Holocaust, survivors claim that liberation made problems more intense. A strategy of denial occurred which favoured "collective amnesia", "blame shift", which often required a form of demonisation of a preferably defunct group of scapegoats or "victim complicity" (Ashworth 2002, 363). This is wilful denial from participants in order to not have negative emotions about the escalation of cruel events.

Survivors of dark past events are living testimonials; however, for the following generations it is difficult to understand how real the events were and how they affected people afterwards in adapting to a "normal" lifestyle. The consumer society nowadays with its demand for dark

experiences and risky activities requires the opposite to that which the actual victims would ask or imagine to be sold.

There is an obvious confrontation between three ideas about why such places are being preserved:

- to keep the memory of past cruelties
- to oppose the opinion of past denial
- to prevent future generations from possible repetition of atrocious events

The denial of trauma is a marked feature of sites claiming to commemorate murderous hatred, horrific disaster and tragic error (MacCannell 2011, 169). Dean MacCannell claimed (2011, 171), ‘history is written by scholars and intellectuals who *empathize* with victors and not *with the people*, the ones who make history’. However, all of the above-mentioned aspects of denial have a direct or indirect influence on the dark tourism sector, which in one form or another aims to package and sell death for consumers. The following table systematises and explains the main reasons why people deny dark past events.

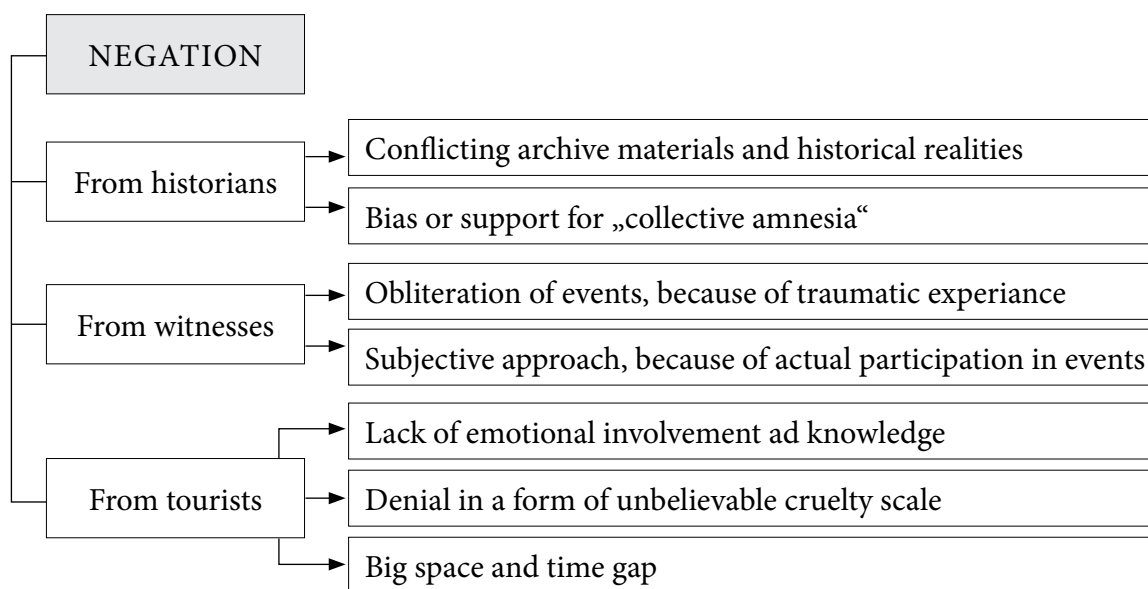


Table 3: Main reasons for people’s negations which affect tourism sector management.
Source: author.

However, it is not easy to present or interpret different understandings of death. It is much more real than just an abstract notion, therefore

the tourism sector faces not only historical, legal and social issues, but also emotional and managerial problems of how to represent death and atrocity without denying its meaning.

In conclusion, as Berger claimed, 'to neglect a death is to ignore one of the few universal parameters in which both the collective and individual self is constructed' (Stone and Sharpley 2008, 582). Dark tourism destinations explore death taboos to bring them into social consciousness. As R. Stone stated, 'it is not death or the dead that should be considered, but living people's perception of them' (Stone 2012, 1570).

2.2. Issues of Dark Tourism Representation Through Social And Educational Perspectives

The Grand Tour and the first excursions popularised by Thomas Cook in the mid-nineteenth century had the purpose not only of leisure or recreation, but also of an educative pursuit for personal development and improvement. Nowadays tourism also overlaps with other school disciplines, e.g. history, geography and cultural studies. In addition, new memorials combine the role of education with commemoration and also technologies, in order to address the contemporary generation, who are separated from past events by both time and experience.

A few qualities of educational tourism are required in the case of dark tourism:

- knowledge, perception, understanding and imagination
- avoiding stereotypes by exploring identity and enriching the meanings of monuments by showing their contexts
- educational tourism's presentation of cultural landscapes should differ from campus teaching of academic disciplines, and create new types of learning and methodologies
- cultural landscapes can offer potential for studying and teaching traditional academic disciplines, to present a destination and interpret it.

