# DARK TOURISM AND OTHER DEATH: MEDIATING RELATIONSHIPS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY – A TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS

Catherine Roberts BA (Hons), MA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Central Lancashire.

November 2018

**STUDENT DECLARATION FORM**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Type of Award** | **Doctor of Philosophy** |
| **School** | **Business and Management** |

**1. Concurrent registration for two or more academic awards**

I declare that while registered as a candidate for the research degree, I have not been a registered candidate or enrolled student for another award of the University or other academic or professional institution.

**2. Material submitted for another award**

I declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other Submission for an academic award and is solely my own work.

**3. Collaboration: NA**

**4. Use of a Proof-reader**

No proof-reading service was used in the compilation of this thesis.

**Signature of Candidate**

_______________________________________________

**CATHERINE ROBERTS**

## Abstract

This thesis presents a transdisciplinary response to ongoing academic discourse around dark tourism and indicated research directions toward (a) touristic experience and agency and (b) psychologised contexts. The thesis challenges extant binary paradigms of tourism through an analysis of existing conceptualisations and subsequent application of alternative holistic approaches within its research methodologies. Hence, it contributes to developing lines of enquiry regarding affective touristic experience, agency, relationships, roles and narratives.

Within the study, themes and attributes of dark tourism are correlated with key psychological and psychoanalytical concepts including archetype, drive and ritual to support and inform a conceptual framework based on the principles of Transactional Analysis (TA), particularly the concepts of ego states and crossed/complementary transactions, representing a new line of enquiry within the discourse of dark tourism. The application of specific precepts of TA supports a new approach to understanding touristic experience through the identification and analysis of behavioural, verbal and textual transactions (actual and virtual) and the Parent/Adult/Child ego states at play within them. The study models this approach in analyses of transactions observed and/or expressed at the case study site, Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, and in online TripAdvisor reviews, and describes the relevance of these findings to understanding contemporary visitor experience at dark tourism sites.

Responding to perceptions that visitor experience and new media are underrepresented within the extant literature, the research rationale validates a methodology in which ‘real-world’ observations frame the vocabulary and focus of netnographic research into online communities and their expressions of and influence upon tourist experience. In addition to onsite fieldwork, the thesis describes and draws upon rich sources within a contemporary media environment and community. The empirical research methodologies are dynamic and mixed, reflecting the challenges to existing research attitudes arising from the literary review and mirroring concepts of mobility and pluralism in sociological discourse.

The research findings reveal complex visitor responses to the case study site and to their own role within it, speaking to issues of touristic agency. Notably, responses

make clear distinctions between the site's subject matter and management and the different emotional reactions these aspects invoke. Thus, negative criticism detaches from the archetypal/historical and attaches to the institutional aspect of the site, preserving the sacred status of the former and emphasising the secularity of the latter. Transactional Analysis precepts of Parent/Adult/Child (PAC) models, applied to questionnaire and online responses, describe these distinctions as a range of crossed or complementary transactions involving specific ego states and associated emotional and attitudinal qualities. The findings compare the plural, mobile ego states across the visitor experience with the institutional ego state's singularity and immobility, reflected in its communications and environments. This disparity is expressed as a crossed transaction, frustrating participants and prohibiting ongoing dialogue and transactional development.

Ultimately, this study appraises dark tourism scholarship to identify, within relevant multidisciplinary discourse, opportunities for its regeneration and re-alignment with contemporary conceptualisation of social behaviours. Utilising original research methodologies and unexpected conceptual devices, the study emphasises the relevance of online communities in understanding touristic experience and its expression. Theorising dark tourism as a continuum of psychologised transactions, this thesis suggests that further development of TA modelling of visitor experience may offer finessed and practical research models that address shortfalls within the existing literature and align its conceptualisation with contemporary social paradigms.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

**LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND PLATES** **10**

**LIST OF APPENDICES** **11**

**CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION: DARK TOURISM EXPERIENCES**

1.0 Dark tourism destinations 12

1.1 Dark tourism definitions and dilemmas 15

1.2 Research Rationale, Aims & Objectives: narrative overview 20

1.3 Thesis Structure 23

**CHAPTER TWO: CULTURES OF DEATH AND DISSONANCE: AN INTERSECTION**

2.0 Introduction: Shades of meaning, context and qualities of dark tourism 26

2.1 Cultures of death 33

2.2 Cultures of dissonant heritage 45

2.3 Chapter summary & signposts 50

**CHAPTER THREE: CONTEXTS OF TOURISM STUDIES**

3.0 Introduction: People, objects and cultures migrate 52

3.1 Tourism Studies: a relevant review 55

3.2 The trouble with tourism templates 63

3.2.1 Motivation and experience 64

3.2.2 Mobile conceptualisations 69

3.2.3 'The indiscipline of tourism' 72

3.3 Transforming tourism: paradigmatic shifts and future developments 74

3.4 Dark horizons: developments and directions 79

3.4.1 Mediatisation 81

3.4.2 Mobilities 83

3.4.3 Research attitudes 84

3.5 Chapter summary & signposts 85

**CHAPTER FOUR: DARK SITES AND SEERS**

4.0 Dark tourism places and their visitors 87

4.1 Dark Sites 89

4.1.1 Dark sites: construction work 91

4.1.2 Dark place identity 94

4.1.3 Theorising dark place identity 97

4.1.4 Third ways of theorising dark sites 99

4.1.5 Heterotopian sites of dark tourism 103

4.1.6 Site summary 107

4.2 Dark Seers 109

4.2.1 Problematising dark tourism motivations 111

4.2.2 Motivation, drive and outcome 115

4.2.3 Anticipated outcomes 125

4.2.4 Deviance 142

4.2.5 Seer summary 143

4.3 Chapter summary 144

**CHAPTER FIVE: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND PSYCHOANALYTICAL APPROACHES**

5.0 Introduction: social and psychoanalytical attributes of tourism 147

5.1 A social institution of dark tourism 148

5.2 Psychoanalytical approaches to tourism 152

5.3 Introduction to Transactional Analysis (TA) 157

5.4 Transactional Analysis: approaches to tourism 168

5.5 Chapter summary 171

**CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY AND METHODOLOGY**

6.0 Introduction 172

6.1 Research Philosophy 173

6.1.1 Research approach: Grounded Theory principles 174

6.1.2 Research strategy 175

6.1.3 Epistemology and ontology 176

6.2 Research design 178

6.2.1 Case study selection 183

6.3 Research Methods 185

6.3.1 Ethnography 186

6.3.2 Netnography 187

6.4 Research analysis 187

6.5 Further issues and summary 188

**CHAPTER SEVEN: ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH CONTEXTS, FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

7.0 Introduction: ethnographic research context 190

7.1 Introduction to the Museum and its messages 190

7.1.1 Auschwitz identities: concentration and Death Camp 191

7.1.2 Auschwitz identities: Museum and Memorial 193

7.2 The Museum's messaging: transaction stimuli 197

7.2.1 Museum Website: Visiting Information 197

7.2.2 Site interpretation 202

7.3 Ethnographic research: environment: overview 204

7.4 Ethnographic research: activity 204

7.5 Responses to questionnaires and related discussion 206

7.5.1 Context of visit 206

7.5.2 Visitor experience 215

7.5.3 Visitor recall: key locations 220

7.5.4 Visitor perspectives 222

7.6 Chapter Summary 228

**CHAPTER EIGHT: NETNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH CONTEXTS, FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

8.0 Introduction 229

8.1 Netnographic Environment: TripAdvisor 229

8.2 Netnographic research 233

8.2.1 Demographic information 233

8.2.2 Reviews 235

8.2.3 Analysis of netnographic research findings: overview 277

8.2.4 Expectation and experience 238

8.3 Exemplar: User-valued reviews and the ego states they express 245

8.4 Chapter summary 247

**CHAPTER NINE: Summary and Conclusions**

9.0 Introduction 249

9.1 Summary of the literature review 250

9.1.1 Chapter 2 and dark heritage 251

9.1.2 Chapter 3 and tourism theory 256

9.1.3 Chapter 4, dark sites and their visitors 258

9.1.4 Chapter 5, social institutions and psychological approaches 260

9.1.5 Research indications summary 261

9.2 TA approaches 263

9.3 Research approaches and online environments 265

9.3.1 Summary: ethnographic and netnographic approaches to tourism experience 266

9.4 Summary of Research Findings 267

9.4.1 Ethnographic and on-site activity 267

9.4.2 Netnographic and online activity 269

9.4.3 Implications for site management and future research 274

9.5 Conclusions 277

**REFERENCES** **280**

## LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND PLATES


Figure 1: simple PAC diagram 160

Figure 2: PAC model: simple complementary transaction 163

Figure 3: PAC model: alternative complementary transaction 164

Figure 4: PAC model: crossed transaction 165

Figure 5: Q6 Visit background 206

Figure 6: Q10 Visitor interests 207

Figure 7: Q3 Main reason for visit 209

Figure 8: Pre-visit internet research 212

Figure 9: Anticipated and experienced feelings – comparison 216

Figure 10: Anticipated and actual experience, comparison 208

Figure 11: Tourist roles 223

Figure 12: Traveller type, self-selected 234

Figure 13: Age ranges, self-declared 235

Figure 14: Nationalities 235

Figure 15: Review ratings 236

Figure 16: 'Thank' votes according to review rating score 237

Figure 17: Case study transactions composite PAC model 274

Table 1: Research aims & objectives 23

Table 2: Paradigm shifts in social behaviour 75

Table 3: Summary, theorised motivational expressions 121

Table 4: Summary, theorise categories, theories and outcomes 123

Table 5: Research aims & objectives (repeat) 172

Table 6: Research Activity 185

Table 7: Pre-visit attitudes (Q1 responses) 208

Table 8: Attitudes and reasons (detail, Q1b and Q3 responses) 210

Table 9: Summary of attitudes and reasons to visit 211

Plate 1: Plan: Auschwitz 1, 2, 3 and environs 1944 193

Plate 2: Online/on-site visitor rules 199

Plate 3: Information plaque at Birkenau 206

**APPENDICES**

Appendix 1 Visitor Numbers Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and Memorial (1959 – 2016)

Appendix 2 Museum Regulations

Appendix 3 Netnographic research: review transcripts

Appendix 4 User-valued reviews – most ‘thanks’ votes

Appendix 5 Ethnographic Questionnaire Master Transcript

Appendix 6 TripAdvisor review word frequency analysis

# CHAPTER ONE Introduction: Dark tourism experiences

## 1.0 Dark tourism destinations

It is currently a viable and easily facilitated proposition to participate in organised visits to the former concentration and extermination camps of the Nazi Holocaust, including Auschwitz-

Birkenau, where over a million people were killed prior to the camp's liberation in 1945 (more than 1.75 million people visited the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum in 2014); to the 'ghost town' of Pripyat, within Chernobyl's Exclusion Zone, the site of a lethal nuclear explosion in 1989 (more than a dozen official tour operators facilitate visits); to the former at Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for 17 years; to the battlefield sites of the Somme, Waterloo, Culloden and Gallipoli; and to memorials and mass graves of the victims of genocides and massacres in Rwanda, Cambodia and Vietnam. Standard tourism agencies can assist in visits to any of these locations, which mark some of the most momentous and devastating events in human history. For those interested but unable or unlikely to undertake the journeys necessary to visit the actual sites, in some cases it's possible to encounter aspects and artefacts of the events with which they are connected elsewhere: for example, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Imperial War Museums in London and Manchester hold relics of the Nazi Holocaust including artefacts transferred from Auschwitz, viewed by millions of visitors annually.

However, such subject matter may not be to all tastes: there is little to suggest entertainment or amusement in the sites listed above. More light-hearted 'days out' options are available, touching on themes of death and the macabre in less catastrophic contexts – or at least, with less serious interpretive approaches. Such purpose-designed destinations include the Merlin entertainment

Group's 'Dungeon' attractions (five sites in the UK, a further three in Europe and one in San Francisco) which combine 'laughs with scares' and where 'fear is a funny thing'. Similarly, Secret Chamber Tours organise guided walks with potentially morbid themes including the Titanic, the Kray Twins and Jack the

Ripper tours, where the crimes of a serial killer (and even archive images of the mutilated corpses of victims) form the content and focus of interactive events.

In some circumstances, for some individuals, less formal, or unmediated, activity relating to disaster or death is preferred. They may choose to visit cemeteries with no specific focus or personal resonance or seek the burial places of those 'known' but, personally, unknown to them: from Sylvia Plath's simple gravestone in the churchyard at Heptonstall, Yorkshire, in the UK to the tombs of Oscar Wilde or Jim Morrison at the Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, regular visitors are evidenced by the flowers and tributes they leave behind. On a more ad hoc basis, trends in impromptu visitation may be inspired by recent disaster or death, especially in the immediate aftermath where media coverage is high. Accident scenes attract the sightseer: the Lockerbie air disaster (1998) and the fatal car accident involving Diana, Princess of Wales in Paris (1997) drew, and continue to draw, visitors, many bringing tributes and tokens. Furthermore, crime scenes including the homes of murderers (for example, Reginald Christie in Rillington Place, London; Ian Brady and Myra Hindley in Hattersley, Manchester; Fred and Rosemary West in Cromwell Street, Gloucester) attract visitation, although this is often necessarily transient: all the 'houses of horror' listed were eventually demolished by local authorities.

This seemingly divergent and manifold set of events and locations have significant but obscure commonality in terms of human interest and visitation, and the effective scrutiny and articulation of such commonality and its sociocultural significance is fundamental to dark tourism research.

In (dark tourism) theory, those who undertake, or consider undertaking, journeys to the sites referenced above can be regarded as practitioners of or participants in the phenomenon of dark tourism; and these locations represent only a fraction of those cited and examined within dark tourism academic research (and, saliently, within popular cultural media channels: as an internet search term, for example, *'dark tourism'* will uncover personal blogs, special-interest and mainstream travel and news articles and agencies, concerned with events of death, atrocity and disaster, associated locations and the people who visit them). They are associated, to varying degrees and in different ways, with an extensive set of events correlated by an elusive 'morbidity', potentially resonant with instinctual human responses from

their most sublime to their most grotesque; such events are plotted across near-boundless axes of space and time. Encounters with these locations, and their associations, involve an extremely substantial (and growing) body of participants – tourists – and a concomitant diversity of social and cultural factors influencing their motivation, experience and the meaning-making modes and processes which infinitesimally *and* fundamentally differentiate space for human beings. Patently, in its elementary subject matter the scope, scale and diversity of Dark tourism is colossal; compounded by its potential interpretive compass, it approaches critical mass.

For some commentators, visitation to some of the sites listed above represents, and defines Dark tourism as, an exclusively modern (or post-modern) means of encountering place; for others, these modern encounters are merely the tip of a chronological iceberg, contemporary epitomes of a historic template of human behaviour involving travel to and from encounters with the dead. This location of Dark tourism temporally is only one, fundamental, example of conflicting perceptions of the phenomenon within the specific literature acknowledging and attempting to define it: the gamut of pertinent cross-disciplinary contexts allows for an abundance of philosophical approaches and resources by which Dark tourism conceptual frameworks may be augmented – yet also critically complicated.

Clearly, about the philosophical scaffold of Dark tourism, theory and research drawn from the academic fields of death and mortality studies, and of tourism studies, are overtly implicated: they inform Dark tourism's (problematised) terminology and much of its theoretical modelling (see Chapters 2 and 3); yet, their respective ontologies are not easily reconciled. Perhaps less explicit, but equally relevant, are the approaches to dark tourism developed upon or commingled with the precepts of human geography, cultural heritage, colonial/memory/media studies, social psychology and other sociological fields. Hence, acknowledging, evaluating and constructing/maintaining balance within its cross-disciplinary frame of reference will be germane to the developing corpus of Dark tourism research (see Chapter 4). Unpicking the ways in which Dark tourism relates to, and yet evidences a clear and valid identity and functionality apart from its overlaps with, existing scholarship is an essential task of future researchers; by this means advocacy and clearer directions for future research may be obtained. To this end, ongoing lack of clarity about some fundaments of Dark tourism conceptualisation must be

(empirically) addressed. These include relationships between research and praxis in Dark tourism, and consequent risks/benefits; ambiguity in definition and contested terminology, their influence upon research contexts; a rigorous evaluation of existing Dark tourism paradigms, their ongoing usefulness and/or potential limitations; (related) equilibrium of attention to all ‘parties’ - destinations *and* their visitors - and additional attention to the ‘third party’: the *conjunction* of site and visitor, obtaining transactions, experience, reflection, outcome and influence.

This thesis seeks to critically address the issues highlighted above, firstly via a review of extant literature, thus assessing the context and status of Dark tourism research and highlighting points of interest or lacunae; subsequently by the development of pertinent, or proposition of new, approaches to support understanding of the dark tourism experience; and ultimately through the presentation of an illustrative research project and related models. Within the remainder of this chapter I will elaborate upon some of the themes previously introduced (Section 1a), which will be examined in detail in future chapters and which inform the rationale, aims and objectives of the research project (1.1); finally, (1.2) the structure of the thesis will be explained.

### 1.1 Dark tourism definitions and dilemmas

As a field of study, dark tourism has evolved in response to the kinds of questions set out earlier in this chapter (can we effectively scrutinise and articulate commonality and sociocultural significance, about human interest in and visitation to sites of ‘morbid’ associations?) and to related lines of enquiry. Its initiation may be traced to Lennon & Foley’s (2000:6) introduction of the term ‘dark tourism’ and Stone’s later (enduring) definition as the ‘act of travel and visitation to sites, attractions, and exhibitions which have real or created death, suffering, or the seemingly macabre as a main theme’ (Stone, 2005): however, the canon is essentially established by Sharpley and Stone’s (2009) consolidation of, and production and exposition of elemental frameworks and cardinal points relating to dark tourism research per se. However, prior academic research on contemporary tourism activity allied with human interest in death and disaster, an area of significant development during the mid-1990s under headings such as *thanatourism* and in contexts of ‘difficult heritage’ (exemplified by Seaton, 1996; Tunbridge &

Ashworth, 1996), is clearly conceptually antecedent to, and contributes to the discourse of, dark tourism.