Educational programmes help visitors to self-examine, they raise understanding and awareness of knowledge and can also modify

travellers' views of specific places which may enrich them. However, some extremely disturbing elements at primary sites may not be appropriate for educational purposes, such as unburied bones, blood-stained tools, clothes or stones, hair cut from victims, etc. These can be treated as being the most authentic reminders of human atrocity, but groups of schoolchildren or visiting foreigners can be directed to traditional museum displays with photographs, video materials and texts.

Educational elements encourage tourists to be more "mindful", which in turn increases their satisfaction with and the perceived meaningfulness of the tour (Cohen 2011, 196). Mindful tourists are more likely to express interest and appreciation of such presentations; they also learn more from their visit and discover more about the topic. Mindfulness is used as a tool for managing tourist experiences at a destination.

2.2.1. Difficulties of Presentation of Children and for Children

Photography has two essential powers: its truth value and its symbolic force. Photographs of the Holocaust are thought to materially recall the absence of the people who we can see in the pictures. A large number of archival images used in texts about the Holocaust are of children, looking forward to lives they were never to have (Bal, Crewe and Spitzer 1998, 12). The images of children bring out the senselessness of the Holocaust destruction, and individual stories (like the diary written by Anne Frank) have a face, they are not 'just one more anonymous story among the countless stories of the Holocaust' (Bal, Crewe and Spitzer 1998, 12).

Therefore, the question arises, is it right to present photographs of cruel events to families who travel with kids? Is there a right way to feed children with images of horror? In such cases, adults face an uneasy task to balance identificatory looking and protective looking at the images of horror and atrocity. For an adult, a visual encounter with the child victim is a triangular one: the adult sees the child victim through the eyes of their own child self, through their own perspective, and through the eyes of the victim shown. The subject becomes split not only between "adult" and "child", "past" and "present", but also between "self" and "other" (Bal, Crewe and Spitzer 1998, 15).

The use of authentic images can provoke negative emotions in a younger audience, including fear, frustration and anger. Adults may be affected as well, because they have more experience and understanding to realise the possible manipulations and intentions of the image-makers. Also, there is a tendency for the effect of oversaturation with visual images to make the viewers immune to the effects of these images. However, children in images reflect their brutal experience which was far beyond their capacity of a young age.

2.2.2. Adaptation of Educational Programmes through Communication, Linguistic Context and Hands-on Approaches

Communications technologies can cause the problem of the ‘inherent danger in constant re-creation of the past, particularly if there is any attempt at stylization which can marginalize and indeed trivialize the enormity of the issues being dealt with’ (Lennon and Foley 2000, 29). There is a risk in having a standardised product which a tourist can understand and also “consume” as something they have already seen before and somewhere else. On the other hand, the combination of dark tourism, educational programmes and modern technologies help matters to continuing going forward with changing societies and their needs.

User Language Choice

Verbal interaction is the language and texts used to explain artefacts that are exhibited and to provide meaning for visitors with no specific knowledge. All touristic sites, especially dark destinations, present major problems for the language utilised in interpretation because of the aim to adequately convey the horrors and suffering. Apart from the actual location and artefacts exhibited, language is another tool for presenting and interpreting objects and events within the settings of the museum.

User language confers the ability to see not only the visible, but also the invisible relationships among things. User language can even offer the visitor a role to play by formulating questions (to arouse curiosity and search for answers), using the first person to present story and events (meanings become more personalised) or, on the contrary, to impose authority (when

implicit messages of the text seem to suggest that the writer knows more, that the user is to be a listener and the museum a storyteller). Language usage shapes the relationship between reader and writer: authority texts are perhaps the most common found in museums of all kinds.

From the moment a visitor arrives, the museum (its designers, its educators, its staff) is constantly placing constraints on the visitor's experience. This is carried out by presenting some things and not others, in a particular order and not another; in short, by constraining the visitor. These constraints could be directional text, the choice of colours, the deliberate placement of objects in a room (Bradburne 2002, 8).

At sites of horror and atrocities, using different manners to "talk" to a visitor provokes different reactions. Numerous statements help in imagining the scale of a disaster, e.g. lives lost, countries participating, guns or other tools used; applications in the first person attract attention and involve the visitor in past events; encouragement to respect and keep quiet can influence a sudden change of behaviour; a personal story written or told may deeply affect the reader or listener through human contact and better understanding. Museums provoking all those different emotions are implementing their role to inform and educate, and emotional involvement guarantees that certain effects will reach their primary aims – to increase awareness, understanding and appreciation of the dark past. However, the newest technologies adopted in museums still cannot ignore the significance and power of language, as it is the main tool for providing information.

Hands-on approaches

Interaction between visitors and exhibits refers to various activities which make the visitor able to choose directly how to shape their own experience. Everything in a museum is intended to create a meaning for those who come with no knowledge. Interactivity usually means physical interaction or manipulation with an object or exhibit, but there are other tools which provide intangible information.

Some museums, in order to achieve interactivity with visitors, use not only "hands-on" but also "minds-on" and "hearts-on" approaches

(Bradburne 2002). The following table presents a simplification of Bradburne's ideas and the result of analysis on what "minds-on" and "hands-on" approaches consist of and how they differ from each other.

HANDS-ON	↔	MINDS-ON
More interactive activities		Engages minds on demonstrations, thinking skills
Visitors are allowed to perform as they construct meanings and acquire understanding		Encouraging visitors to question and seek answers that enhance their knowledge
Learning environment		Development of thinking processes
Direct observation, direct experience		Access to meanings
Learning by doing, touching		Learning by searching answers
Uses materials, material-centred activities		Uses texts
Investigation with object		Investigation with meanings
Involvement of minds, knowledge and emotions		
Enables visitors to become critical thinkers		
Provides a real-life context		

Table 4. *Differences between hands-on and minds-on approaches.*

Source: Author based on the literature

Both approaches encourage full involvement in a community: visitors from abroad are included in local activities and local meanings. At sites of death and atrocity, visitors are not looking for actual involvement in risky activities; what they need is to face a fear at a safe distance and analyse the actual meaning of mortality and life. One example is the annual educational programme 'March of the Living' (MOTL), which brings students from all over the world to Poland, in order to study the history of the Holocaust and to examine the roots of prejudice, hate and intolerance. MOTL is a 3 km walk from Auschwitz to Birkenau; it is a silent tribute to all victims of the Holocaust.

Both approaches (hands-on and minds-on) can be adapted to museums, since they overlap with educational goals. Concerning the language used, it relies on the user's ability to decode patterns of intention, and successful exhibits rely on that.

Bradburne (2002) stated that traditionally the coherence of museum activities has been purchased at the price of a loss of variety – the scientist's taxonomy, the curator's schema, the designer's storyline all mitigate against the user's freedom to shape the experience of the museum themselves according to their own needs. In this case, dark tourism destinations experience moral and physical constraints to develop a huge variety of activities, even involving actual interaction between visitors and artefacts, such as the belongings of victims, killing tools, even corporeal remains (such as bones, hair, teeth, etc.).

Coherence of events and locations can be created at dark tourism sites, e.g.: memorial buildings and original locations (houses, locations of battles or natural disasters, former prisons) where the experience as such is to be in the actual location; monuments or memorial tables present specific points of action or have a symbolic informative meaning; technologies can create images or ideas about dark events involving the senses of visitors – hearing (e.g. stories, music), seeing (e.g. movies, videos, documentaries), feeling (e.g. humidity and cold in prison cells), touching (e.g. interactive screens, transport means, some other objects exhibited specifically for hands-on activities), even tasting (e.g. the national food of minorities, such as in the small restaurants and cafes next to Auschwitz-Birkenau offering Jewish kosher food). The means for entertainment and spectacle are excluded because of a moral and ideological perception to respect death and victims. In doing this, the dark sites do not lose the actual coherence they are aiming to reach; simply different means are used in order to sustain the appropriate respect and attitude towards those who suffered.

Presentation of Dark Tourism through Games

During the 1960s and 1970s museums started to include games in their activities as an educative and informative means. Games more include the aspect of entertainment, however, they confer the ability to see not only the visible but also the invisible relationships among things.

Games mainly rely on the user's ability to decode patterns of intention, which leads to discoveries and the individual creation of meanings. Unfortunately, games in dark sites can easily cross the line and become a product of spectacle for entertainment, e.g., the owners of Fort Siloso (island Sentosa, Singapore) installed laser games in the Fort, which seriously affected visitors who are interested in dark sites from the historical perspective.

Notwithstanding this, the challenges of the activity must match the skills of the individual. If the challenges are greater than the skills, the final result in anxiety; if the skills are greater than the challenges, it results in boredom. The depth of involvement is enjoyable and intrinsically rewarding and if the museum experiences can bring the visitor to an optimal experience state, this experience can be life-transforming (Mensch 2004, 16).

2.2.3. Influence of Global Communications Technologies

Global communications technologies are considered to be books, films, television, also the Internet, which nowadays help us to face the issues of death on a regular – even daily – basis through the news media and popular televised fiction. They increase public awareness about events and places; on the other hand, they have the power to form certain perceptions and shape public interest, e.g. to emphasise some facts but conceal others. The question arises as to whether these kinds of experience can be considered accurate in reflecting the traumas and emotions of sudden or unexpected death.

Global communications technologies have shaped perceptions of what are the significant sites in the political history of the twentieth century (Lennon and Foley 2000). In addition, they can easily become dangerous tools to escalate conspiracy theories. As a result, some technologies can and are used in order to speculate some sites to become touristic places. In such a way, the visitor is able to associate real time with past events and experience shock effects that words can rarely achieve.

Cinematography is also widely used in dark tourism when original sites become attractions in their own right, because of their presentation in movies, which is strong enough to motivate visiting. Dark tourism sites are

commoditised and broadcasted by the mass media as mythical archetypes that reinforce the social bondage and cultural values of every society.