Subsequent and rapid expansion in dark tourism research, particularly post-millennium, has generated an abundance of conceptual frameworks, descriptive vocabularies and typologies, approaching dark tourism from micro to macro levels: descriptively, through various terminologies and sub-categories; and conceptually, correlating the phenomenon with a range of sociocultural behaviours (detailed in Chapter 2 and 3). Yet, a certain circularity obtains within the discourse: lack of consensus around definitions and identification (influenced not least by a perceived, almost unmanageable diversity in the nature and experience of dark tourism activity) hinders research progression and development. As Stone (2006:146) concedes, 'the dark tourism literature remains both eclectic and theoretically fragile'. Indeed, such eclecticism contributes to that perceived fragility: Stone goes on to acknowledge a recurring and fundamental dilemma for the dark tourism researcher: given that posited products are 'multifaceted, complex in design and purpose, and diverse in nature', the question remains 'whether it is actually possible or justifiable to collectively categorise a diverse range of sites… as *dark tourism'*. This question casts doubt upon the perceived integrity of dark tourism conceptual frameworks and their research products: if their application of key terms of reference cannot be justified, they are reduced to intuitive or impressionistic descriptions of certain overlaps between social behaviours.

Such ambiguity becomes attached to the terminology, if not the concept, of dark tourism that the boundaries of its application are unfortunately blurred. Indeed, some commentators across relevant and related disciplines are reluctant to adopt, or are antagonistic towards, the designation, further problematising the development and enrichment of dark tourism's conceptual frameworks. Imprecision or inconsistency of terminology may confound effective comparative analysis across research products and even influence the quality of new ones; indeed, lack of consensus on concrete definition (beyond the broad reach of Lennon & Foley's signposting quoted above) makes even the accurate quantification of the prevalence or expansion of dark tourism behaviours difficult, if not impossible. Thus, increasing contemporary hypotheses about, and interest in, the phenomena of dark tourism (in media and academic contexts) may indeed evidence an equivalent increase in and development of its practise; or merely reflect the attractiveness and

application of new typological vocabularies to existing behaviours. This existential quandary is expressed, for example, by Seaton and Lennon's commentary (2004) throughout which *thanatourism* 'as a neutral term without negative connotations' is used in stated preferred preference to *dark tourism.*

This brings us to a second potential impediment to analysis: negative connotations readily attach to the term, problematise both personal identification with the term and, in certain quarters, academic acceptance or usage of it. Conjectured 'dark tourists' largely reject the appellation and, indeed, some academic perspectives (according to the research approach and case) qualify that rejection, with alternative designations including heritage tourists, postmodern pilgrims, or 'ghouls'. To what degree is the burgeoning academic field of dark tourism enhancing understanding of the behaviour it is analyses - or implicated in, even affective upon, it? For some commentators, such expansion is influenced by the utility and adoption of this suggestive terminology in non-academic, particularly media, discourses that emphasise the phenomenon and its significance in public contexts: Seaton and Lennon (2004:63) interpret media references as hype or, more descriptively and constructively, a metamythology redefining dark tourism 'as a social pathology sufficiently new and threatening to create moral panic' rather than 'just… a genre of travel motivation and attraction'; while Dann's (2005) approach to dark tourism correlates tourism, its linguistics and media within an interpretive trilogy, positing a convergence of these constituents within contemporary culture as fundamental to an understanding of the phenomenon and the degree to which we may all be potential 'Children of the Dark'.

Doubtless, interesting discoveries may be made via investigation into correlations between dark tourism and 'trends' in the representation of death and destruction across popular cultural channels: a useful collation of commentary upon thanatalogical representation across television and print media, cinema, music and humour is offered by Sharpley and Stone (2009: 32). Yet correlation between such representation (which we may term *dark [popular] culture)* and specific dark tourism experiences, or appraisal of their relation to each other, is currently underexplored within the literature. Conversely, dark [high] culture – for example, the territory of dissonant heritage – is effectively referenced and referential, making valid and insightful comparisons between the role and experience of the heritage tourist and the 'dark' tourist.

These cultural representations, and indeed dark tourism itself, speak to particular contemporary treatment of death and related sociological theories, perhaps especially those arising from death studies/death education. Current literature refers to and frequently draws upon the material of death studies, thanatology and the notion of a thanatoptic tradition. Particularly, dark tourism aligns itself with the thesis of death denial, frequently referenced in the literature (and further discussed in Chapter 2), and consequent lines of enquiry into death's social 'neutralisation' (Bryant, 2003) or, following Durkin (2003), 'conversion' to a 'less threatening' proposition through cultural channels. Such perspectives interpret thanatological consumption at individual levels as a kind of recompense for its denial at collective levels (Durkin, 2003) and are perhaps most fully explicated by Stone's (2009) reading of dark tourism as a means by which death is desequestered in the context of absent-present death paradox.

However, death is peculiarly distinctive in dark tourism, and is accompanied or represented by nebulous qualities of 'darkness' – disaster, suffering, the macabre (see Chapter 2): there is still no consensus as to 'what's so dark about dark tourism' (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010). Such uncertainty is reflected in the controversial diversity of the hypothesised range and proliferation of qualitative typologies (of place and people) applied to interpretation of this phenomenon. Within the literature and indeed practise of dark tourism, the concept of death is represented in contexts of exceptional contrast (and apparent conflict): interpreted as both atrocity and novelty, as high kitsch and high tragedy, evincing either rich cultural heritage or simply poor taste. At posited dark tourism sites, we may behold cadavers, waxworks, or ghosts; motifs of mortality may be fundamental to physical place identity, or merely the fillip to manufactured exhibition material. Recent lines of enquiry relating to observation or even participation in violence and/or death *in media res* (touched upon in a later chapter) further extend the conceptual bounds of dark tourism. Such ambiguity about the touristic object permeates conceptualisation of the (dark) tourist, their destinations and the meanings, material and methods that connect them.

As with 'dark', so with 'tourism': dark tourism's evident synergy with tourism studies is problematised by a subtle yet persistent dissonance. The designation of dark tourism is so unequivocally suggestive that perceptions of its sociocultural relevance, resonance and meaning are framed by the disciplinary tenets of 'tourism'

(that is, tourism studies) to the point, arguably, of philosophical encumbrance. I contend that the rigid perceptual positioning of dark tourism praxis and research within the realms of tourism studies may limit or distort understanding of how the behaviours in question arise, are experienced and communicated. By dark tourism's nomenclature and elements of its academic origins, we are inclined to an assumption that tourism is the fundament, rather than the mode; that 'dark' is a mere qualifier of that fundament. Yet an antithetical position is equally viable - that human, social attention to death and associated themes is the true denominator, and that tourism is one mode by which that attention is expressed. A useful attitude, reflective of the literature's breadth and dark tourism's potential singularity, might be to presume the semiotic dominance of neither 'dark' nor 'tourism', and to investigate the unique and uncanny coexistence of both.

Arguably, over-rigid adherence to the tropes of tourism studies in place of proposing new approaches to understanding dark tourism, may further divert attention from its essence. Particularly, a key preoccupation of tourism studies theory, motivation, is frequently applied as a means of evidencing the hypothetical 'dark' tourist, an approach proposing certain incentival differentiations from the 'light' yet supposing essential similarity. Hence, dark tourism is appraised in relation to existing norms of tourism that may well be inapposite about a phenomenon that arguably distorts societal norms and confounds assumptions about holidays, hedonism and happiness. While we may infer complex and distinctive kinds of gratification within the practice of dark tourism, I argue that its resonance with subconscious and collective drives and symbolic representation of inexpressible human fears and desires renders it resistant to analysis via traditional tourism motivational theory. Indeed, contemporary critique directs us beyond the conceptual parameters of tourism studies, perhaps especially its paradigms of supply/demand, to investigate 'the dynamics through which people are drawn to sites redolent with images of death… and the manner in which they are induced to behave there' (Reader, 2003:2).

Importantly, given the concepts of taboo, mortality, shame, ritual, archetype and instinct we identify within dark tourism's subject and praxis, psychoanalytic approaches are currently underrepresented in the literature (see Chapter 5). Such approaches have affinity not only with dark tourism per se, but with thanatology, tourism and pertinent disciplines also outlined in Chapter 5. Hence, this thesis seeks

to place and examine dark tourism within alternative, interdisciplinary discourses in order to challenge existing critical perspectives predicated upon certain received tenets of tourism studies theory, taking up Stone's (2011:1) 'invitation to (dark) scholars to take up future dark tourism research without the restrictive dogma and parochialism of disciplinarity'. Drawing upon cross-disciplinary concepts to problematise conventional supply-demand models, I hypothesise a continuum of emblematic social transactions constituted by the dark tourism encounter. These transactional processes involve varied incidents of stimulus and response, and their close appraisal based upon the precepts of Transactional Analysis (TA) will reveal potential mutability and mutuality in the statuses of the site and its visitors. By means of the obtaining conceptual model I shift the research focus from notions of touristic motivation to psychological drive, reframing the relationship between destination and tourist to elucidate the socio-cultural significance of, sites of historic atrocity.

### 1.2 Research Rationale, Aims & Objectives: narrative overview

This thesis reviews and responds to ongoing academic discourse around the phenomenon of dark tourism and related cross- disciplinary literature; specifically, addressing research directions indicated within that discourse around the examination of touristic experience and agency, and to psychologised contexts, at a site formally designated as a memorial to genocide-related events and experiences, and previously the location of murder and atrocity. Hence, it develops upon and contributes to new lines of enquiry, regarding creative, affective and emotional touristic experiences, transactions, roles and narratives in psychologised contexts of social memory, identity and narrative. Drawing upon cross-disciplinary concepts the study explores thematic factors including archetype, life and death drives, ritual, narrative congruence and conflict to support nuanced psychological and socio-cultural appraisals of dark tourism experience; these appraisals, allied with a critical review of the case study site (its chronology, physical spaces, and modes of interpretation and communication) inform and refine the conceptual framework.

The research focus is trained upon a particular type of dark tourism – that is, touristic encounters with an iconic site of 'darker' tourism – and a close reading of

its enactment, experience or expression in physical or specific social media environments. This detailed investigation of behavioural, memorial and communication codes and modes relates to a single case study destination (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum) and supports critical appraisal of the encounter between visitors and the memorial site: the quality and mutuality of its transactions; whether and how they constitute a social institution and concomitant systems, including narrative systems; and the consequences of that encounter upon perceptions of the self, the site and its associated events. The specificity of this account reflects an intention to investigate how encounters at dark tourism sites can express multiple and shifting roles and statuses, reframing the notion of touristic 'transactions' from binary supply/demand exchanges to subtle social exchanges.

The thesis suggests and validates a mode of visitor experience appraisal, acknowledging the psychologised and affective aspects of dark tourism and highlighting a mutuality between site and visitor; in so doing, it attends to rapid and contemporary developments in concepts and modes of touristic agency. Through the application of specific precepts of Transactional Analysis (TA), particularly the concepts of ego states and crossed/complementary transactions, I analyse exemplary (behavioural, verbal and textual) transactions observed at the case study site or designated online forums. From those analyses, narratives or 'scripts' evolve against which perceptions, identity, roles and experiences (of site and visitor) may be mapped and appraised.

Specifically, the research will critically examine the content, nature and congruence of transactions including verbal, textual and behavioural/environmental stimulus/response incidents that arise from touristic interaction with Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum. The scope of data gathering is intended to reflect autonomous expressions/responses in largely social media environments, responding to perceptions that visitor experience, self-expression and social/digital media are underrepresented within the extant literature; data analysis is based upon recurrence and commonality rather than preconceived categorisation is underpinned by TA techniques.

The literature review will evaluate theoretical backgrounds to dark tourism, and its relation to significant cross-disciplinary discourse and conceptualisations including the academic study of death, tourism and heritage and notions of social space,

institutions and psychology. Furthermore, the review will reference current concerns about dark tourism motivations and experience, research rigour and relevance to praxis, aligning them with key themes arising from the literary review and with the research rationale.

The research rationale will validate the use of, and describe, the single-site study and its particular sources and methodology, in which 'real-world' observations frame netnographic research into social and online media channels as expressions or elements of visitor experience. These expressive modes are related to earlier and other communications mechanisms yet specific to contemporary social practices, and thus subject to particular empirical, ethical and logistical considerations in the research context.

The empirical research will identify and appraise, through quantitative and qualitative analyses, transactional participants (case study site, visitors, online audience) along with recurrence/duration of transactional behaviours; notable narrative trends/variations, commonality/inconsistency; gaps or distortions. It will give an overview of the site's overt institutional narrative: its messaging; ego states; key motifs; methods and modes of transmission including overt and covert message, representing the 'lifescript' or institutional narrative of the case study site. Potential transactional environments will be identified and their reciprocal stimulus and response mechanisms through transactional exemplar: that is, stimulus, response and ego state representation.

The research aims and objectives are outlined below (Table 1).

Ultimately, this study theorises dark tourism as a continuum of psychologised transactions between an iconic genocide memorial site – that is, Auschwitz-Birkenau –and its visiting tourist body, informed by and informing significant cultural narratives of history and place; and proposes a social institution of dark tourism constituted and represented by such transactional processes. Its findings are represented with regard to (perceptions of) the case study site and its visitors; to current academic and social concerns with collective identity and memory; and to their broader impact upon understanding of dark tourism motivation and experience.

| | |
|---|---|
| Research Aim | To critically appraise interactions at, and relational representations of, a dark tourism site within the context of Transactional Analysis (TA) and ego states. |
| Research Question | How do dark touristic transactions and resultant ego states reflect social narratives of and relationships with the sites of traumatic heritage? |
| Objectives | 1. To critically review dark tourism conceptualisations in synthesis with cross-disciplinary theoretical, and sociocultural, concerns, in contexts of contemporary heritage and tourism.<br>2. To evaluate online and social media contexts as a facility for expressive, reflective and constructive touristic modes.<br>3. To identify and analyse tourist experiences, transactions and ego states and their representation in selected modes and environments (research material).<br>4. To explore the construction and mediation of shared social narratives of memory and mortality. |

*Table 1: Research aims & objectives*

### 1.3 Thesis Structure

The thesis is comprised of a single volume.

Chapter 1: the current Introduction.

Chapter 2 outlines the background to dark tourism research: undertaking a brief review of its establishment, nomenclature, some typological and conceptual products and cross disciplinary/cultural relationships in order to appraise its status quo. An overview and subsequent detailed examination of thematic and conceptual associations with the literature of death studies

(2.1) and heritage dissonance (2.2) are summarised (2.3) in terms of these associations' relevance to dark tourism research and the current thesis.

Chapter 3 examines dark tourism's conceptual underpinnings within the realms of contemporary (general) tourism studies, identifying and problematising key factors in: the disciplinary identity and development of tourism studies, salient conceptualisation, and emergent themes; summarised (3.1) with regard to dark tourism's development as a research field and the current thesis.

Chapter 4 develops upon the conceptual underpinnings summarised in previously chapters: touching upon notions of (dark) touristic place, motivation or drive, experience and perception; giving specific consideration to the places (4.1) and participants (4.2) of dark tourism, how they are approached or accounted for within the current literature and, in summary (4.4), how they are reflected within and the current thesis.

Chapter 5 emphasises the psychosocial qualities of dark tourism, introducing concepts and features reflecting social institutions (5.1). The chapter goes on to outline psychoanalytical approaches to dark tourism (5.2) and, specifically, basic concepts of Transactional Analysis (TA) are outlined (5.3) in terms of their relevance and application in analytical phases of the thesis. The chapter summary (5.4) highlights the validity of TA as a basis for research analysis.

Chapter 6 details the research philosophy and methodology, considerations and exclusions and elaborates upon key research contexts: the case study site and institution, and related ethnographic and netnographic data sources.

Chapter 7 sets out an overview of the physical site history and current site environment, in which (ethnographic) observational and scoping research was undertaken. A narrative analysis of findings highlights key issues relating to onsite visitor/Museum transactions and contextualises the netnographic material.

Chapter 8 outlines the protocols and contexts of the TripAdvisor site and community from which the larger body of (ethnographic-netnographic) research data is drawn. The chapter sets out frequency, statistical, TA and narrative analyses of data, including relevant demographic detail, word frequency analyses, significant findings and transactional exemplar.

Chapter 9 synthesises research findings and offers a final narrative summary, suggesting how a conceptual framework based on TA concepts and the theoretical foundations discussed in the literature review (Chapters 1 – 5) elucidates the research findings. Further research directions are suggested.

# CHAPTER TWO: Dark Cultures of Death and Dissonance

## 2.0 Introduction: Shades of meaning, context and qualities of dark tourism

The starting point for this chapter is most familiar within the literature: that dark tourism, as an overarching term, describes 'the act of travel and visitation to sites, attractions and exhibitions which have real or recreated death, suffering or the seemingly macabre as a main theme' (Stone, 2005). This focal morbidity is rendered extraordinary to public and private consciousness, forming the grim nucleus for increasing levels of touristic visitation to a notably broad and diverse range of global heritage sites, attractions and exhibitions. Such destinations (further investigated in 3.1), as treated in distinct dark tourism research, include constructed exhibitions/attractions themed around death and suffering; cemeteries and burial places; locations of accidental death or human disaster; crime scenes linked to death and depravity; journeys to battlefields, sites of slavery and imprisonment; sites of atrocity and genocide. Locational range is addressed within extant literature by several typologies, perhaps most notably Stone's (2006) spectrum and Dann's (1998) descriptive divisions of the 'dark side of tourism'; while the neologisms *dartainment* and *darsumer* are the most recent and consciously referential additions (Robinson & Dale, 2009) to a dark tourism lexicon that incorporates a late-twentieth-century surge in associated, descriptive terminology – including *thanatourism* (Seaton 1996), *black spots* (Rojek 1993), and *morbid tourism* (Blom 2000). This surge acknowledges the compelling research motifs of, and foreshadows, dark tourism and its initial research designation and definition, and subsequent development, within the canon's acknowledged seminal works by Lennon and Foley (Lennon & Foley, 2000) and Sharpley and Stone (2009) respectively.

Continuing efforts within dark tourism discourse to consolidate its own conceptual underpinnings and stabilise the parameters of its academic identity have, then, generated a wealth of typologies: yet, pursuant to innumerable and forceful sociocultural developments, these are necessarily subject to ongoing revision and addition. Among many and varied contributions to an already dense portfolio, Dunkley (2007) offers various associated categories, including horror, hardship, tragedy, warfare, genocide and extreme thanatourism. These posited 'darkest'

tourism modes implicate dark tourism practice and discourse within particular political, moral and ethical concerns and dilemmas and are seemingly far removed from the sites of *dartainment:* their only apparent (thematic) commonality is death, destruction and suffering. Hence, social attitudes toward death and mortality are imperative in understanding the phenomena of dark tourism and useful socio-cultural contexts may be found within the realm of death studies (as noted earlier in Section 2.1). The 'far remove' across sites is compounded and is reflected by (implicit) degrees of difference within their visiting bodies, their posited motivations, experiences and reflections.

Across these busy axes of people and place run the fundamental philosophical threads of dark tourism, weaving potential meaning through patterns of human behaviour: theorisations of dark tourism are variously concerned with intimations of postmodernity (Lennon & Foley, 2000), the search for moral spaces by an increasingly secular society (Stone, 2009b) and wider societal interest in death (Seaton, 2009; Walter, 2009). Its concepts are implicated within such diverse interpretive paradigms as geographical authenticity and perceived victimhood (Cohen, 2001), kitschification (Sharpley and Stone, 2009), and dialogic meaning making (Biran et al., 2011; Kang and Yu, 2011); while 'darkness' as a framing device is appraised in terms of social construction, cultural ambiguity and semiotics (Jamal and Lelo, 2011; Bowman and Pezzullo, 2010). These myriad possible 'meanings' of dark tourism are theorised responses to key questions: who is involved in what behaviours? Why? What are the outcomes? How are they obtained? These are not rhetorical but fundamental questions; yet I would argue that their lucid resolutions have been overshadowed by fixation upon 'where?'

Despite the (uncomfortable) juxtaposition of dark tourism with contemporary leisure activity (Seaton and Lennon, 2004), and its (partial) enclosure within tourism studies, standard motivation/satisfaction modes of evaluation drawn from leisure/tourism studies (further referenced in Chapter 3) are of questionable efficacy in approaching clearer understanding of dark tourism behaviours: several factors are at play in this problematisation, unsurprisingly involving the commingling of dark and non-dark qualities in posited tourist attitudes, expectations, desires and outcomes. Perhaps more significantly, and more specifically, notions of taboo and deviance arise. To be motivated/satisfied by encounters with death might connote

moral ambivalence and even, by extension, sociopathic deviance: these connotations are relevant to current issues including moral boundaries, ethical concerns and the development of 'darkest' or 'extreme' (Miles, 2002; Sharpley, 2009) dark tourism. Yet, despite the likelihood that potential 'benefits' or positive outcomes of visitation, and indeed negative connotations involving shame and deviance, will be located in psychological realms, the inner, psychological, mechanisms at play within experience of dark tourism are currently under-represented within the literature (also see Chapter 4; Dann, 1981 and 1998; Ashworth, 2002; Kingsbury & Brunn, 2003; Buda & McIntosh, 2013). Furthermore, existing research relating to consumption of violent (non-touristic) material (e.g. Goldstein, 1999; Andrade and Cohen, 2007) – that is, commonality of (dark) focus and not (touristic) behaviour – can offer valid conceptual and contextual material in the investigation of impulses toward, and outcomes of, dark tourism.

Hence, I argue that in distinguishing, qualifying and measuring dark touristic behaviours, standard motivational paradigms are problematised to such a degree that such analysis must be undertaken outside the parameters of existing representation and evaluation. Here, I identify a singularity of dark tourism: that its essential substance, its association with death and mortality, is resistant to rational or conscious appraisal; its touristic mode is of an incongruity bordering on the inexplicable. Hence, there is a tendency within the literature toward repetition of the 'first principles' of dark tourism definition, recurrence of the same iconic sites and return to the same (new) old concerns. This repetition and recurrence, reminiscent of psychoanalytical vocabulary, bestow upon dark tourism discourse a degree of circularity and present as natural reactions to unresolved issues at the conceptual core: a lack of resolution that, I suggest, speaks not to the validity of dark tourism research but to a singular characteristic of its subject. Dark tourism behaviours may in themselves signify social treatment of the unresolved, the apparently unspeakable, through symbolic devices that, arguably, indicate new (semiotic and non-linear) analytical modes for future research.

Dark tourism's academic discourse and conceptual frameworks, and the sociocultural behaviours they attempt to describe and analyse, are parallel agencies: the synchronicities of their development, expansion and establishment bring about a particular resonance and mutual affectivity. Dark tourism praxis has fundamental

associations, not only with traditional tourist products and providers, but with complementary sectors and institutions including, highly significantly, media and popular cultures. These networks obtain from, reflect, and evolve with and through, social, historical and cultural concerns, experiences, traditions and constructs. The vocabulary and singularity of dark tourism moves from academic to public domains, appropriated by increasingly attentive media and reflected within books, films, blogs and other cultural products and a unique public awareness of dark tourism as an entity obtains.

A Google search in August 2015 offers 13.3 million results for 'dark tourism'; within the first 20, the majority are not academic but media-related. This term leads the (re)searcher to a West End play, a mainstream feature film and an autobiographical book by comedian Dom Joly, all entitled *The Dark Tourist*; to travel blogs, fora and websites, both personal and trade-based; a broad range of media articles citing Dr. Philip Stone, founder of the Institute of Dark tourism research at the University of Central Lancashire, or content from the Institute's website; to cross-disciplinary prospectuses relating to criminology, anthropology and literature; to hybrid arts/academic treatises. Hence, the active research body and the tourism body are implicated within each other's narratives and, in addition, stimulate and contribute to energetic narratives within media and popular cultural contexts, from which they cannot easily (and perhaps, fundamentally, should not) be unpicked. Arguably, these satellite narratives constitute an additional (dark) agency, constituted by a set of mediating and modifying 'acts' of attention and representation. The synergy of these agencies and their modal multiplicity (asking and describing, seeing and doing, showing and telling) contribute to a 'brand profile' that may arguably problematise traditional research processes.

Dark tourism becomes located within, and has embedded within it, a kind of super modernity, emphatically reflective of its contemporary cultural qualities and composition. Hence, the particular pertinence of dark tourism as a hub about which concerns around sociocultural dissonance and 'darkness' cluster: heritage dissonance, moral and ethical concerns, notions of deviance/taboo, cultural commodification, dysfunction and dystopia. Hence, dark tourism research material is generated not only within tourism contexts but within the realms of anthropology (Robb, 2009) human geography, marketing, psychology, narrative, heritage and postcolonial studies (Clarke et al, 2014).

This offers further scope to distinguish dark tourism as a phenomenon obtaining through particular convergences and combinations of cultural circumstance and social concern; and as a valid research avenue by which to approach, elucidate and engage with a variety of cross disciplinary, inherently sociocultural, issues. Conversely, dark tourism research may yet be subject to negative perception as an ambiguous subset of more robust, long-lived discourses and praxes. It seems necessary for the ongoing development and maturation of dark tourism, and to validate its identification as a mediating agency between mortality and contemporary society (Stone and Sharpley 2008; Stone 2010), that the field is not only informed by, but evidently informs, multidisciplinary research contexts; that cross-disciplinary communication, reference and ideas transfer are reciprocal.

In its appellation, academic background and themes, dark tourism as a field of academic scrutiny can be seen to mark the point at which death education and heritage tourism studies intersect within the research landscape (Roberts & Stone, 2014): at that point, a distinct structure for the configuration and analysis of distinctive and significant humanitarian behaviours, experiences and their contexts may be developed. Hence, the emerging body of dark tourism research absorbs, aligns and develops upon both historic and archetypal philosophies and materials of death and mortality, and conceptualisations of public memory, memorial and related behaviours that form a focus within the field of heritage studies. In addition to its overarching relationship with tourism studies, dark tourism's compelling associations with a range of complementary social science disciplines and discourse (addressed in Chapters 3 and 5) illuminate the concrete behaviours and real-world phenomena, and thus invigorate the scholarly investigation, of dark tourism.

This blended academic foundation and setting ensures access to, and involvement with, a relevant and remarkable multidisciplinary resource portfolio: dark tourism may be seen as both distillation and nexus of significant sociological concepts and as such, more complex and mature than the prolific, specific usage of that term in recent times may suggest. We may shed some light on aspects of dark touristic behaviours and experience through the lenses of death, heritage and tourism studies; yet, inherent assumptions within those disciplines may overlook or misinterpret the unique characteristics and essential nuances that subtly but surely differentiate dark tourism behaviours. It is through recognition and research, not only of points of

overlap with complementary theory, but of experiential and contextual singularities, that dark tourism may be more fully illuminated from within.

Examples of early travel to sites of death can be found, for example, in medieval pilgrimages and their reliquary associations and in other historical precedents (Westover, 2012). Thus, despite an increasing academic and media focus on contemporary 'dark tourism' the act of travel to such sites is not a new phenomenon (Stone 2011). Seaton (1996) traces manifestations of what he terms 'thanatourism' throughout the history of Western civilisation, and its subsequent traditions of thanatopsis – that is, the contemplation of death. Parallels are cited with the Roman gladiatorial games, early pilgrimages to sites of martyrdom, public spectacles of medieval executions, or the attraction of Waterloo which became one of the first 'mass tourism battlefields' (Seaton, 1996; Seaton, 1999; Stone, 2006).

However, Lennon and Foley's (2000) perspective on dark tourism as an ultimately postmodern phenomenon requires that the 'dark event' with which touristic behaviour concerns itself must take place 'within the memories of those still alive to validate them' (Lennon & Foley, 2000:12). Challenges to that thesis acknowledge historical behaviours, outlined above, as linear precedents to a dark tourism that is shaped by, but not limited by the chronology of, postmodernity. Certainly, the 'living memory' premise is a limiting one, whereby the dark tourism case study becomes subject to (arguably arbitrary) validation and excision: it raises interesting questions about the degrees and meaning of memory: particularly where 'dark events' leave no survivors. 'Living memory' is a profound qualifying factor in perception of (and touristic attention to) dark events and places: however, other kinds of memory may 'validate' them in different yet compelling ways (discussed in Chapter 5).

Rather than take up an exclusive standpoint on these potentially oppositional perspectives of contemporary dark tourism as *either* antecedent to thanatoptic traditions *or* as a distinct postmodern phenomenon, we may accept that aspects of both perspectives are valid. Hence, certain thanatoptic traditions are (post) modernised in order to reflect profound changes in sociocultural contexts, by which adaptive process dark tourism (itself a fluid and evolving concept) obtains. Certainly, there is an authentic conceptual relationship between historic and current behaviours in which humanistic concerns with death and mortality are somehow

carried to, and by, particular destinations; we postulate that journeys to, and encounters with, those destinations - and our recollections of them – may represent negotiation or treatment, on psychosocial levels, with those concerns. Here, in the simplest representation of dark tourism behaviour, we identify the *substance* of Death Studies – the ongoing sociocultural significance of representations and perceptions of death, and the nature of dying, that Stone (2005: 109) suggests are ‘at the crux of the dark tourism concept’. This presumed centrality of death per se is in fact, at some (perceived) Dark tourism locations, debatable: hence, ‘issues of mortality’ and ‘suffering’ are frequently twinned with, but less frequently critically appraised than, death. However, much of the vernacular and thematic material of specific dark tourism concerns is readily reflected within death/thanatological studies discourse: what meanings do societies and cultures attach to and carry away from concepts of death? What are the enduring mythologies of mortality? To what degree are they variable or evolutionary, and by means of which social institutions and mores? Conversely, which aspects of social attitudes toward death and mortality are more fundamental, archetypal and inflexible? What are the symbols and rituals of our encounters with death? For dark tourism, such philosophical material is aligned with, and pervades, touristic practices; thus, the overarching conceptual scaffolds, consequent paradigms, and concerns of tourism studies are germane to the development and understanding of specific dark tourism models & typologies.

Yet, whilst the academic canons and concepts relating to death, heritage and tourism contribute to the theoretical underpinning – and largely constitute the academic lineage – of dark tourism, this developing field must be regarded as more than a disciplinary convergence of that trio: it responds to significant exemplar of behaviours and experience, in which death, memory and travel are indeed allied, but through which we may find meanings that enlighten and are enlightened by a far broader range of sociocultural concerns (further examined in Chapter 5). Additionally, dark tourism seeks to develop upon and respond to dilemmas inherent within, and to construct original conceptual frameworks and robust bodies of research outside, its sister-fields. In Chapter 3 specific ordnances of tourism studies are examined in relation to dark tourism; however academic attitudes to death and heritage and, importantly, how dark tourism develops or redirects the, are our present concern.

## 2.1 Dark cultures of Death

In 1920 Freud (Freud, 1999) first posited the psychic parallel – and dichotomy - of a life instinct towards survival, creation and procreation, and death drives drawing human beings towards violence, destruction and decay. These drives are identified by Freud as *Eros* and *todestriebe* (death drive); the latter is referred to in some later psychoanalytical discourse as *Thanatos*, so that the personae of Ancient Greek mythology (gods of life/love and death respectively) characterise archetypal, antithetical life/death impulses. *Eros*, a biological drive toward life and associated qualities and concepts, regards death with instinctual fear; yet, *Thanatos*, a seemingly unaccountable subconscious 'death-drive' () responds compulsively to death, conflict and disintegration. *Eros* generates instinctual fear-of-death, energising human defence mechanisms of fight or flight: the conquest or avoidance of death are prerequisite to survival and to associated concepts of life, vitality and continuity. Yet, permanent conquest/avoidance are in fact impossible: our mortality is unavoidable. Conversely, *Thanatos* is predicated upon subconscious desires to encounter and interact with death, transposing responsive norms to flee or fight death and thus devaluing the status of corporeal survival. By so doing, the (metaphysical) death-drive contravenes societal compacts, based on primary physical survival instincts to resist death; and as such, locates itself within contexts of taboo.

In Freud's hypothesis, then, apparently conflicting attitudes towards death, comprising attraction and repulsion, representing the physical and the metaphysical, co-exist within the human psyche (individual and collective); but it is through societal and cultural norms that these attitudes are sanctioned, accepted or rejected. Such norms frame our cultural representations of mortality, which involve and invoke faith, symbolism and taboo to generate complex collective narratives, artefacts and behaviours. These, in turn, constitute symbolic encounters with death within sacred and profane contexts, from funerary rites and mortuary festivals to pilgrimages and séances. Such practices redefine and transgress the boundaries of the living and the dead, negotiating the polarities of *Eros* and *Thanatos* and creating liminal occasions and environments in which to do so: arguably, dark tourism represents such occasions and environments. The modes and media by which these polarised attitudes are expressed (or repressed) evolve according to sociocultural factors (including faith, politics, resource capacity and technology), that influence

social tendency and capacity to fight, flee or interact with death. Hence, cultural treatments of death and its associated concepts or qualities reveal, in their variety, the diversity of social groups; yet, in their consistency (that is, their temporal and geographical ubiquity) we uncover compelling commonalities of death-avoidance and death-wish.

The psychoanalytical concept of *Thanatos* remains a contested theory in contemporary psychoanalytical discourse: noteworthy proponents (see Chapter 4) in that discourse include Klein, Lacan and, most relevant to the current thesis, Berne. The concept, its relation to compulsive repetition and the 'pleasure principle', and consequent, resonances with dark tourism, is referenced and developed with relevance and eloquence within dark tourism literature (Buda & McIntosh, 2013; Buda, 2015b). This thesis does not adopt a Freudian analytical perspective and hereafter the terms 'fear-of-death' and 'death-drive' will more appropriately designate the impulses of repulsion and propulsion represented by the *Eros/Thanatos* hypothesis. Here, we note that the *Eros/Thanatos* paradigm serves to indicate observable psychological impulses and behavioural responses seemingly at play within thanatoptic behaviours and dark tourism; and that Freud arguably lays the foundation for contemporary analysis of sociocultural treatments of death: positing and questioning parallel human attitudes of compulsion and repulsion to death and destruction, the contradictory nature of these impulses, and their possible meanings and consequents. Furthermore, Freudian theory introduces to our enquiry concepts of the unconscious, of instinctual yet inarticulate drives and of ego, allied with notions of collectivity, social awareness and obligation: a relevant alliance in the context of this thesis and its remit.