Film set constructions themselves become an attraction, e.g., the development of Steven Spielberg's production of *Schindler's List* (1993) inspired the creation of 'The Schindler Tour' in Cracow (Poland); the 2002 historical drama directed by Roman Polanski, *The Pianist*, attracted tourists to get familiar with war action in Warsaw; the story of Anne Frank inspired the creation of several plays, films and documentaries, the establishment of statues, memorials and several museums. Through the usage of global communications technologies, stories reach wider audiences and present horrific events through individual and personal perspectives rather than general historical points of view.

The problem is that films usually present both a conflict and mediation between real facts and created stories. Even real places in movies are just constructions and fictions. On the other hand, some places are real and still exist, but are turned into touristic destinations. Lennon and Foley stated the opposing idea that non-interpretation and non-development of dark events and sites can lead to destructive conclusions, when future generations not only stop respecting the past and victims of human atrocity, but start to forget or ignore the incidences of terrible periods of human history. In such cases "dark movies" can partly explain tourists' motivation to go to such places in terms of their selection, interpretation and also appreciation.

Computer technology, the Internet, digital stores and modern information and means of communication do not only create an emotional experience, but work as providers of information and education and create memorials. Unmediated access to videotaped and online Holocaust survivor testimony already constitutes a new mode in connecting post-millennial youth directly to the disappearing generation of Shoah (the Holocaust) eyewitness.

Social memory is created through contemporal changes. For the previous generations, this was related primarily to their need to express grief for the mass death. The new memorials of today, however, provide interactive experiences which allow the selection of information from

a vast range of materials (Winter 2009, 621). Global communications technologies have collapsed space and time and made dark tourism a phenomenon typical of the twentieth century (Lennon and Foley 2000).

2.3. Dark Tourism as a Business and its Management Implications

The twenty-first century has resulted an intensive development of production, which has had a great influence on the behavioural changes and changes in tourist demand. Death and grief started to be treated as an industry with a certain production for consumption, and sites of death and atrocity set certain strategies to deal with specific tourist behaviour in such sites.

An emphasis on the social role of museums has recently increased: it has become about interaction between “us” (as persons, as society, as community) and “our” material environment. What really matters is the combination of object values and human beings. One of the reasons for having museums is not simply to conserve and store objects but to preserve the information or knowledge that objects embody.

The management of a site strongly depends on the purpose and implementation of its exhibits, therefore, museums can be divided into three main categories: “community museums”, “inclusive museums” and “*lieux de mémoire*” (Mensch 2004, 7–8):

1 – TRADITIONAL MUSEUMS emphasize “object accountability”, i.e. artefacts provide significance on their own. COMMUNITY MUSEUMS, instead, grow from below, rather than being imposed from above. They arise in response to the needs and wishes of people living and working there and actively involve them at every stage before the museum is open and functioning. There is no clear distinction between curators, governing bodies and visitors.

2 – INCLUSIVE MUSEUMS try to achieve cultural inclusion through the representation of and participation and access for individuals or communities that are often excluded. The aim is to improve quality of life, inspire greater tolerance towards social groups, educate visitors and contribute to societal changes in the future

3 – “*LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE*” are places of collective memory. People are surrounded by no-man’s lands. Every group within society has its own knowledge and perception about the past: they are “creators of a history” and it depends only on them as to which period of time draws attention, what is emphasised and what is concealed.

This categorisation has occurred because of a transition from service delivery to experience creation, because of the experience economy and increased demand for inclusion in activities.

2.3.1. Development of the Grief Industry

During the twentieth to twenty-first centuries, tourism demand changed because of changes in social systems (e.g., increased leisure time, flexible working hours, higher income, late formation of families, health status, communication and information technologies, etc.). One specific feature of tourist demand is increased differentiation and individualisation. There has been a shift towards demand for non-standard products and services, with a particular emphasis on quality. Also independent tourists need to take more risks and try to confirm their individuality (Pavlic 2009, 8). Nowadays, the elements of the dominant life model of modern industrial society are work-living leisure-travelling. The new life model has special characteristics in the area of leisure and modern tourism (Pavlic 2009, 8):

1. Personal activity instead of passivity at a strange experience
2. Spontaneity instead of complete organisation and planning
3. Social contact instead of detachment, loneliness and isolation
4. Relaxation instead of fatigue and stress
5. Amusement instead of disappointment and constant competition

Considering dark tourism sites, the last two statements come into confrontation with the general idea of death representation. This shows that dark tourism does not fully fit into the description of typical tourism activity. However, there are places which have turned such moments of history into entertainment for the sake of being more attractive as tourist destinations (such as the “Happy” Cemetery in Romania, the Museum of Medieval Torture in the Czech Republic, the London Dungeons, etc.). Even though all of these places are still embraced under the definition

of dark tourism sites, the representation, their management and the idea behind each of them differs.