Alongside the theories of psychoanalysis, the contemporary scholarly analysis of death, as a social science conceptualisation, owes much to early twentieth century anthropology. Investigations within that field of 'other' cultures and social psychology, enabled by the logistics and awareness of modernity, recognise the specific singularities of individual social groups; yet, it also uncovers certain and significant commonalities - recurrent mythologies, motifs and modes - representing fundamental collective concerns across our human tribe, and represented by behavioural responses to them. It is not surprising that a dominant theme within these shared human preoccupations and the customs which accumulate about them is death/mortality: its relationships with birth/immortality, with morality, and with

place and time. Robben's (2004) edited volume, referencing Frazer, Durkheim and Becker, usefully reviews key, multi-disciplinary commentary linked to the anthropology and archaeology of death. From this practical and conceptual fieldwork, we may trace the development of a contemporary dialectic that musters around instinctual fear-of or fascination with death, the changing social attitudes which frame it and associated cultural practises – in particular, mortuary rites and rituals. Those attitudinal frames may be seen as drawing upon the history of human experience (Kellehear, 2005) whilst continually evolving in tandem with human societies. Thus, not only geographical but temporal factors produce the behavioural singularities, observed by early anthropologists, which, while reflecting human diversity, nonetheless constitute the universality, of death. Hence, death and attitudes towards it become, within thanatological discourse, subject to typological reflection:

Aries' (contentious) exploration of death (Aries, 1974), Kastenbaum's (1979) 'death systems' and reactions to them represent a growing consideration and acknowledgment of powerful social shifts and their impact on perception, presentation and placement of death.

Clearly, the post-modern world encompasses multiple sociocultural frames of reference with regards to death and its societal management: diverse qualifying factors include faith, economic development and technological resource. We face complex challenges in our attempts to find conceptual universality in the context of a 'global' human society and as such, much of the criticism directed at thanatological hypotheses (including, for example, critical challenges to Aries by Charmaz, Howarth and Kellehear, 1997; and to Kastenbaum by Kellehear, 2015 and Corr, 2014) relates to a perceived lack of cultural diversity, or failure to adequately represent the gamut of social factors and variables at play, within the research scope. The discourse is at risk of schism: whereby 'Westerncentric' approaches privilege 'first-world' attitudes to death systems, particularly assumptions of (a) global (postmodern) secularity (thus, failing to acknowledge the perceptions and attitudes of faith-based societies) and (b) levels of technological, including medical, resource (thus, predicating discourse upon an arguable premise of clinical sequestration of death). Hence, it is imperative that the locus and scope of research activity or hypothesis is clearly indicated, evidenced and acknowledged within academic discourse; given these caveats (interestingly, they apply almost

equally to the discourse and theory of tourism studies, which we will encounter in the next section; and are relevant, if not explicated here) in the broader thesis context) the remainder of this chapter relates generally to the societies of economically developed nations (a more useful term I think than 'Western').

Much mid- to late-twentieth century scholarship relating, then, to the economically developed society attributes to modern (social) rites and rituals of death a means of dissociation from death: to some degree fundamentally universal in human societies but differentiated in the postmodern context by its conceptual framing within a thesis of *death-denial*. Conceptually, the social mechanisms by which death is managed function as 'shields' against public consciousness of mortality. Within the postmodern, developed society technological advances (especially as regards travel, media and communications) are deployed in the management of death: the fear-of-death drive is revealed and relieved in corporeal contexts by medical interventions that sustain, and mitigate risk to, life beyond 'natural' and domestic parameters. Such medicalisation 'conquers' death (for a time) and, arguably, supports its avoidance: setting the dying apart from the living, mediating their encounters within clinic spaces (often ritualised by time, space, behaviour and dress). Where the event of death cannot be 'conquered' it is often managed by medical intervention and subsequently mediated via funeral service industries and, hence, contained within institutional process. Here, proponents of the death-denial thesis infer, is a collective drive to conceal or deny death in the public domain. Subsequent research, developing from the death-denial premise that public death is institutionally appropriated, sets out concepts relating to sequestration of death and a consequent dichotomy of publicly absent/privately present death within contemporary (technologised) society (Giddens 1991; Mellor 1993; Mellor and Shilling 1993).

Within dark tourism research, an absent/present death paradox underpins Stone and Sharpley's (2008) seminal conceptual model. Death and dying, they suggest, are no longer 'visible' in the Western *(sic)* world (Aiken, 2000); mortuary processes are institutionalised and sequestered to medical professionals (Seale, 1998) and consequently made abstract and distant from everyday life (Zimmermann, 2007). However, the death-denial thesis, and the precision of 'public absence' as a characterisation of modern death, are challenged by critiques invoking perceived increases in public (re)presentations of death within societal domains (Kellehear,

2005). Howarth (2007, 35) goes on to argue that 'it may be that in their quest to uncover hidden death, social theorists have neglected to acknowledge the more public face of death'. Furthermore, the death-denial thesis fails to adequately address or locate 'death-drive' in its conceptual framework: expressions of postmodern dread are elucidated, yet intimations of compulsive attention to death are neglected. Here we find compelling thanatalogical research cues for dark tourism: the needful recognition and scrutiny of the 'public face of death', and of the compelling drive towards death and its associated material that apparently problematises death-denial.

Hence, Stone & Sharpley's interpretation (2008) of the absent/present death paradox develops upon the quality of 'absence': death may be sequestered from the public domain and thus serve the death-denying instinct; yet, it is (re)presented within cultural objects, media and behaviours in order to gratify the death-drive. If postmodern death is indeed invisible and institutionalised (Berger, 1967; Harrison, 2003), it may be visualised and desequestered within (popular) culture and (mass) media. Durkin (2003) suggests that collective death denial does not eliminate, and may even encourage, individual yearnings for insight into death and mortality, and that these yearnings may be fulfilled by thanatalogically themed popular culture (films, fiction, computer games); this is evidenced across a range of literature, usefully outlined by Sharpley (2009) in the contexts of television programming, music, print media, the arts, 'gallows humour' and, historically, in the motifs of folklore. From this, we may infer the possibility that the (societally managed) absence of death within certain social spheres involves, or requires, its presence elsewhere.

Here our attention is drawn to death-drive modes and their qualities of the metaphysical, symbolic, transformative, taboo; and to the symbiosis of fear-of-death and death-drive, whereby material which is unacceptable to one impulse is transferred to the zone of the other. Indeed, dark touristic praxis may itself function as a means by which certain kinds of death are de-sequestered, mediated and visually consumed in specific public domains (Stone, 2009a): transitory moments of mortality in which significant Other death is confronted and where death is rendered into *something else* that is comfortable and safe to deal with and to contemplate (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). Within that context is the possibility that death may become real (again) for the individual: its (re)presentation and

commodification render encounters with death existentially valid and therefore inevitable for the individual who wishes to gaze upon this 'Other' death (Stone and Sharpley, 2008). It may then be argued that the desequestration of death involves its transformation: its corporeal qualities made symbolic as it moves from the realm of death-denial into that of death-drive.

In a return to (archaic) Greek myth, we encounter an allegorical representation of this process through the story of the Gorgon, Medusa. Punished for transgressive behaviour linked to sex and ritual (in some versions of the myth she is raped by the god Poseidon in the temple of the goddess Athena) the beautiful Medusa transformed into an object of fear and destruction that cannot be confronted – she becomes repulsive, an object of taboo. To look directly at the head of Medusa literally petrifies the viewer: it is only as a reflection upon a shield that she is safely beheld by her slayer, the hero Perseus. Indeed, even in death the Gorgon's head retains its terrifying attributes, and ability to petrify the captured gaze: Perseus is able to use its unmediated gaze as a deadly weapon. This archetypal narrative reveals the necessity of visualising an object of fear in order to conquer it, yet the fearful impossibility of regarding the object directly. It is the reflective (not deflective) qualities of the defence mechanism (shield) which allow the conquest of the fear object. In this allegorised process, that object's deathly attributes, tellingly, cannot be negated; hence they must either be avoided, or encountered as a reflection - within the visual and symbolic, not-quite-corporeal realm. Again, we encounter, within the archetype of our shared narrative, human mythology, an articulation of complex psychological and philosophical concepts: hidden insights into collective fears and how we manage them culturally.

Hence, *mediation* is essential to our social management of fear-of-death: mediated encounters acknowledge the impossibility of its absolute absence, while serving a double function of encounters appeasement and fulfilment (of, respectively,) the death-denying instinct and the death-drive). Interpretations of such mediation as 'socially neutralising' death reflect their transformative faculty but fail to fully account for human consciousness of the impossibility of such neutralisation. Once we posit a notion of death-drive, however, we may revise that transformative proposition: rather than undergoing neutralisation, death and its associated qualities are relocated from a physical realm in which they antagonise fear, to a psychological zone in which they fulfil desire. Desire fulfilment, with regard to the

death-drive, is problematic for the conscious (social) mind: fascination with death and decay - potentially perilous to the social group – is rendered taboo, hence its expression and satisfaction may be perceived, within the collective regard, as deviant. Dark tourism sites and behaviours arguably create an infrastructure by which that expression and satisfaction is contained, and to a degree, normalised: its morbid focus may become both a theme of 'public discourse and a communal commodity upon which to gaze' (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Thus, the specific morbid material of a dark tourism site resonates with and encounters the tourist via the death-drive; by virtue of communality and commodification in the *act* of dark tourism, traces of that material may be carried into the public domain. Here, perceptions of and by the self and others are implicated, as socially unacceptable interest in death finds an application within the (partially) socially authorised mediating institution of dark tourism. To clarify this latter clause: some degree of authorisation is obtained via dark tourism's collective and ubiquitous qualities, and by its presence within multiple narratives as outlined earlier in this chapter. However, that institution and its authoritative agency are not (yet) normative: both academic and media discourse call into question the ethical and moral qualities of dark tourism and its legitimacy as a mediating cultural institution.

At later stages (Chapters 4 and 5 respectively) we revisit notions of identity and perception and the normative grounding of social institutions: in the current, thanatological, contexts, it is relevant to note dark tourism's equivocal capacity to authorise certain behaviours regarding perceptions of order and continuity which constitute 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1990; 1991). The fundamental fact of death can call into question 'the meaningfulness and reality of social frameworks' in which an individual is implicated, potentially 'shattering their ontological security' (Mellor, 1993). Hence, Stone and Sharpley's (2008) advocacy of dark tourism as a means by which the participant may 'purchase ontological security' may assume too readily its sociocultural licence to do so. That being said, the collective nature and prevalence of trips and tours to sites associated with death and disaster, and the various rationalisations provided by the tourism infrastructure in terms of educational and heritage aspects, constitute a positive cultural commentary, likely to support the 'sanctioning' of visitations to death-related destinations; just as negative cultural commentary relating to dysfunction, deviance and dystopia in dark tourism contexts may problematise it. Clearly, these

commentaries are tributary to dark touristic narratives: both sanctioning and censure will affect perceptions of place and self.

In exploring the degrees and modes of 'sanctioning' in this section, it is worth touching upon the endorsement or qualification of death as the thematic matter of dark tourism. As we outline in the next section, tourism and special events, generally, are perceived as experiences of the non-ordinary; for dark tourists that extraordinary quality is attached to incidents of death and suffering.

Stone (2009a) proposes 'certain kinds' of death can be de-sequestered and 'Other' death may be encountered via dark tourism, which Tarlow (2005) locates within 'places where tragedies or *historically noteworthy* death has occurred and that *continue to impact on our lives'*. Here, complex questions arise about how death itself may be classified, what contexts and/or characteristics affect processes whereby death is rendered remarkable. This suggests the unpleasing notion of (perceived) 'value added' death: whereby, certain factors and characteristics render death remarkable and ensure consequent (re)presentation, attention, and/or recall outside both the private sphere and the ordinary range of public, sociocultural concern. The most observable and obvious contributory factors to increased attention to death would include scale and exceptionality (of which scale is one example), outlined below with reference to dark tourism themes, events and their interpretation. However, within these generalities lie more nuanced elements, revealing sociocultural concerns that attach to death, what they mean and how they matter.

Where memorialised death is remarkable for its scale or sheer magnitude, the case is usually related to human conflict/atrocity or natural disaster/accident. Casualties of conflict and war are memorialised in, for example, Commonwealth War Graves, World War battlefield trips, war museums and memorials, which are implicated in the concept of dark tourism. In the context of atrocity, we place events of genocide and mass murder, differentiated by quality of intention; sites relating to such events belong to the 'darker' pole of Stone's spectrum and include Auschwitz Birkenau State Museum and Memorial; Rwanda; Killing Fields. Dark tourism sites are required to present or represent such scale: in the case of actual sites of atrocity and cemeteries, this is often intrinsic to the location. Scale may also be represented by, for example, the almost innumerable names inscribed onto constructed memorials.

This latter representation serves an additional function; in that it allows a degree of individualisation among the mass. Capacity to empathise is affected by (unimaginable) scale and, hence, the abstraction of compensatory 'case studies' from the 'mass' in order to apply identity to the anonymous dead: an emphasis on naming and/or visualising people in their life-contexts, is a tenet of interpretative practices within Holocaust education. Conversely, the many war-dead are represented by the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier – a characterisation of anonymity in which non-exclusivity allows greater inclusiveness of identification with the (known) dead.

Yet, dark tourism is suggestive not only of quantified but qualified extraordinary death. The tropes of dark tourism include unnatural death (tragic accident, sudden disaster, criminal or combative attack): notoriety/celebrity and extremity/peculiarity highlight the mortal event, drawing attention that, if sustained, leads to its development within memorial contexts Additional connotations attach themselves to such qualities: *celebrity* is evocative of iconic status; *extremity* - of, for example, youth (the child or innocent) or of suffering (martyrdom) – denotes archetypal motif, while *peculiarity* of death may invoke notions of ritual and symbolism. Ashworth's study (2004) of 'atrocity tourism' as one of the 'more defined' aspects of dark tourism makes specific application of these characteristics: the 'extraordinary seriousness' of atrocity is represented by scale or by 'unusualness that is out of the ordinary,' a 'bizarreness which draws the attention of the observer' to the event. By scale and exceptionality, Ashworth suggests, a further prerequisite for commodification is met: atrocity is made *knowable* and *memorable* and, hence, set within both (cognitive and memorial) realms of human consideration/consciousness.

In certain circumstances, not merely scale but scope of a mortal event is exceptional: among the dead, the range of ages, cultures, lifestyles may be notably varied; conversely, the scope may be narrow – a single family, social group or nationality. In the context of perception and interpretation, the scope of a mortal event may signify intentionality, arbitrariness and coincidence, innocence and culpability; such potential significance is highly affective and influential where issues of empathy/sympathy and identity (personal, social, or national) are in question. In terms of its symbolic and commodifiable qualities, the measure of death is exemplified within media representation of large-scale disaster: a given national or

local newspaper will invariably privilege its own citizens in the reporting of casualties, revealing national and other community identity as an affective factor. Ashworth (2004) develops upon this notion of processes of identification within touristic commodification of atrocity, positing a necessary victim/perpetrator paradigm across which the tourist may identify themselves or others.

It should be noted that certain aspects of dark tourism are not solely related to death and dying per se but take as their dark material the most desperate aspects of *lived* existence. Particular kinds of human suffering will be represented alongside, as contributing or correlating factors in, death: arguably, such suffering contributes to the enormity and tragedy that qualify 'noteworthy' death. Yet, the proposition that suffering, depravity and despair may *in themselves* support some dark touristic attentions should not be discarded: as we have seen, suffering, depravity and destruction are variously referenced as death's auxiliary qualities in the conceptualisation of dark tourism. Such issues of mortality, and related moralities, are central to the investigation of dark tourism consumption.

What, then, do we mean by mortality? Dictionary definitions[1] (from which the italicised quotes below are taken) are relevant and revealing; to be mortal is, to be *subject to death; in contrast to divine (immortal) beings; imaginable or conceivable, earthly;* something done mortally is done *fatally, causing death;* mortal enemies, combats, fears are only reconciled or allayed by death; mortal sins are most egregious, indeed, *serious enough to deprive the soul of divine grace,* and thus involving not merely physical but spiritual death. Here we find connotations of powerlessness, inferiority, subjectivity, the base and the irredeemable. Our humanity finds its darkest hours, then, in mortality: our subjectivity to death; and, I suggest, the factors outlined above (that is, suffering, disaster, tragedy) are reminders of that (feared) subjectivity. It is important that these vocabularies, commonly but not necessarily applied within the literature, are attended to: they enable us to clarify further the essential material of dark tourism.

In this respect, we can interrogate the meanings of 'darkness' in tourist destinations (and hence visitation to them touristic relations to them) in more nuanced and less subjective ways. Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum and Memorial, for example, is

[1] https://www.thefreedictionary.com/mortal

perceived as a reliquary, iconic memorial to appalling incidents and processes of death. Yet much of the interpretive focus rests upon the abysmal living spaces, dreadful daily routines and notable survival of *endured* atrocity. The focal points of a standard visit (to this and other sites of atrocity) include the signifiers of (horrific and systemic) death: a set of (replica) gallows, the 'shooting wall', representations of gas chambers and crematoria; but represented, too, are the inadequate spaces, facilities and routines, suggestive of (horrific and systemically abused) *life*. Hence, the substance of dark tourism may not be death and dying per se. This proposition of 'un-dead' dark tourism is further sustained by (dark) visitation to places of imprisonment and slavery, a significant area of research activity: while they carry implications of death, it is the iniquitous infliction of suffering, of desperate versions of 'living' at such sites, that underpin their narratives. The notoriety of Robben Island arises from its being the site of Nelson Mandela's incarceration for some 25 years; yet, Mandela did not die there. Hence, while suffering and desperate existence permeate perceptions of the site, it is not primarily associated with notorious death.

Whilst it lies outside the parameters of organised tourism, the following example reflects place fascination at a similar tangent to death. Austrian criminal Josef Fritz imprisoned his daughter and some of their children in the cellar of the family home for more than two decades: the details of their incarceration are remorselessly depraved and include the death of an infant. Following the release of the captives, ad hoc visitation to the site was managed by, consecutively, cordoning, police presence and eventually by filling in the location of abuse, the cellar, with concrete.