The grief industry frames the ideas of spirit, God, self-actualisation and psychic energy in a form of emotional pain towards people who are gone; however, there is no universal or normative pattern of grieving. Dark tourism also can be considered as a part of the grief industry, because many visitors are face with actual representations of death in a form of tourism. Even though grieving is considered to be a social process, however, reactions to dark events differ, also depending on how a person faces this issue: for example, in previous generations silence was more the norm. Many Holocaust survivors rebuilt their lives and never spoke about what they had witnessed, and survivors often say that burying the horrors was the only way for them to function (Zaslow 2005).

Today there are far more rules, society encourages everyone to talk about everything they are feeling, and thus dark tourism destinations use this “strategy” in order to create a memorable experience for visitors by having storytellers who witnessed cruel events, using technologies to show filmed materials and sound effects as archival proofs and using material artefacts and the belongings of actual victims to provide an impression of the reality of events.

The grief industry is “selling” an intangible aspect – an ontological security. This refers to situations that cause people to question the meaningfulness and reality in which they participate. ‘Ontological security is bought through various institutions and experiences that protect the individual from direct contact with madness, criminality, sexuality, nature and death’ (Sharpley and Giddens 2008, 581). Death is the only unavoidable condition characteristic of humanity which all societies inevitably have to address, therefore, dark tourism destinations provide this possibility of encountering death at a safe distance. What “black spots” provide for tourists is the satisfaction of the need for a sense of survival and continuation.

2.3.2. Particularities of Visitor Behaviour Management

Over time, dark destinations have been turned into touristic places, where visitors try to adopt their consuming habits typical for other

types of tourism, practically ignoring the different conditions and ideas behind “dark sites”. However, the behaviour of visitors and consumption of atrocity sites in a certain way reflects and explains contemporary approaches to mortality. The behaviour of visitors came under scrutiny when tourists started to create inappropriate self-portraits or images with thumbs up at the holocaust memorials. It is a problem that visitors want to capture a moment at such a place, but they do not know how to do it.

It comes as no surprise that tourists are used to having entertainment during their travelling, thus, there are similar expectations at dark sites, since they have been considered as more touristic locations, not always as memorial places which require a certain type of respect and behaviour. The management of tourist behaviour still strongly depends on the types of tourist coming to such sites and their expectations and perceptions. Yaniv Poria identified three types of tourist (Farmaki 2013, 284):

- those wanting to feel connected to history
- those wanting to learn
- those with no motives linked to the historic site visited

This categorisation helps dark site managers to develop basic strategies corresponding to possible visitor behaviour at a destination. A visitor’s experience and involvement, also a behaviour, depends on their intensity of interest, familiarity with events and perceptions placed on the attraction. In order to understand the behaviour of visitors the important focus is on their motivations to travel to such sites.

The universal type of tourist no longer exists: there are various different types that represent the real dynamics and require segmentation according to their needs and requests. Thus, tourism faces a necessity to adapt tourism policy to these changes and adjust the offer to match the requirements of tourism demand (Pavlic 2009).

2.3.3. Dark Spot Consumption and the Issue of Commodification

In early times, most death rituals (e.g., funeral, burial, cremation) took place in the domestic space with a dead body still physically present. These ritualised practices often involved other people (e.g., friends, neighbours). In the 1880s-1890s there was a shift from domestic spaces to civil institutions (nursing homes, hospitals, funeral parlours). These are

the first examples of death appearing in public spaces, when domestic rituals started to co-exist with public ones.

Nowadays 'people continue to respond to dying and death, not as unconnected individuals, but as members of networks of interpersonal relationships /.../ expanding out from the domestic context' (Stanley and Wise 2011, 2) There are three stages of ritual progression (Stanley and Wise 2011, 7):

- Separation from everyday activities and removal from everyday time and space
- Mimetic re-enactment (imitation) of some aspects of the crisis
- Re-entry to the everyday world

These steps are considered boost the development of dark sites in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as touristic places.

Dark sites have reorganised dimensions of time and space in order to present human atrocity, also acquiring a material form. It is an 'often-contentious consumer activity that can provoke debate about how death and the dead are packaged up and consumed within the modern visitor economy' (Institute 2014). Those who live in the locations of such attractions have turned horrific events into profitable businesses.

Commodity tourism commodifies knowledge, travel experiences and destinations. Consumers, because of their expectations, are searching for simplified, selective, stereotyped marketing images. Their perceptions of places must be managed with simplistic, standardised presentations, which is inimical to education (Douglas and Derrett 2001, 190–191). As a result, this leads to commercialisation in order to satisfy increasing demand.