Arguably, in this case, the deprivation of long-lived experience – that is, a metaphorical 'lost life' – attracts public attention (at least) as much as actual, physical, loss of life. On another level, sightseers may be drawn to locations of shocking tragedies and crimes that do not, however, include known fatality. As an example: the Portuguese resort of Praia de Luz is the site of the apparent abduction, from her family's holiday accommodation, of four-year-old Madeline McCann in 2007; her whereabouts remain unknown. The case aroused extreme media interest, resurrected intermittently but consistently in the intervening decade in response to apparent developments or reported sightings; a combination of media mythology, mystery and tragedy contribute to the inclusion of the incident's key sites in tours of the area (Watts, 2008). Here, horror of the insinuated, the inferred and the

unknown work with fundamental (often unspoken) human fear of loss, of unfathomable threat, of 'fates worse than death'.

It seems that fundamental understandings of 'darkness' in dark tourism are problematised here, with relation to the uncoupling of the components of 'death and suffering'. While current typologies and analyses of dark tourism pertain to place, 'authenticity', chronology, motivation and interpretive capacity, the base matter of experience – the intrinsic qualities and themes perceived and evoked by destinations – remains, I suggest, substantially under-explored. Further, constructive distinctions and elucidations of dark tourism will be supported by more detailed analysis of how tourists perceive or conceive of quality of life and quality of death: the affective distinction between incidents of assumed/presumed/near- death and objectively evidenced 'known' death; determining those aspects and levels of suffering that equate to, or are intuited and felt as, ''fates worse than' death. These are related to notions of authenticity (see Chapter 3), yet I suggest that such notions cannot effectively be approached until we are clear on what elements or concepts of darkness are (or are not) being authenticated in dark tourism experiences.

Another potential problematising factor (touched upon earlier in the chapter) in placing dark tourism as a mediating institution of mortality, specific to postmodern, globalised contexts, is the diversity of socio-cultural frames that surround death and dying. Particularly, the 'secular society' frequently assumed within the discourse of dark tourism is populated by significant numbers of non-secular citizens; importantly (and as yet relatively unexplored within the literature) dark tourism sites may often be located within non-secular societies. Hence, multiple dimensions of meaning rightly prevent the application of unconditional typologies and require consideration of a broad range of societal and cultural, as well as personal, factors. Kearl (2003:1) suggests that certain attitudes and expressions of mortality are prescribed by social symbolism: 'languages, arts, and religious and funerary rituals' of cultures, each with a unique and 'coherent mortality thesis whose explanations of death are so thoroughly ingrained that they are believed to be right by its members'. This perspective is followed and expanded by Foote (1997:6) regarding attitudes towards violence and tragedy and their close alignment with cultural values.

Yet, and as Seaton notes, 'death is the one heritage that everyone shares and it has been an element of tourism longer than any other form of heritage' (Seaton, 1996: 234). This fundamental heritage commonality, particularly its most essential and archetypal associated human meanings, underpins an understanding of how and why 'dark' material attaches so readily to the mass and diversity of 'tourism'. The ceremonies, modes and narratives of private death are, perhaps, predicated upon familiar and local detail; but exceptional (public) death works on the larger scale of universal iconography. If 'psychoanalytically, the symbolic is the primary mechanism to shield the human from the real of existence (which) touches us in the form of…death' (MacCannell, 2011) then the connotations of archetype within exceptional death, aligned with the notion of the tourist as semiotician (explored more fully in Chapter 4), alert us to the use of *signs* as we question how and why tourist trails lead to landscapes of disaster. Consequently, dark tourism research may be redirecting traditional thanatoptic discourse away from a schismatic argument in which death is *either* concealed *or* revealed; toward different mediations and even metamorphoses of death that respond to psychic needs and are located within particular behaviours, institutions and transactions.

## 2.2 Dark Cultures of Dissonant Heritage

The postmodernist turn taken by tourism studies in the late twentieth century is concurrent not only with the genesis of dark tourism and other, conceptually directed, tourisms, but with the evolution of existing theorisations of tourist behaviour from modernist to postmodern paradigms.

This matches shifts in touristic interest in 'traditional' mass tourism and package holidays to postmodern tourism (Munt 1994), characterized by pursuit of new destinations and experiences. Light (2000:153) suggests an 'increasing tendency to intellectualise holidays, with an emphasis on study and learning…' is evidenced by the representation of social concerns, including environmental issues and awareness of indigenous cultures, and travel experiences that reflect them. Descriptive tourisms, including dark tourism, adventure tourism and ecotourism, express the avenues by which tourists seek to increase their own cultural capital: existing notions of 'cultural tourism' activity are broken down by this pluralisation of interest, and certain of its representations and associated agendas evolve into

‘heritage tourism’. Subsequent, enhanced theoretical convergence of tourism with heritage studies emphasises useful perspectives upon (dark) tourism frameworks and transactions. Logan and Reeves (2009) introduce the term ‘difficult heritage’ in their thoughtful consideration of sites dealing with genocide sites, political imprisonment and violent conflict. The term and its case studies suggest potential, relevant convergence with dark tourism research, yet only one specific reference is made (Young’s (2009) chapter on Auschwitz-Birkenau) to dark tourism concepts within the text. Arguably, dark tourism has yet to be fully recognised as a mutually relevant cross-referential discipline in heritage studies contexts, and it may be relevant to note that such references as are made in the literature frequently relate to the ‘darkest’ shades of tourism. However, White and Frew (2013), in their examination of sites of ‘dark heritage’ (an interesting hybrid term), suggest an emergent tendency in broader heritage research to evoke dark tourism tropes, where given sites and their associations relate to profound and historic human experience. Furthermore, specific analysis from the dark tourism canon, relating especially to the iconic sites at ‘darker’ poles of dark tourism’s positional spectrums (such as Holocaust sites (Beech, 2009), places of atrocity (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005), prisons and slavery-heritage attractions crime sites (Wilson, 2008; Dalton, 2013; Dann and Seaton, 2001; Rice, 2009) and the memorial behaviours and themes they express) offers new perspectives upon issues of heritage dissonance and displacement. The locations of ‘dark heritage’ carry extraordinary semiotic weight and memorial material, and such uncanny significances influence not only public perception and visitor behaviours, but research approaches and processes.

Such influences may relate to notions of appropriateness, deviance and taboo, which are touched upon at a later point in this chapter. While traditional notions of ‘tourist motivation’ are underpinned by supply/demand paradigms, and thus vulnerable to interpretations of morbid curiosity, the motivations of some (apparently) dark tourists may correlate so closely with those of heritage, pilgrimage and special interest tourists, (Hyde and Harman, 2011; Kang et al., 2012) that to infer a particular interest in death and/or mortality is speculative or even illogical. As we have seen, contemporary tourist concerns to describe their experience as educational or acquisitive of cultural capital overlap with heritage motivation; furthermore, the nostalgic capacity of heritage speaks to touristic ‘yearning for a past they can no longer find in their own social settings’ (Dann and Potter 2001:7).

When these authors describe ‘a world where it was once possible to distinguish right from wrong…pleasure from pain’ they suggest that historicity is endowed in contemporary thought with a moral simplicity, compounded by binaries of good and evil connoted by sites of atrocity. Furthermore, connotations of ‘heritage’ and associated educative and interpretive activity defuse perceptions that ‘search for spectacle has replaced the respect for solemnity’ (Rojek, 1993:141, on tombs at Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris) at sanctified sites, and consequent identity affects; authority and authenticity are assumed at ‘primary’ locations. Such considerations may partially constitute motivation to visit, but equally they qualify – even justify – intention to visit.

Closed supply/demand paradigms arguably represent the tourist body as more culturally reactive to, than directive of, heritage institutions; yet, the designation of dark tourist locations is influenced by public pressure, represented by visitation to emergent sites and the socio-cultural values with which it endows heritage environments. Designation of space according to social use and meaning-making evidences the psychologised processes that inform treatment of communal landmarks and landscapes. Where such landscapes relate to significant conflict, violence or tragedy, intense controversies may arise around their use and development. Jansen-Verbeke and George (2012) observe changing identifications of ‘war landscapes’ over the last century as, successively, *memoryscapes, heritage landscapes* and *tourism landscapes.* The dark tourism lexicon adds ‘*deathscapes*’ to this taxonomy.

Foote’s (1997) examination of sites associated with tragic events, revisited more fully in contexts of place identity in Chapter 4, categorises prevailing conceptual stages in processes by which (dark) heritage sites are designated as locations of public memorial. This flexible model considers the creation of temporary memorials as a rapid response to events, and the slower metamorphoses or considered constructions of permanent memorial sites, as informed and influenced by a diverse set of stakeholders and cultural, historical, ideological and other factors. Furthermore, it examines the connectivities and difference between temporary, permanent and obliterated memorials and their function in social remembering and forgetting. In some cases, agents of social authority may avoid spontaneous (non-authorised) designation through preventative obliteration, especially where associations of deviance and taboo obtain (for example the local

authority-sponsored demolition of the house inhabited by, and witness to the violent crimes of, Fred and Rosemary West in the UK). Conversely, the Whitehall Cenotaph in London, originally intended by the state as a temporary monument (to be obliterated), received permanent designation through the pressure of public opinion: the site was sanctified through mass visitation. This exemplifies, in heritage contexts, 'more or less spontaneous gestures of public emotion, as often occurs after wars or public disasters, and the needs they create' (Benton, 2010: 1). Future research around the lifecycles (designatory stages) of dark tourism sites and the interactions which shape them should support broader understanding, and facilitation, of the tourist as participant in the construction and perception of heritage, and associated qualities of authority and authenticity; thus, displacing representations of the dark tourist as passively consuming commodified exhibits of death, disasters Lisle (2007) and acknowledging relationships between cross-cultural participation, narrative congruence, and expressions of sociocultural need. In contexts of heritage and public memory, Benton (2010:1) describes the presentation or construction of 'monuments and ceremonies that attempt to meet these needs, and to match the inevitable differences in a 'collective' memory of the event in question' as both the function of, and challenge to, heritage institutions (dark or otherwise).

At sites of trauma of international and historic significance, physical and moral spaces may be required to enclose and represent diverse narratives and needs. The role of participating communities, including tourist communities, is critical in ensuring the success of such sites: thus, avoiding the obliteration of place and the memories it contains and represents. As we have seen, acts of visitation recognise and construct memorial place, but also, by repetition, set patterns for memorial behaviours. Related theories around social change are relevant to the effective functioning of memorial sites, especially those touching upon individual/group agency to influence significant institutions: Touraine's theories of social action and cultural orientation are usefully exemplified by Boog's (2003) discussion of members of social movements 'stimulated to reflect on their collective identity as part of the 'historicity' (the dynamic social world) they lived in. This reflection was to result in a clear collective narrative, a project for the social world as they wanted it to be.'

The preceding discussion has led us to question the various means and modes by which heritage sites achieve cultural authentication, including perceived narrative authority; and, to consider the ambiguity of these terms in modern heritage contexts. In the latter half of the twentieth century, heritage studies increasingly privilege the role of memory in identifying what is important in society, and the development of heritage systems built on and around memory and meaning, rather than, necessarily, on fact and artefact. Benton (2010, 1) reveals a heritage/tourism convergence (and echoes Boog, above), emphasising 'the power of collective memory, where large or small groups within society share an idea of what happened in the past and why it was important, translates into patterns of tourism.' Clearly, where such groups hold ideas, and perceptions of importance, which are not shared (either with other groups, or with others within a group) their translation is likely to be problematic. Where memories relate to events of trauma, violence and/or conflict, the likelihood of difference in perception of the past is increased; where diverse cultures and faith systems are factors, narrative discord may be further exacerbated. For this reason, the memorialisation of extraordinary events and efforts to acknowledge multiple memorial narratives may be fundamentally problematized in modern cultural heritage contexts (contexts in which dark touristic transactions obtain). Here, we encounter situations where memory and its translation (in this chapter's context, heritage and tourism) becomes discordant, and we find reflection of those situations in developing conceptual discourse relating to difficult, displaced and/or dissonant heritage.

Usefully, and relevant to touristic concerns, the developing reach of heritage scholarship allows academic focus to be directed upon the real-world functioning of heritage sites, and specific contemporary dilemmas encountered in their management. Perceptions and interpretations of (especially cultural) heritage in modern 'multicultural' societies, and in visitation to 'other' culture, are ambiguous: they necessitate consideration of justifiable contestation of heritage and perceived dissonance between 'closed' heritage narratives and 'open' experience and memory. Such considerations are the nucleus of much of the recent literature on heritage messaging and meaning-making systems (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007; Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005; Poria & Ashworth, 2009) which may provoke heritage dissonance or even displacement.

Ashworth's examination (2008) of historic trauma and violence and its implications for heritage tourism resonates with, although its agenda clearly differs from, dark tourism research.

## 2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the 'darkness' of dark tourism through the lens of death studies and its concerns with social rendition and/or representation of death, relating such representation to an archetypal fear of, and fascination with, death and its related symbolism. As such, social behaviours relating to perceptions and representations of death are revealed as complex, symbolic, psychologised processes: thus, they cannot be read as literal, linear or necessarily logical behaviours and, furthermore, are subject to sociocultural variables. Such social behaviours incorporate complex notions of the 'quality' of death, the ambiguous process of dying and decay, and the collective meaning that can be ascribed to them. Significantly, the boundaries of life and death are blurred by the mediating functions that obtain in human societies: 'life-in-death' and 'death-in-life' are conceptualised in funerary ritual, in religious philosophy, in human narratives of myth and media, and in the memorial behaviours and tropes of heritage systems. Therefore, this chapter suggested that the field of heritage studies will offer useful indicators to collective behaviours and metanarratives, by which means societies seek to mediate their relationships with death and to frame potentially dissonant heritages.

The subject matter of death, allied with the complex behaviours of social memory, leads to specific and critical contemporary concerns. The interests, literature and discourse of death studies, cultural heritage and dark tourism evidently converge and cluster readily where themes of war and social conflict, memory and mortality, and cultural identity are in question. In contemporary tourism praxis, too, interpretation of these themes is understandably prone to concerns about inclusion, exploitation, sensitivity and appropriateness, and vulnerable to ideological shifts. Ethical obligations are highlighted in relevant discourses relating to the development of codes of ethics in disaster tourism (Kelman and Dodds, 2009), and there may be a perceived responsibility (or indeed political direction) to support or engage on some level with conflict resolution processes, including rehabilitation

and reintegration, especially in pedagogic and interpretation activity. Logistical concerns around post-disaster touristic redevelopment are expressed in specialist literature (see, for example, World Tourism Organisation/World Meteorological Organisation, 1998). Developing (dark) touristic opportunities are an increasing, perhaps inevitable, feature of post-war and (often extreme) shifting political contexts as subsequent shifts in logistical and/or political infrastructures allow access to physical memorial legacies of violence and conflict (see Chapter 3, but for example Cold War landscapes following the collapse of European Communism, post-apartheid South Africa or post-Khmer Rouge Cambodia).

The practical possibility of travelling to landscapes of conflict and atrocity is one kind of influencing factor in their evolution as tourist destinations; their historic and human significance is clearly another. It is likely, then, that research and praxis of dark tourism will continue to find significant, perhaps growing, mutuality with those of cultural heritage (and indeed other associated fields): particularly as heritage concerns and systems are further globalised by major institutions such as UNESCO, and as developments in new and social media further democratise the ways by which social narratives are shared and represented. These social narratives are likely to radicalise, even revolutionise, the limited frame of cultural reference currently applied to issues of death and mortality: it is remarkable that pilgrimages to Mecca, the different social functions and characteristics of Indian and Belgian Commonwealth War Graves, to cite quite explicitly relevant examples, are not, in the light of their shared themes of mortality, mobility and heritage, subject to dark tourism analyses.

Given that mass tourism activity as a contemporary phenomenon relates to, is informed by and impacts upon a host of sociocultural factors, on local and global scales, it is inevitable that themes of conflict, mortality and memory will feature within its mobile landscape. Dark tourism research finds its focus where these axes of dark heritage and tourism meet: their resonance and/or dissonance informs the unique characteristics and qualities of this intersection, which is enacted within and by the sites and *seers* of dark tourism (Chapter 4). In this chapter I have set out salient concepts from studies in death and heritage, forming the first axis by which we may map understanding of dark tourism; in the following chapter, its second axis is drawn through attention to the conceptual frameworks and critical challenges of tourism studies.

## CHAPTER THREE Dark Matters in Tourism Studies

### 3.0 Introduction: People, objects and cultures migrate

Humanity is a travelling species, its history patterned by migrations to new environments and climates, expeditions of colonisation and discovery, and journeys in search of the sacred, the exotic and the beloved. Shared human narratives of (secular and religious) mythology, folklore and fable reveal the rich values and meanings attached to circuitous journeys to and from home, represented and characterised by recurrent motifs and archetypal figures. In the pantheon of Greek mythology (Collins and Fishbane, 1995; Leeming, 2005) Hermes is designated god not only of travellers, but of commerce and games, transitions and boundaries; their conceptual affinity is suggested by their alliance within shared immortal patronage. Furthermore, as messenger of the gods, interceding between them and the mortal world, and guide to souls on the journey to the underworld, Hermes performs a set of roles that speak to (dark) tourism's correlation of meaning, mobility and mortality. Mortal heroes of Greek myth, exemplified by Jason and Odysseus, undertake epic voyages to, through and from supernatural or martial dystopias; such dystopic journeys, originally and especially to the underworld (undertaken by Odysseus in heroic, and by Orpheus in tragic, contexts), and successful return from them, are formally recognised in the conventions of Greek mythology (designated as *kata basis* and *anabasis* respectively). The (live) return journey from the 'other' world, often associated with acquisition of knowledge or completion of a quest, endows the traveller with more-than-mortal qualities and is a pan-cultural mytheme: hence, we discover archetypal material in voyage/return to 'other'/familiar worldplaces, associated with notions of quest, fulfilment and identity and related to concepts of mortality. These universal themes represent significant human behaviours and attempts to explain and express them through narrative characterisation; in this sense, the literary canon of tourism studies is not only informed by, but represents a specific form of, mythmaking processes.