The phenomenon of commodification comes from modernity – from significant changes in society, industry and science, also the reduced influence of the church over society broke down barriers between the sacred and profane. Modernity opened places of dignity and respect up to mass tourism. Death has become a commodity for consumption in a global communications market. The following figure presents the consumption and selling of death as a product:

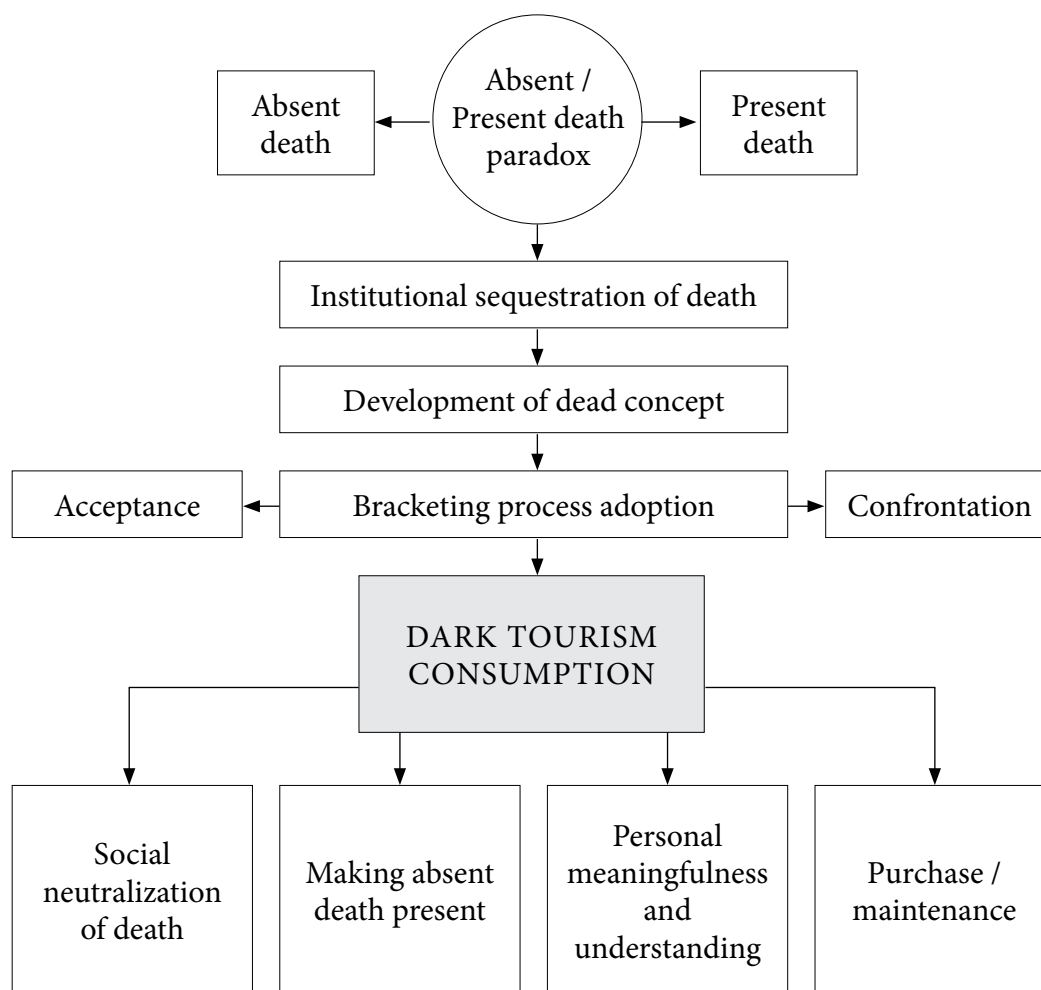


Figure 1. *Dark tourism consumption.*

Source: Author based on the literature (Stone and Sharpley 2008, 583)

An “absent” death is made “present”; past deaths are turned into modern products of consumption. It becomes difficult or sometimes impossible to appreciate the dimension of time. The social neutralisation of death can help to suppress its disruptive impact for the individual. ‘We see death, but we do not touch it’ represents the exact idea of horror and destruction places. Now more than in prior generations, people deal with both real and represented images of death. Encountering the “other’s” death satisfies curiosity without directly immersing oneself into dangerous experiences.

On the other hand, a dark site visitor has to deal with two possible emotional states – acceptance and confrontation. Educational, entertain-

ment and memorial techniques neutralise the impact of mortality in a certain way, i.e., it is never a real encounter with actual death, but meeting a presentation and interpretation of it.

Dark tourism became an “immoral” promotion of death and disaster where time also plays a role, as the recent events that are vivid in one generation’s mind become the increasing distant past for subsequent generations (Ryan, Page and Aicken 2005, 189). The problem is that tourists’ desire for “dark” experiences overlook the essential idea of emphasising the message about humanity’s mistakes and cruel behaviour.

2.3.4. Commodification of People and Monuments

Commodity tourism needs a simple classification of people and places. Therefore, it results in a need for stereotypes. Pedagogical power used in dark destinations can help to avoid stereotyping by exploring cultures and beliefs of people, analysing how they construct and share their communal identity differently. What matters is ‘the sensitivity with values that distinguishes an educational tourism experience from one based on commodified, stereotyped caricatures of people’ (Lennon and Foley 2000). On the other hand, monuments function as pivotal objects of destinations. Educational commentary is necessary in such cases, in order to address issues that those objects symbolise. In addition, Stone and Sharpley stated an opposing idea, that ‘dark tourism can potentially transform the seemingly meaningless into the meaningful through the commodification, explanations and representations of darkness that have impacted upon the collective self’ (Stone and Sharpley 2008, 588). Here we see a clash of two ideas of what is better – silent respect for victims and the possibility to forget dark events faster, or a death as a product, however adapted to a modern consuming society.