In the opening chapter to *Travelling Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory,* Rojek and Urry (1997:1) introduce issues of tremendous complexity with the deceptively simple statement that 'people, cultures and objects migrate': from these three elements, we can and do infer almost infinite connotations of human

mobility, meaning, behaviours and perceptions on physical and metaphysical planes. We might add to Rojek and Urry's trilogy that ideas also migrate, across culture, time, and across the domains of philosophy and academia; the scholarly study of tourism is a moving body, attending to a (literally) mobile subject. While far exceeding the scope of this thesis, key developments in tourism studies and the factors which influence them are of course salient to an understanding of dark tourism as both a human phenomenon and as a research field; dark tourism research is persistently framed by the contexts and received tenets of tourism studies scholarship, yet in significant ways, related not only to its subject matter but to its deep resonance with other academic and cultural domains, it problematises and resists them.

'Tourism' formalises and (post)modernises our understanding of voyages made with the expectation of returning home. It finds historical resonance, and precedents, in pilgrimages to view and visit relics and sacred spaces of faith and belief systems, still implicated in contemporary tourism; and in the 'Grand Tours' undertaken by a wealthy (North European) elite from the seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, following itineraries tracing historical landmarks and ruins of distant, mythical or lost civilisations. Facets of both exemplar - the reliquary sights of pilgrimage; the ancient sites of battlegrounds and mausoleums - resonate with dark tourism territories and are suggestive of inherent life-and-death qualities (or life-in-death liminalities) as the focal point of human journeys. In more general touristic terms, both kinds of journey are particularised by intentionality and comprised of visual and kinetic acts: *identification* of sights, or sites, worth seeing by virtue of certain qualities and meanings attached to them by given cultural or social groups; *movement* to and from these agreed destinations according to planned stages or itineraries; and the *observation,* also according to itinerary, of people, places and things. Opportunity to travel, and details of distance and destination, are historically predicated by social, cultural and economic factors including fashion, habit and tradition, faith, social status, resource (including transport and knowledge); and these represent various means by which exclusivity and, arguably, glamour attach to the figure of the (pre-twentieth century) traveller. However, it is salient to note that the travelling cultures of trade, colonialism and warfare, and the collective and individual experiences that constitute them, are significant exemplar of 'travelling cultures': merchants, pedlars, sailors and soldiers are also sightseers,

collectors of souvenirs and tellers of travellers' tales; the influence of trade routes upon modern-day mobilities and, specifically, the consequences of colonisation and conflict upon contemporary dark tourism contexts, are of immense significance. Indeed, these 'non-leisure' tourists represent a greater majority, and diversity, of experience than the pilgrim or Grand Tourist; yet, they represent a hidden aspect of tourism's sociocultural lineage, theoretically invalidated by the 'working' quality of their journeys, in which leisure is not the primary driver. It is interesting to consider that the retrospective application of contemporary theories on the de-differentiation of work and leisure (to which we return later in this section) to the experiences of these 'working tourists' would significantly expand the historical narrative of tourism behaviour and agency.

That received narrative maintains a focus upon 'Western', largely privileged, (Grand) tourists whose perceived exclusivity is, at the turn of the twentieth century, diminished by various social factors linked to industrialisation. 'Mass mobility' is exemplified by the advent, with 'Cook's Tours', of 'mass tourism'; transport systems and relocations become habitual rather than extraordinary; employment laws and changing belief systems modify notions of 'leisure' as the collective 'holy day' evolves to become the individual's 'holiday' or 'day off'. The ways in which 'days off' are spent as 'days out' may be regarded as a form of domestic tourism, historically and currently: day trips to parks and gardens, to the countryside and the coast, to galleries, museums and landmarks, are short-term and small-scale tours manifesting touristic instincts to leave home and go to/do/see things in other places. They direct us to closer examination of leisure pursuits as a means of understanding certain touristic processes that predate, and prevail over, a perceived 'tradition' of tourism as one or two weeks of holidaymaking in warmer climes, often in family groups. That 'tradition' is a mid-late twentieth century archetype of luxury, hedonism, happiness and play, of specific relevance and meaning to its surrounding societal and cultural frames; its twenty-first century counterpart is an emergent, arguably postmodern, archetype of diversity, mobility and ambiguity. Both are traced, in the literature of tourism, to historic archetypes reflecting (largely 'Western') concepts and hegemonies: thus, notions and modes of tourism, general or academic, are recognised expressions of changing cultural values and concerns through acts of travel. Some of those acts are described as dark tourism, because the tourist is going to/doing/seeing things in places variously associated with death,

tragedy and despair; its observable behaviours tally with, yet its place associations seemingly conflict with, familiar (recent) archetypes of tourism. Is dark tourism, then, an iconoclastic phenomenon, or simply miscategorised? An exception to the 'rules' of tourism studies, or exemplary of new ones?

Despite ongoing debate over what is and what is not 'dark tourism' (in chronological, spatial and experiential contexts), that contested term is increasingly applied within academic and public contexts, likely contributing to its status as one of the most popular forms of tourism for academic study (Hartmann, 2005). Revealing a clear disciplinary grounding in tourism studies, such approaches are often predicated upon models of supply/demand (revisited in 3.1); hence, they pay significant attention to the categorisation of (a) touristic consumption (Seaton, 1996; Dann, 1998; Sharpley, 2005) and/or (b) diverse sites and 'products', and to analyses of their attributes, features and interpretations (Henderson, 2000; Lennon & Foley, 1996; Stone, 2006; Stone, 2011; Strange & Kempa, 2003). A supply/demand paradigm is further challenged in 'thirdway' appraisals of touristic motivations (Slade, 2003; Bigley et al, 2010; Hyde & Harman, 2011; Le & Pearce, 2011), experiences (Best, 2007; Iles, 2008; West, 2010; Cohen, 1979a, 1979b; Knudsen, 2011), and behaviours (Gössling et al, 2010; Podoshen & Hunt, 2011).

Yet, expression of dark tourism within research and academic contexts is variable. Dependent upon and located within institutions of tourism and tourism studies, it is likely that much of dark tourism's material, methodology and philosophy is inherited not only from an overarching academe, but from the discrete institutional identities and agendas it comprises. Hence, an understanding of dark tourism's own disciplinary DNA will support necessary appraisal, rather than assumption, of tourism studies' attitudes and approaches and their validity with regard to dark tourism.

## 3.1 Tourism Studies: a brief history

Appraisals of tourism and its theorised historical precedents reveal the multitude of social, cultural and economic contexts in which this phenomenon obtains, is defined and expands (see Korte et al's sociocultural study of British tourism and its semiotic systems (2002); Beech and Chadwick's (2006:3-21) useful overview of socioeconomic factors implicated in the remarkable expansion and progression of

the tourism industry). Prior to a mid-twentieth century tipping point, the phenomenon of recreational travel is generally the literary subject of 'broad "philosophers" or lone individuals' (Graburn and Jafari, 1991:2, introducing a useful tourism scholarship retrospective) including anthropologists and historians appraising visited, 'other' (past or distant) cultures; this might be regarded as the *first moment* of tourism research, following Denzin and Lincoln's (1995) largely authoritative appraisal of research traditions. Contemporary contemplation of tourism requires the synthesis of *historic* and *strange* with *current* and *familiar* qualities: acts of tourism are undertaken in the consciousness of being, or being thought to be, a tourist; visited destinations are unfamiliar, but not unknown, by means of media and other (sometimes touristic) representations. Furthermore, its context is one of critical mass: expansion and progression of tourism is reflected in the emergence of tourism studies, in the 1960s, as a distinct academic field with attendant institutions and literary culture (Baretje-Keller, 2007): the *second moment* of tourism studies. The advent of postmodernity within social, cultural and political domains accords the established and observable human pursuit of leisure travel unprecedented scope, accessibility and scale in general and specific contexts. Hence, its modes and means undergo rapid evolution, requiring new sets of services and systems to support ever-expanding needs relating, of course, to mobility and communication, but also to associated, conceptualised sociocultural behaviours (for example, those of memorial, ritual and display, that are not only contained within, but represented by, tourism). Many, perhaps most, of these evolutionary, interdependent shifts are transitory - stages in an ongoing revision of *how, when* and *where* we 'do'; far more enduring, and here we touch on the conceptual core of tourism studies, is the seemingly baffling issue of what we are doing, and why.

The emergent field of tourism studies responds to two agents: firstly, a *tourism service sector,* evolving from the services and systems outlined above, that is responsive to and reflective of societal change; secondly, an (identified) *tourist body,* engaging with that sector in specific places, at and for certain times. Despite their co-dependencies and intersections, the sector and the body have tended to be regarded as discrete entities between which a more or less predictable relationship exists within defined parameters of space and time (the holiday). This binary template, illustrated by Sharpley's (2011) distinction between study of 'the tourism sector that supplies' and 'the tourist as the consumer of' experience, is an enduring

underpinning device for much conceptualisation of tourism. Not least, it shapes and divides research orientation, setting *tourism management* and *touristic experience* as research focal points that have tended toward appropriation within the respective realms of business management and sociology. Thus, the ontological foundations of tourism studies are rendered schismatic: divided into two 'camps', each with different disciplinary origins and, hence, research reference frames, agendas and methodologies. This compartmentalisation of the field has enduring impacts upon research outputs and alignments, and, significantly, upon the way in which tourism studies is taught and perceived in a range of environments. While detailed appraisal of tourism studies as an academic discipline, its conflicts and conceptualisations lies beyond the parameters of this chapter, a brief overview of (i) tourism (business) management and (ii) sociological orientations should preface an outline of (iii) tourism studies as the sum of its parts. Subsequently (3.2), I outline those key thematic developments, problematised and emergent conceptualisations and research approaches that (within this aspect of its theoretical inheritance) most critically inform dark tourism's ongoing conceptual development.

*(i)* Tourism (business) management perspectives regard the material of tourism studies largely through the lens of a service industry (and its attendant interests and processes) developing symbiotically with increasing access to, and interest in, planned travel opportunities. The social democratisation of tourism, contingent upon diverse developments in socio-political and –cultural domains and associated logistical advances (particularly in transport and communications technologies) is particularly noteworthy in the context of what Uriely (2005:199) describes as 'advanced industrialised societies'. We previously noted a preoccupation, in thanatological research contexts, with the 'western' or developed world perspective and experience: a similar tilt has obtained within the field of tourism studies because of the particular makeup of the tourist body and of tourism service providers - that is, its higher echelons - in which developed, highly resourced regions dominate (although we will return to the issue of hegemonic shifts, and other changing parameters, later in this chapter). A further, cultural privilege is bestowed upon service industry management perspectives and agendas: that industry, after all, is fundamentally implicated in the processes of underwriting, content contribution to, and distribution of research outputs. Hence, a significant proportion of the scholarship is framed by business models (Franklin & Crang,

2001; Sharpley, 2011) of supply and demand, assuming and describing specific relational facets of people and place.

Criticism is evoked when that frame is applied not only as a discrete perspective within specific research projects, but as an overarching conceptualisation: Rojek and Urry (1997:2) suggest that vital issues of socio-cultural practice are thus 'deliberately' abstracted so that tourism is interpreted 'only... as a set of economic activities'. That 'service-dominant logic' (Vargo and Lusch, 2004) may exacerbate research tendencies towards etic over emic approaches (see Pearce, 2005; following Pike, 1964 and Gottlieb, 1982), so that templates of theoretical assumption frame and shape research activity (Tribe's concept of the knowledge forcefield (2006) provides interesting and insightful contexts for this). Certainly, the premise and suggestive vocabularies of 'supply and demand' is profoundly and persistently influential not only upon tourism management approaches towards, but upon sociological conceptualisations of, touristic experience and motivation. Franklin and Crang's (2001:6) concerns that tourism (or our understanding of it) 'has become fetishized as a thing, a product, a behaviour – but in particular an economic thing' speak to a reductive, even mythologising capacity within descriptive discourses that are confined within the parameters of supply/demand, and other binary, models.

Further compartmentalisation obtains at the bedrock of business management approaches to tourism in which, as Buck (1978) observes (and, consequently, Jafari (1990), Leiper (1990) and Echtner & Jamal (1997) note) two distinct attitudes emerge: toward business enterprise/development on the one hand, and toward impacts/externalities on the other, each with identifiably different research focuses (respectively, upon profit and growth, or upon host nations and cultures) and specialisms. Both are relevant: mutually, and to the broader (sociological) discourses; yet where such mutuality is underdeveloped, this duality represents additional vulnerability within an arguably fractured field.

Nevertheless, the focus directed by the business management 'school' upon the actualities and connectivities of tourism, its real-time developments and dependencies, is a grounding device within the field of tourism studies: its empirical fieldwork can and does afford a substantial set of information and insights into the 'doing' of tourism: behavioural patterns and trends, modes and efficacy of messaging, and their respective and mutual effects and shifts. These insights relate

not only to the 'nuts and bolts' of tourism management perspectives, but to broader sociological conceptualisations that form a parallel, but occasionally and notably convergent, theoretical set.

*(ii)* Sociological perspectives upon tourism practice acknowledge how it may reveal and characterise particular social conditions and attitudes: acts and contexts of tourism are read as intense social texts supporting interpretation of significant sociocultural concerns whilst retaining paradoxical or elusive qualities (that may frustrate the descriptive templates of business management perspectives, and critics of 'fuzzy' research orientations and outputs).

The specific sociological footings of tourism can be traced to oppositional discourse in the1970s, in which the 'text' of tourism is subjected to dual readings taking (arguably generalising) tourism as a modern phenomenon from differing perspectives: firstly, in the realm of social criticism (Boorstin, 1964; Barthes, 1972; Turner and Ash, 1975) in which the qualities of tourism are largely decadent and inauthentic, its acts directed toward simulation and artifice and ultimately lacking in meaning-making value. That perception is challenged by commentators (notably MacCannell, 1976) positing tourism as the pursuit of 'authenticity' in an increasingly un- 'real' world, and the challenges and responses that pursuit evokes in the context of ambiguous 'elsewheres'. Both conceptualisations share certain assumptions about the essential modernity of tourism; and about an abstruse 'authenticity' that, if described and defined, may universally qualify touristic experience. Yet, the 'authenticity' motif is an enduring one, implicated (with varying degrees of separation) across the discourse of tourism studies over several decades and thus into the realms of postmodern critique. The shift toward postmodern conceptualisations of tourism is presaged by Cohen's (1979a) study, breaking down the edifice of standardised 'touristic experience' to reveal 'different kinds of people' seeking 'different kinds of experience': and, accordingly, having different kinds of motivation, different perceptions of 'authenticity'. While pluralisation is the postmodern keynote, the prevailing notion of tourism as 'quest' (for real or contrived authenticity, for 'other' in place of familiar) is fundamentally implicated in scholarly attention to motivational factors and scales of expectation/satisfaction; hence, to the nature of touristic experience itself (Csíkszentmihály, 1975; Mannell, 1980; Neulinger, 1981; Mannell and Iso-Ahola, 1987; Quan & Wang 2004; Uriely 2005). Following Cohen (1979a), that discourse

upon experiential factors addresses ‘difference’: highlighting the figure of the tourist (further discussed in Chapter 3) and the attitudes, roles and functions they may undertake. This latter concern informs Urry’s (1990) concept of the tourist ‘gaze’, expanding the philosophical scope of the ‘authenticity’ debate to examine its manifold circumstantial and relational corollaries and contexts.

I have outlined above certain aspects of sociological discourse within the realms of tourism studies, salient to the discussion of dark tourism later in this chapter; that overview does not attempt to encompass the prolific and diverse range of material that surrounds, problematises and secedes from them. It is largely acknowledged that there is 'no single sociology of tourism' (Dann & Cohen, 1991:157), despite strenuous efforts to appraise (Cohen, 1985; Apostolopoulos, 1996; Dann and Liebman Parrinello, 2009) what such a 'tourismology' (Jovicic, 1988:2) might comprise. Reaching 'toward a sociology of tourism' Dann & Cohen (1991:157) set out exemplary philosophical perspectives (briefly, and not exclusively: developmental, neo-Durkheimian, critical, Weberian, phenomenological and symbolic interactionist) that explain and evidence the pluralism of sociological interpretations of tourism and its 'many domains and focuses' (Dann and Cohen, 1991:167). And of course, the range of interdisciplinary approaches to tourism shoring up the research body is significant: Jafari & Ritchie (1981) theorise five main disciplines at play within related research (economics, sociology, psychology, geography and anthropology); Jamal and Robinson's (2009) handbook presents a series of approaches incorporating those disciplines, plus tourism's sister-field of hospitality, anthropology, cultural and media studies, history, development studies and politics (cross-referencing those approaches with key topics and perspectives that in turn call to and upon other disciplines and research fields). Thus, the sociological canon and its substantial auto-analytical discourse (see Cohen, 1985; Apostoulopoulos, 1996; Urry, 2003), reveals and contributes to a critical, and likely irreducible, diversity of relational, philosophical and methodological matters at play within the controversial realm of tourism studies.

(iii) Recognising a basic duality in the epistemological and ontological foundations of tourism studies need not preclude development of mutuality in interest or output: Cohen's (1985) sociological representation of four thematic research component*s* (touristic motivation/experience/role; tourist and host relations/perspectives; tourism system structure; socio-cultural and -economic

impacts) reveals the 'knowledge-based platform' (Jafari, 2001) not only potentially informing, but informed by, management-focussed platforms. Yet these platforms are largely compartmentalised: the knowledge-based platform speaks to an 'intellectual void' (Dann, 2000:368) or, at least, cross-platform messaging is lost in translation.

The deficiency of cross-platform interfaces, essential to coherent and integrated research outputs (and, indeed, to collaborative and educational activity), elicits critical challenges regarding mismatched or incomplete methodological practices; Cohen (1985) suggests that many and varied conceptual and theoretical approaches lack grounding in rigorous test processes, while prolific field studies lack clear theoretical navigation and, hence, contribute little to theory building. This dichotomy reflects a new branch on the academic faultline we have been following: now, dividing the scholarly landscape of tourism studies into territories of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Studies adopting the former approach, tending toward quantification of phenomenal generation of movement and revenue (Riley & Love, 2000), are rigorous but arguably limited in interest and lacking in dimension; conversely the field's seminal work and key conceptualisations represent the 'often acute insights' obtained through 'often-loose qualitative methodology' (Cohen, 1988). Examination of research methodologies is outside the scope of the current study, yet it is useful to acknowledge their place in understanding the fractured narrative and ambiguous identity of tourism studies - and, subsequently, those of dark tourism. In their illuminating review of qualitative research within the field, Riley & Love (2000) demonstrate that representation of these dual methodologies within journals and monographs is historically divided. The developing (late 1960s/early 1970s) field of tourism studies affiliates with and represents management approaches and related quantitative methodologies, and they form the majority of journal articles and monographs; while early ground-breaking sociological studies, taking largely qualitative approaches (for example, Cohen, 1972, 1979a, 1979b; Forster, 1974; MacCannell, 1973) are published outside that discrete literary culture (and identity), locating themselves in cross-disciplinary contexts as 'an alternative to the existing, positivist, managerially oriented material which predominates' (Franklin & Crang, 2001:5).

It is plausible to view this duality as the junction, or rather uneasy coexistence, of the modernist *second moment* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1995) of tourism research, with

the *third moment* of blurred genres: following a ‘multiplicity of theoretical orientation and paradigms’, sociological tourism studies arguably abandon the project of formalising qualitative methodologies and uncouple from their quantitative counterparts that ‘by and large ignored the challenges of postmodernism’ (Miller & Whicker, 1999). This division and its correspondent partiality (in both senses of that term) renders the sum of tourism studies less than its parts, its identity and progression compromised or confused by consequential factors (including uneven distribution, hence paucity, of skills and capacity (Franklin and Crang, 2001) and lack of consistency in vocabulary, inference and implication), that are exacerbated by the absence of research synergy; without which, essential processes of recognition, comprehension and coordination relating to difference, development and resonance across the research body break down.

This communications dysfunction is implicated in negative critique of tourism studies’ disciplinary status quo. Echtner and Jamal (1997:868) introduce and describe a ‘disciplinary dilemma’ resulting from limiting perspectival boundaries and limited integration and exchange of theories and methods; here, the conceptual and empirical zones fail to mesh. Hence, Franklin (in Jamal and Robinson, 2009) describes a fin-de-siècle tipping point at which tourism research experiences a ‘boom’ unmatched by adequate (finessed) theorisation; unable 'to make sense of its massive stockpiles of data’ it resorts instead to 'endless and unproductive elaboration of typologies and ever-finer subdivisions' (Franklin, 2009:75). At this late-twentieth century impasse, it seems feasible ‘for tourism research to meld together into two major disciplines: those dealing with tourism as an industry and those dealing with the more intangible, cultural dynamics of tourism’ (Di Giovine, 2013:318). It is difficult to regard such a formalisation of divisional tendency, or the prospects of either ‘discipline’, optimistically: the either/or industrial/cultural pathways lead to, on the one hand, an industry-focused culture of ‘tourism conferences seem to be little more than mega-events given over to hundreds of papers that are merely recitals of official statistics or survey data’ (Dann 1996:1); on the other, a hyperactive literary culture of (prolific) paradigmatic conceptualisations, oftener fragmented by discursive deconstruction than robustly qualified or consolidated by empirical research activity.

### 3.2 The trouble with tourism templates

In the previous section, I suggest that the canon of tourism research is schismatic, and as such its conceptual templates may exacerbate, or generate, tension around ethical considerations: perception of dark tourism destinations, their historical and contemporary contexts and associated concerns is critically qualified by the intelligence, sensitivity and responsibility of site development and interpretation. In sites of 'darkest' tourism, where atrocity, criminality and tragedy are memorialised and which may even be affective in processes of conflict resolution and/or cultural reconciliation, it is imperative that the implications of touristic behaviour are fully comprehended within management systems. Clearly where dark tourism is treated as *only* 'a set of economic activities', or where cultural dynamics are investigated without consideration of economic aspects, effective experience facilitation is compromised; dark tourism thus expressed is diminished to a coarse commodification, or fragile intellectualisation, of a bleak and profound subject matter. Sharpley and Stone (2009:249)remarks dark tourism's dual identity as both an emergent research theme or field and 'essentially, a label attached to the supply or production of attractions': concerns about the commodification and trivialisation of dark subjects and sites, and how this may represent a contradiction of commemorative purpose, pervade the literature of dark tourism and heritage attractions (e.g. Shackley 2001; Ashworth & Hartmann 2005), which reflects public concerns about 'dark marketing' activity that 'peddles perversions, delivers depravity (and) trades in trespasses' (Brown, McDonagh and Shultz, 2012:199). Perceptions and representations of dark tourism as 'the dirty little secret of the tourism industry' (Marcel, 2003:2114) reflect an imbalance and division between its industrial and intellectual identities, and consequent diminution and degradation of its value and validity as a means of mediating and/or elucidating cultural values and concerns. Certain assumed motivational attitudes, for example voyeurism and schadenfreude in broader contexts of deviance, require more, and nuanced, examination and analysis so that their apparent satisfaction in dark tourism activity is understood in terms of experiential and psychological actuality and consequence.

I have suggested that the opening premise of tourism studies proposes two principal positions - service sector and tourist body; is developed via parallel business management/sociological perspectives; and is mirrored by divided literary and methodological cultures. The developing culture of dark tourism studies is likely to

inherit certain aspects of this duality, along with many methodological and conceptual values and vulnerabilities; however, dark tourism's unique attributes (its particular subject matter, strong affinity with other disciplines and significant resonance with popular cultural domains) and related interpretative and ethical considerations demand a heightened vigilance with regard to academic inheritance. Furthermore, the tensions and divisions at the heart of tourism studies and the criticisms which they attract, may be regarded as germane to the study of dark tourism as it develops within the shadow and influence of its nearest scholarly relative. Equally, the problematised landscape of tourism studies research presents certain 'landmark' themes that have specific relevance in the current context of dark tourism, and which strongly influence – and problematise - its research directions; finally, dark tourism itself may be regarded as not necessarily consequent to, but coincident with, and complementary to, dynamic new developments within tourism studies research – and elsewhere. Thus, the tenets and concerns of tourism research are problematised by, or, indeed, correspond and communicate with, dark tourism and significant new paradigms within sociological research. Particularly interesting points of discord/accord (in terms of elucidating dark tourism) include entrenched conceptualisations of motivation and experience; mobile conceptualisations, which resist 'fixing' processes; and disciplinary status.

### 3.2.1 Motivation and experience

The leitmotifs of tourist *motivation* and *experience* are keystones of the contemporary canon; their fulsome (overlapping) discussion permeates perceptions of the tourist, place, and their manifold relations, encounters and nexuses. In a sense these themes interrogate the *why?* and *what?* of tourism and are frequently juxtaposed as cause/effect, expectation/satisfaction, aspiration/accomplishment, depending on the philosophical perspective. Yet, this relational positioning is confounded by developing debate around the explication of motivation, by evolving theoretical representations of tourism experience, and by shifts in tourism praxis and behaviour. In a rigorous review of tourist motivation theorisation Dann (1981:209) acknowledges an 'unresolved difficulty' in establishing its fundamental meaning. Various factors are implicated in this predicament: a certain looseness of language, correlating or confusing motive, motivation and reason, may muddle

meaning within the discourse and, vitally, in fieldwork communications. Furthermore, and touching again on etic/emic equilibrium, the appraisal of motivation is located at an ambiguous interface of tourist explanation and research interpretation. Regarding the former – and of course this too represents research interpretation – Dann (1981) outlines various considerations relating to inability or unwillingness to express or reflect motivation, complicated by psychologised, social, personal and intrapersonal subtexts of identity and aspiration: these may be read as a mythology of self, seeking fulfilment of certain needs and wishes. Within the literature, such wishes are generally interpreted in contexts of escape (Dann, 1977; Iso-Ahola, 1982), especially *from* defined behaviours, roles and status (Heitman, 2011; Crompton, 1979) and *through/to* certain experiences or conditions, conceptualised and contested within the literature as, variously and not exclusively: the pseudo-event; authenticity; spiritual centre or values and 'meaning' (see, respectively: Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1973; Cohen, 1979a; Przeclawski, 1985; Meyersohn, 1981).

These wishful, escapist processes are ultimately directed toward status and identity effects of, for example, ego-enhancement and anomie (Dann, 1977); such affects are subject to manifold sociocultural and individual factors and are of course much more difficult to identify and qualify than to theorise. Indeed, in the extensive landscape of tourist motivation literature (which cannot be mapped here, but would include authors referenced above and Burkart and Medlik, 1990; Coltman, 1989; Gee, Choy and Makens, 1984; Jafari, 1989; Lundberg, 1990; McIntosh and Goeldner, 1990; Middleton, 1990; Pearce, 1988) we find rather little in the way of transferrable conceptual models that convincingly communicate with the tourist psyche, or with innovative interpretations of tourist experience in other realms of the discourse. Despite their profile – and recurrence - within that discourse, concepts of differentiated tourist experience (Cohen, 1979a; Uriely, 2005), contexts and values, of tourist agency, and of critical levels of semiotic facility and faculty (MacCannell, 1976; Culler, 1989) seem not to 'stick': they are repeatedly referenced in, but rarely absorbed into and reflected by, research activity and frames. This is particularly germane to dark tourism conceptualisation, where significant cross-cultural alliances affect and strengthen semiotic values - especially, in contexts of taboo and deviance - which may have substantial and particular influence on self-mythologies and expression or repression of motivation

and desire. Further, many traditional assumptions about tourism experience – as hedonism, play, relaxation, enjoyment – are seemingly problematised by the subject matter and locations of dark tourism, which demand new understandings of motivation and satisfaction.

Commonly, hypothesis shapes the lexicon and methodologies of research projects, which seek to evidence typologies of tourist and likely explanations for primary, but general, decisions to move *somewhere*; here, 'motivation' translates into a set of possible motives that 'can be interpreted in many ways, little of which, however, can be conclusively proved.' (Krippendorf, 1987: 67). Secondary, but specific, decisions to move *there* draw upon perceived qualities of place: hence, motivational processes involve intrinsic and extrinsic factors applying both to the self and to the selected destination. In traditional push-pull models (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1981), the tourist *psyche pushes* (energised by internal, psychologised attitudes) toward *a place that pulls* (by means of external and circumstantial attributes). The set of motivational forces obtained from resonance of attitudes and attributes is positioned within push-pull models (suggestive of supply-demand paradigms) that tends to polarise realms of the *personal* (motivation, knowledge, self-identity) and the *influential* (destination attributes; sociocultural forces; tourism products). In conceptual descriptions of dark tourism, various factors (revisited in Chapter 3, but including uncertainty about the status of dark tourism as an overall decisioning factor; perceived correlation of site with mortality-related event; and place qualities as a readily identifiable commonality in the perplexing variety of dark tourism activities) are causal in the particular attention paid to place and its pull; interrogation of the psychic push, for equally various factors, remains less polished. However, where conceptualised without sufficient nuance and context, push-pull models may obscure ambiguous processes of compulsion, repulsion, attraction, assonance, dissonance and drive.

While it is acknowledged (Sharpley, 2005) that both demand and supply elements must be considered in attempting to construct conceptual frameworks, single-focus study is in fact closer to the norm; across the canon, ongoing compartmentalisation of *push* and *pull* underplays the complex synergies at play. This determined duality is an essentially modernist attitude, profoundly problematised by the fluidity and metamorphic tendencies of postmodern tourism and by notable shifts toward models of continuum, rather than linearity, in theorising the tourist experience.

Hence, emergent theorisation posits a ‘holistic network of stakeholders’ that precludes ‘separation between supply and demand, company and customer, tourist and host, tourism spaces and ‘other’ spaces’ (Binkhorst, 2005:318). While this problematises traditional measures of tourist satisfaction, contingent on the alignment of aspiration, expectation and experience, it speaks to cross-platform activity in ongoing reappraisal of (theorised) touristic experience, associated agency and meaning-making; hence, early transactional paradigms of the tourist as *consumer* of services via (more or less predictable) staged decision processes (Kotler et al., 2010) are superseded by relational, and ultimately experiential models that accord and acknowledge greater tourist agency. Characterisations of *prosumer* (Toffler, 1980) involved in both production and consumption of experience, *co-creator* (Meuter et al., 2000) and *co-producer* (Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004) affirm a contemporary perception of the tourist as generating, constructing and curating tourism experiences via interaction with the tourism service sector and other agencies. In digital cultural contexts, the ‘2.0 tourist’ (Anderson, 2006; Conrady, 2007; Schegg and Fux, 2010) is implicated in advisory, production and consumption processes; increasingly, tourism services’ marketing and messaging systems are (in)validated or even displaced by ‘peer posting’ - independent touristic reflection, direction and evaluation via social media systems. Thus, the tourist is further empowered as protagonist and shaper of their own, and others’, experiences (past and future).

As interpretation of touristic transactions across multiple platforms transforms, the relevance of supply/demand models involving a (touristic) product on offer to the 'consumer' is undermined; new models, fit to express the management of (touristic) experiential portfolios, are heralded by conceptualisations of *experience economy* and, subsequently, *second generation experience economy* (Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Prat & Aspunza, 2012). Of course, these dynamic shifts in conceptualisation apply not only to the role of the tourist and to industrial tourism management but to destinations and broader contexts of space and, crucially, the many and diverse relationships implicated in the contemporary tourism experience. Hence, the *tourist site* as the locus of service provision/consumption is reappraised in terms of *siting the act* of tourism (Stamboulis & Skyannis, 2003): or rather *acts* of tourism, given that different individuals perceive and experience different settings in different ways (Cohen, 1979a; Pine & Gilmore, 1999) and that such experience comprises a

continuum of anticipatory/preparatory, reflective/memorial and communicative/disseminative aspects (Clawson and Knetsch, 1966).

Deconstruction of the supply/demand model requires differentiation and re-evaluation: of site, sight and service; of expectation, experience and enjoyment; of message, memory and meaning. The appraisal of multiple stakeholders and affective factors (including the tangential and the intangible: for example, non-industrial agencies and cultural modes and concerns) is located in interactive and collaborative, rather than functional, contexts. Notions of permanence and certainty are challenged by elements which are temporary and ambiguous; these postmodern connotations liberate conceptualisations from fixed temporal and material planes, expanding the contexts of touristic experience across pre- and post-encounter attitudes and processes (Jennings, 2006) and through narrative or intuitive accumulations: hence, Larssen's (2007) triple model represents expectations, events and experience as, in some measure, constructed through and located within memory. Thus, the diminishing influence of supply/demand models reflects profound realignment of the binary premise, predicated on the juxtaposition of tourist body and service industry, discussed earlier in this chapter; and renders necessary new theorisation about the manipulation, (re)presentation, generation and consumption of space, time and culture in touristic contexts.

However, despite revisions in descriptive discourse on the tourist experience/s and tourist agency in qualifying and defining it (Payne, 2008; Dann and Liebman Parrinello, 2009), that agency is not extended to research methodologies: new conceptualisations are frequently set on old etic frames. The tourist's perspective is underrepresented; means of recording it are undeveloped, its interpretation too often aligned with research hypothesis and vocabulary; methodologies fail to reflect the diverse relationships, associations, modes, and media at play across the tourism experience under investigation. The insistent application of taxonomical devices (described by Löfgren (1999: 267) as deriving from traditions of 'flatfooted sociology and psychology' impelled by 'an unhappy marriage between marketing research and positivist ambitions of scientific labelling') negates the agency and individualism of the hypothetically agile tourist rendered static within research activity. Rojek and Urry (1997:2) paraphrase the traditional narrative aspiration of tourism studies, whereby 'there are clear and identifiable processes 'out there' and these can be straightforwardly described by terms such as 'tourism' and explained

through the use of conventional social science methodology, especially survey-type analysis.' From this aspiration to 'straightforwardly describe' and explain the acknowledged diversity, multiplicity and changing contexts of tourist 'experience', new tourist typologies and 'special interest' subdivisions arise; yet, such pseudo-neologisms are framed by the (same) old taxonomical tendencies of earlier research moments, attempts to stabilise transient, temporary, nebulous things. These points are particularly salient with regard to dark tourism, frequently interpreted as a special interest or niche phenomenon 'nested' within conventional tourism description despite its capacity to radically problematise such descriptions, and its vital associations outside the tourism domain.

### 3.2.2 Mobile conceptualisations

Earlier in this section I suggested that the perceived narrative stability of tourism studies is compromised by lack of synergy, its potent fluidity and diversity defused into a miscellany of (literal) partialities and, hence, conflicting definitions and frameworks (Comic, 1989; Rogozinski, 1985). Jovovic (1983:3) cautions that such partialities, by 'observing individual elements independently of the whole' lead to mistaken identifications of '[solely] economic, geographic, or sociological phenomenon'. However, partisanship may be overridden when sociological conceptualisations suggest such mutual significance across multiple domains and platforms that a certain intuitive synergy is initiated, whereby disparate perspectives and resources achieve conceptual resonance rather than resemblance or sequence. In this way, conceptualisations are invested with, and/or divested of, diverse meanings to produce variant micro-narratives that coexist within and energise the broader discourse. Thus, there is significant potential value in theorisations that can carry, and be carried by, alternative perspectives into new contexts and discourses, constituting a (non-linear) progression. However, unfixed conceptualisations do not offer 'closure' to the tourism studies narrative; nor the authoritative conceptual frameworks that might allay anxiety about disciplinary status. To clarify and exemplify these statements, we can turn to the iconic themes of *authenticity* and the *tourist gaze* as they develop from seminal works by MacCannell (1973 and subsequent works) and Urry (1990 and subsequent works) respectively.