As a result, we have a different acceptance and appreciation of information when visiting a dark destination, than in simply “classroom teaching”. However, a clear turn towards the consumption of death should not make us forget the elementary ethical rules, but encourage us in proper respect instead of making caricatures or jokes of dead people and their suffering.

2.3.5. Commodified Service vs. Value of a Destination

Commodity tourism has shown little inclination to nurture tourists' levels of understanding because it is concerned primarily with marketing, services and infrastructure. The commodity starts at the moment when the focus shifts from the content and perception of a place towards an emphasis upon services. As a result, superficial services are provided, as the focus is to cut prices and omit "useless" information and analysis of a location, which leads to a shallow understanding of the destination. In such situations, tourists are not provided with full information; they get an inaccurate and simplified picture both about the history and the importance of a location.

In order to explain the main reasons for the consumption of dark tourism, Graham Dann identified eight motivating factors (Ryan, Page and Aicken 2005, 221), among them "fear of phantoms" (overcoming childlike fears), the search for novelty/difference, a more basic "bloodlust", the desire to reaffirm the benefits of progress, a more practical level - "dicing with death" - that is, undertaking journeys or "holidays in hell" that challenge tourists or heighten their own sense of mortality. Also, consuming habits reflect the general understanding and importance of dark sites according to the behaviour visitors express being there.

There are four perspectives on how dark tourism can be consumed by visitors (Ryan, Page and Aicken 2005, 222):

- a) *Consuming tourism as experience* – interpretation of tourism within the social world. Dark tourism experiences may be consumed in order to give some phenomenological meaning to the tourists' own social existence. In each case, it is a fascination not with the manner, but the meaning or implication of individual/mass death.
- b) *Consuming as play* – people utilise objects as a resource or focus for interaction with other consumers. The consumption object becomes a vehicle for the achievement of broader, interpersonal goals. In the tourism context, this may be a "performative, reciprocal" role, or the sharing of unusual, extraordinary or dangerous experiences.
- c) *Consuming as integration* – consumers integrate self and object, allowing themselves access to the object's symbolic properties.

This may occur by integrating particular experiences into the self-concept (e.g., adventure tourism) or by adapting the self to particular destinations, modes of travel or experience.

- d) *Consuming as classification* – tourists seek to experience travels which are status symbols. In the case of dark tourism, this may be sought through travelling to places that are dangerous for the tourist.

This classification demonstrates that a fascination with death may often not be the principal factor driving the consumption of such experiences. There is a relationship between the consumption of dark tourism and the way in which modern society responds to death and mortality. Firstly, dark tourism destinations are created in a certain way to educate visitors, maintain their interest in past events and raise their understanding. Secondly, the commodification of dark tourism blurs the limits between past and present, between death and life, by allowing tourists to immerse themselves in dark experiences through texts, images and real people's stories. Finally, dark sites follow the idea of representing a meaningful messages to the public, avoiding cynical and too entertaining representations.

In short, "consumption" does not always mean "standardisation" and "stylisation", or that death is just another topic for the product of entertainment. "Black sites" also provide an opportunity for individuals to address issues of personal meaningfulness through the representation of the past. As Stone and Sharpley concluded, "dark tourism may have more to do with life and living, rather than the dead and dying" (Stone and Sharpley 2008, 590).

Discussion

There exists a brutal realisation of the difference between real memory (social and unviolated) and history. The difference between those two has deepened in modern times with the growing belief in the right and the duty to change, therefore, history and memory became far from being synonymous and now appear to be in fundamental opposition.

Painful memory is an ultimate challenge to our capacity for symbolic representation and our narrative abilities.

In dark tourism destinations, tourists are trying to understand and to cope with the impossible:

- first, *acknowledgement* of what happened. As unbearable as it is, the event memorialised at the site actually occurred;
- second, *acceptance* that the event is in the past. Something like it may be happening now or may happen in the future, but this particular discrete event is definitely in the past;
- third, *recognition* that the event memorialised is utterly unique and not repeatable (MacCannell 2011, 179).

Visitors express a need to visit dark sites in order to face themselves and learn about the limits and possibilities of human culture, also about the potential violence and cruelty of humankind. However, such a desire can be followed by traumatic experiences and cause mental distress. This possible causality of negative effects for visitors distinguishes dark tourism from mass tourism.

Various types of classification of dark tourism express different levels of tourists' demand to engage with disturbing experiences. Moreover, the possibility of a traumatic experience may cause negative and self-destructive effects, what do not match the primary idea of mass tourism, which mainly focuses on providing leisure and entertainment for tourists. However, dark tourism destinations focus on providing sensations, and the most effective of these are considered to be fear, grief, humiliation, frustration and despair. Also, visits to dark sites contain the power to transform the understanding of the meaning of life for visitors, providing them with an opportunity to interact with others' death in a secure environment.

Since the sufferings of past lives are long gone, only the living – the tourists – can hold within their souls thoughts of the suffering of the dead. Dark places teach us what horrors and at what scale people can hold power over other people in the name of ideology, race or religion; they show us the results of intolerance and hatred. As the freelance travel writer Andy Jarosz posted in his blog '*these places /.../ will sadly not*

prevent horrors from re-occurring, but they just help to educate the next generations of the costs that are associated with man's inability to live in peace' (Jarosz 2009).

Results

The research highlights links between taboos in societies and their transformation into products of consumption and links between psychological, material, managerial and historical factors.

- The darkness in dark tourism is socially constructed, rather than objective fact. It is not death or the dead that should be considered, but living people's perception of them.
- The main paradox reflects the idea that a *Real death of Self* is institutionally isolated or made absent from the public gaze and a *(Re)created death of the Other* is made present thanks to popular culture channels. What matters is that *real* death is treated as the normal death of *ordinary people*, meanwhile, an *abnormal* death belongs to *significant others*.
- Death is inevitably vulnerable to kitschification, because it requires "implantation" into something else that is comfortable and safe to deal with and observe. Dark tourism provides a safe space in which to consume otherwise taboo topics through tourism information, entertainment and educational programs about death, dying and mortality.
- Dark tourism sites act as contemporary communicative spaces of morality and guardians of history in a terms of heritage, and also as symbols of hope, tolerance and peace. The main feature encompassing all dark tourism destinations is to inform visitors about actual cruelties of humankind, stimulate empathy with past victims and make any future repetition of such events less likely.
- The motivation to consume dark tourism is not to experience *death per se*, but as a *memento mori* through mortality narratives, education, entertainment and memorialisation. On the other hand, atrocity tourism may anaesthetise rather than sensitise visitors,

making horror and suffering more normal or acceptable, rather than shocking and unacceptable.

- The creators, interpreters and managers of atrocity heritage are likely to have quite different motives and objectives than the visitors. Managers create anti-racist, anti-militaristic and multi-ethnic agendas, meanwhile for governments the principal function of heritage can be switched to a practical legitimation of dominant ideologies and jurisdictions, which could reflect a means of manipulation to adjust heritage to predominant power relations and values.
- Fear is not material but a universal deep emotion, and our appetite for consuming death is associated to a much older fear of being killed ourselves. Therefore, dark tourism destinations do not only act as sites producing pleasure in extreme danger, but also perform a role leading to understanding that life and death are inextricably linked. This not only leads to the satisfaction of extreme needs, but works as a subconscious means by which to appreciate life and the living.

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Santrauka

TAMSIOJO TURIZMO VALDYMO IR VARTOJIMO YPATUMAI BEI SUNKUMAI

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Mirtis sudedamąja turizmo dalimi laikoma ilgiau nei bet kuri kita tema, todėl sukurta daug įvairių su mirtimi susijusių traukos vietų. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjamos tamsiojo turizmo, konkrečiai – genocido vietos. Nacių vykdytas genocidas buvo vienas brutaliausių nusikaltimų žmonijai, pareikalavęs apie 11 milijonų aukų. Šis žiaurus masinis žmonių naikinimas patraukė ne tik istorikų, bet ir tamsiojo turizmo vietų valdytojų dėmesį.

Siekdamas pusiausvyros tarp praeities įvykių istorinio vaizdavimo, turizmo veiklos ir psichologinių, etinių bei vadybinių aspektų tamsusis turizmas sujungia prieštaringas idėjas ir priemones. Šio turizmo sektoriaus veiklos apibrėžimai prieštaringi; sunku paaiškinti ir suprasti jo plėtrą paklausos ir pasiūlos aspektu, taip pat praktinio trauminių įvykių naudojimo, vartotojiškumo, teisingumo ir valdomumo aspektais.

Tamsusis turizmas taip pat kenčia todėl, kad yra ginčijamo paveldo dalis, tačiau norint pristatyti, paaiškinti ir patirti „tikrąją atmintį“, kurią praradome, reikia naudotis XXI a. technologijomis. Kita vertus, ši niša patiria tam tikrų socialinių ir švietimo problemų ieškant pusiausvyros tarp memorialų vaidmens ir būtinybės perduoti tam tikras žinutes. Verčiant genocido vietas į turistinės traukos objektus susiduriama su sunkumais, kai reikia jas pristatyti ir paaiškinti jaunajai kartai, švietimo programas suderinti su žaidimais bei naujomis komunikacinėmis technologijomis, kalbiniu turiniu, praktiniais metodais.

Sielvarto industrijos plėtra ir ypatingo lankytojų elgesio valdymas tamsiojo turizmo srityje vaidina svarbų vaidmenį, ypač – nagrinėjant klausimus, kaip kontroliuoti ir valdyti tamsiojo turizmo vietas kaip turistinės traukos objektus. Taigi pagrindinė problema, su kuria susiduria genocido vietos, yra šių vietų, žmonių, paminklų ir paslaugų suprekiniamo bei tikrosios vertės, vietų siunčiamų žinučių priešprieša.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *genocidas, holokaustas, mirtis, trauminė atmintis, neparankus paveldas, vartojimo kultūra, tamsusis turizmas.*