We have noted that early, modernist perspectives approached tourism as a neo-mythical 'quest', variously interpreted in relation to neo-colonialism (Barthes, 1972; Boorstin, 1964; Turner and Ash, 1975) or of modern ritual (Turner & Turner, 1978): that motif is always predicated upon assumptions of a certain archetypal or authentic quality. MacCannell's (1976) theorisation of authenticity, consolidating and formalising this predication, is a catalyst for ongoing debate and further theorisation: sub-discourses around the multiple meanings and types of authenticity (E. Bruner, 1991; Cary, 2004; Cohen, 1988, 2007; Cook, 2010; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999, 2000) serve to 'release the concept of authenticity from the object' (Olsen, 2002:163, in a specific reference to Bruner (1994) and Cohen (1988) that nonetheless may be applied to the academic metanarrative relating to authenticity in tourism studies). Thus, its conceptual reach, and related debate, is extended into and by experiential realms: how cultural behaviours, including touristic ones, can and do effect fundamental changes upon the (perceived) authenticity. Furthermore, these expressions of authenticity in tourism connect with, for example, discourses of heritage studies that track shifts from (objective) artefact to (experiential) memory as a focus and locus for social narratives: this expansion of the disciplinary frame reveals and utilises cross-disciplinary synergy.

The fundaments of this authenticity debate are problematised by related conceptualisations of hyperreality (Eco, 1986; Baudrillard, 1988) and the degree to which it erases 'the distinction between historical reality and fantasy… the confusion between copy and original' (Eco, 1986:42). For some authors (Baudrillard, 1994; Ritzer and Liska 1997) a theorised absence of 'originals' in the contemporary world nullifies the quest for authenticity, which is displaced as a motivating factor for 'post-tourists' by the experience/enjoyment of simulacra. In the posited co-existence of 'simulational' and (its) antipathetic 'Other' tourism, contemporary discourse (Uriely, 1997; Munt, 1994) updates the original polarity of the authenticity debate, acknowledging that usefully comparative, certainly subjective notions of 'real' and 'unreal' cannot exist unilaterally; 21st century tourists likely desire and experience a variable combination across each, and all, tourism and other life experience. Of course, all cultures (and hence cultural authenticity) are not the same, and no culture is static: yet many assumed values and concerns described within the authenticity debate reflect (and exclude) specific hegemonic systems. 'Authenticity' paradigms are necessarily and profoundly

challenged by the rise of global (pan-cultural) tourism as it embodies postmodernity: tourist/host and local/global relationships and geographies are subject to identity shifts and unpredictable juxtapositions; cultural identity is pluralised, often blurred, sometimes transient; hence, templates of authenticity and consumption are unpicked. With such cultural and semiotic fluidity, there is no consistent baseline by which to judge authenticity and thus nothing is authentic (Heitman, 2011); or, alternatively and conversely, everything may be authentic. Acknowledging this dilemma Cohen and Cohen (2012) suggest a focal shift from authenticity per se to *processes* of authentication within the discourse (which, paradoxically, may itself be perceived as a process of authentication) as if the arch-discourse of authenticity did not in fact permit – and indeed, generates - this and other conceptual developments. If MacCannell's (1973) inaugural conceptualisation of authenticity has not fulfilled its 'potential to become the basis of a paradigm for the sociological study of tourism' (Cohen and Cohen, 2012:3) it is nevertheless the foundation for rich dialogue and essential questioning about the 'entrenched a priori understandings … and preformulated understandings' (Hollinshead, 1999:17) of tourism representations, and tensions arising between what we 'repeatedly and systematically privilege' and thus 'systematically deny and frustrate' (Hollinshead, 1999:15).

Urry's (1990) introduction of Foucault's concept of the *gaze* into tourism discourse similarly initiated profound debate: about 'seeing' in contexts of construction, consumption and broader issues of power and authority in the tourism process (e.g. Cheong & Miller, 2000). The varieties of gaze developing, within the discourse, from Urry's principal pair (*romantic* and *collective*; subsequently, *spectatorial, environmental* and *anthropological* (Urry and Larsen, 2011) and *second, mutual*, and *intratourist gazes* posited, respectively, by MacCannell, 2001; Maoz, 2006; Holloway & Green 2011) inevitably recall Cohen and Cohen's (2012:3) objection that the authenticity debate is 'fractured into a plethora of further sub-types' (and, indeed, recurrent concerns about this typologising tendency within the meta-narrative of tourism studies). Potential degradation of the conceptual gaze is revealed by the application of 'thanagaze' to dark tourism motivations, suggesting a reversion to objectification and a focus on the qualities of a 'thing' above the nature and processes of its perception.

Urry's original conceptualisation, as with the authenticity debate, is specifically criticised for certain fundamental exclusivities: firstly, in terms of cultural values, as being 'Eurocentric' and lacking consideration of tourism's construction in societies with different cultural and experiential frames of reference and symbolism (Perkins,2001); secondly in its privileging of the visual over other sense, particularly as (multi)sensory aspects of tourism are increasingly scrutinised elsewhere in the literature (Dann & Berg-Norstrand, 2009; Everett, 2009; Lagerkvist, 2007). Yet, theorisation of the tourist gaze/s can adapt to and through the significant debate it provokes and has sustained over some two decades: Urry (2002) himself opines that there can be no single (definitive) tourist gaze as such, referencing society, social group and historic period as potential variables in the quality and meaning of gazing.

In these exemplars, we observe significant source conceptualisations evolving in interesting ways: generating and expanding through critical discourses; making useful encounters and accommodations with a variety of postmodern intimations and cross-disciplinary concepts; and problematising predominant themes of multiplicity, diversity and ambiguity that must be reimagined and articulated in specific contexts to avoid loss of meaning through repetition without interrogation. As such, authenticity and the tourist gaze are intellectually valid conceptualisations: they call into question the privileging, within complex territories of postmodern tourism, of paradigmatic certainties above resilient and directional scholarship.

### 3.2.3 'The indiscipline of tourism'

The evaluation of success and value in problematic terms of permanence and completion extends into tourism studies' overarching (self) disciplinary dilemmas, rooted in concerns about academic legitimacy. The question, whether tourism studies is a discipline at all – and if not, then what – is ongoing (for example, Leiper 1981; Tribe, 1997; Ryan, 1997, Echtner & Jamal, 1997) and reveals considerable internal focus about the capacity of tourism studies to develop coherent conceptual frameworks. Pearce (1993) posits tourism studies as a 'pre-paradigmatic' study area which, as such, should have greater tolerance for eclecticism and diversity of approach. This (arguably) 'pre-paradigmatic', or even inherently non-paradigmatic, status contributes to conflicting appraisals and aspirations of tourism studies per se:

*either* as a discrete discipline, in which specialised but cross-disciplinary areas of study are merged and underpinned by an (as yet undefined) integrated theoretical framework; *or*, as a specialist research theme within diverse disciplines. This seems to be an unnecessary polarisation, probably reflecting identity crisis within a field-in-flux, challenged within the discourse by those who regard the 'dynamic, variegated and at times internally conflictual' (Witt, Brooke and Buckley, 1991:164) nature of tourism studies as contributory, even necessary, to its development and relevance. Following Witt et al’s (1991:164) suggestion that expectations of a 'single theoretical underpinning' to tourism’s diverse phenomena may be unrealistic, Jafari & Ritchie (1981) challenge the validity of attempts to conceptualise tourism’s multiple dimensions within mono-disciplinary parameters, advocating more, not less, cross-disciplinary research. Meanwhile, in a broader discussion of sociological disciplinism, Sayer (2001:83) cites the limitations of rigid academic identities ‘incapable of seeing beyond the questions posed by their own discipline, which provides an all-purpose filter for everything’, and encourages the development of not merely cross-disciplinary, but *post*-disciplinary studies. Recent and dynamic discourse around post-disciplinary approaches within tourism studies, largely initiated by Coles at al (2005; 2006; 2009), has, I suggest, been under-exploited (but see Hollinshead and Seaton (2010), Hollinshead (2012), Darbellay and Stock (2012), Pernecky et al (2016)). In the context of dark tourism, Stone (2011:320) argues strongly for the purposeful grounding of the literature in broader (post)disciplinary frameworks, emphasising the need for dark tourism research agendas that are ‘post-disciplinary in nature and flexible in research orientation’. This line of enquiry’s lack of development to date, despite the robust advocacy outlined above, may speak to entrenched attitudes toward - and anxiety around - disciplinary boundaries.

Anxiety about confirming fixed frames for the fluid business of tourism behaviours may be particularly misguided in postmodern contexts: a flexible and diverse conceptual portfolio may usefully qualify tourism studies to represent and resonate with the often-amorphous phenomena it seeks to elucidate. The ‘disciplinary dilemma’ may find some resolution in ceasing to problematise and instead to ‘recognize and celebrate its diversity’ (Tribe, 1997:656). Hence, more recent representations approach tourism studies’ potential role in curating multidisciplinary and/or interdisciplinary perspectives upon tourism, calling to

mind Denzin and Lincoln's (1995) fourth moment of research: *the crisis in representation* entailing deconstruction and questioning of major, inherent, assumptions. In seeking to reconcile fragmented theorisation, tourism studies discourse reveals implicit allegiances to conceptual assumptions, more ubiquitous than progressive, and generally based on binaries that, 'as forms of categorisations, represent not only means of dealing with complexity, but also a way to create individual and collective identities' (Buda, 2015a:14). Reading 'identities' in the context of tourism theory, this is a compelling exposition of the existential anxiety within (and about) a discourse that confounds itself by elliptical efforts to distil its inter- and intra-disciplinary footings to a 'manageable' conceptual frame. Tribe (1997:656) regards the quest for a defined discipline of tourism as signifying insecurity arising from 'lack of academic self-confidence', and nostalgia for 'an overly idealised concept': these vocabularies further psychologise tourism studies' processing of its own discourse. Thus, definitive propositions may be (intuitively) apprehended as beacons of stability within increasingly ambiguous conceptual landscapes; yet, such pseudo-absolutes are (intellectually) contra-indicated by profound changes in the complex performances and contexts of tourism, and, crucially, paradigm shifts across its sociological contexts, to which this chapter now turns.

### 3.3 Transforming tourism: paradigmatic shifts and future directions

The rise of tourism studies and, latterly, dark tourism is concurrent with seismic shifts in sociological, conceptual hegemonies, reflecting profound changes in social worldviews that shape, on different scales, tourism behaviour and academic observation and analysis of it. Investigation of paradigm shifts within tourism studies is beyond the scope of this thesis: however, they are partially identified in movement from modernist to postmodern qualities, reflected on the micro levels of tourism studies in shifts from 'generalising to pluralising conceptualisations; toured object to subjective negotiation of meaning; contradictory but decisive to relative and complementary interpretation' (Uriely 2005); and in discourse relating to the disciplinary identity of tourism studies. Riley & Love (2000) tabulate some of these qualities in broader contexts of sociological paradigms and the (non-exhaustive but exemplary) representation below (Table 2) offers useful keywords by which social

behaviours including tourism may be analysed and their traditional theorisation challenged:

| Dominant paradigm from | Emergent paradigm toward |
|---|---|
| Simple | Complex |
| Hierarchy | Heterarchy |
| Mechanical | Holographic |
| Determinate | Indeterminate |
| Linearly causal | Mutually causal |
| Assembly | Morphogenesis |
| Objective | Perspective |

*Table 2: paradigm shifts in social behaviours [Source: Lincoln and Guba (1985:52); Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979:13)]*

These qualitative paradigms, complementary in their suggested multiplicity, ambiguity and fluidity, permeate and bridge multiple disciplines on macro and micro levels: within tourism studies, key conceptual limitations (for example, single-sense or monocultural perspectives of tourist authenticity and gaze), reductive binaries and entrenched concerns with single-discipline status arguably characterise declining paradigms, incompatible with emerging worldviews that challenge and controvert them. This paradigmatic discord initiates radical re-evaluation of fundamental assumed premises within the analytical discourse of tourism studies, and particularly its persistent representation of tourism in extraordinary contrast to the ’everyday’ (Cohen, 1979b; Urry, 1990; Williams, 2004). However, as the behavioural, contextual and environmental intersections of ordinary/extraordinary, and related binaries of sociocultural experience become more frequent and complex (Larsen, 2007), the definition or qualification of one extreme by its differentiation from another is increasingly problematised. Conventional boundaries between distinct social domains of work, study, domestic life and leisure, entertainment and extraordinary holidays - and even conceptualisations of reality and fantasy, sacred and profane (Baudrillard 1981; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Uriely, 2005; Edensor, 2007; Gale, 2009) are eroded by

processes of de-differentiation across social structures and practices that may constitute a 'defining characteristic of postmodernity' (Sharpley, 2011:58).

Developments in communications and media technologies and, consequently, in virtual/actual mobilities and responsive social behaviours (Hui, 2009; Haldrup, 2004; Hall & Muller, 2004) set a postmodern scene. Here, the motifs of the mundane (work and domestic obligations, news and current affairs) and the previously assumed singularities of anticipated leisure time (dining out, hotels, travel and modes of transportation) - are interwoven and no longer contained in specific time/space (Franklin & Crang, 2001): 'then and there' are simultaneous with 'here and now' in contemporary, hyperreal being and doing.

As tourism's aura of exoticism and eroticism is diminished (Edensor, 2007; Larsen, 2008) by the proximity of the mundane, the domain of tourism loses 'specialism' in relation to other mobilities. Significant (global) lifestyle factors are implicated in general processes of dedifferentiation: working patterns and commutes, retirement and second homes, migration and visitation, all reshape notions of temporary and permanent place and identity. Previously essential contexts of 'home' and 'away' (White & White, 2007; Paris, 2012) and the 'tour' which moves one away and towards them, are thus perceived differently according to life experience and generation (Duval, 2003); as, too, are the identities of traveller and tourist, host and guest (Sherlock, 2001) previously predicated by fixed notions of how one is 'placed'. Considered in this way, it is quite remarkable that the binary positioning of 'everyday' and 'extraordinary' persists within the theory (especially in taught contexts) of tourism studies, despite critical challenge and shifts: Rojek and Urry (1997:3) contextualise this most helpfully, describing the 'remarkably resilient' nature of 'Modernity 1', and its inherent, conceptual 'dominant order of things', in reaction to and despite the 'erosive effect of Modernity 2' (referencing Rojek, 1995). This resilient attachment to a dominant order may be apprehended in tourism studies' disciplinary dilemmas around self-conceptualisations, as outlined earlier. As dedifferentiation processes (of theme) undermine some of tourism's unique tenets, disciplinary dedifferentiation - for example, between tourism and heritage or leisure, as discussed by Urry (1995), Crouch (1999b) and others, further obscures its singularity. For some commentators (Gale, 2009) this mobility heralds the 'end of tourism'; for others, as we have discussed, the relevance of tourism studies is

marked and not diminished by its multidisciplinary resonance and the evolutionary capacity of its conceptualisation.

However, it should be remarked that notions of de-differentiation cannot necessarily be applied in every circumstance: certain oppositions may diminish in cultural contexts but compounded within others. Hence, domestic/international boundaries are eroded by developments in mobilities but re-affirmed by increased political and physical securitisation in response to socio-political concerns, such as international terrorism and immigration. Specific theorisation of supraterritoriality (Scholte, 2000) is thus problematised, and broad-stroke assumptions of global mobility camouflage the reality in which distribution of mobility across societies is neither seamless nor equitable (Gogia, 2006). Within dark tourism discourse it is frequently posited that the contemporary world is a secular one, belying the faith-related conflicts and schisms increasingly mark up conflicting cultural political paradigms: fundamentalism is the antithesis of de-differentiation. Postmodern de-differentiation is thus resisted by particular dualities: some of which represent (material) logical certainty in the face of theorised ambiguity'. Others support the comprehension and, especially, articulation of concepts which are unmanageable, even unimaginable, without oppositional counterparts: thus, 'You have to have death in order to have life' (Campbell, 1988: 109).

In the conceptualisation of dark tourism, various oppositions are cited and proposed as semiotic markers: notions of taboo, representing key social boundaries between right and wrong, cluster about the material of dark tourism; while dark tourists are theorised as enacting or desiring roles, such as victim and perpetrator, sanctifier and desecrator, pilgrim and ghoul, that are predicated upon binaries of good and evil. Arguably our ultimate binary concept, that of life and death, carries absolute certainty (mortal beings will die) alongside impenetrable uncertainty (mortal beings cannot know what death is like). In the academic and vernacular discourse of dark tourism, then, the transgression of these boundaries (thus, the problematisation of assumed paradigms of postmodern de-differentiation) may be discussed; in dark tourism behaviour, such transgression may actually be enacted.

This brings us to a final point on de-differentiation, which regards the tourist and other participant agents in tourism experiences. As we have seen, the boundaries of key roles and statuses – that is, host/guest, home/away and work/play - are subject

to erosion within contemporary contexts. Within emergent sociological paradigms, heterarchic, complex, indeterminate and morphogenetic qualities attach to aspects of tourism conceptualisation, exemplified by the evolving reach of discourse upon authenticity and the tourist gaze previously discussed; furthermore, the erosion of supply/demand binaries releases the participant agencies of touristic endeavours from static to fluid roles. This status enables engagement in varying modes of consumption and creation, across multiple (and simultaneous) spatial, temporal and relational contexts. That is, manifold individual and collaborative experiences, and related impressions and expressions of identity, agency and interest may obtain throughout the touristic encounter (including pre- and post- visit processes of planning, reflection and recollection). Here, Cohen's (1979a) ground-breaking notion of 'different kinds of people' with different experiences, motivations and perceptions of 'authenticity' extends across multiple dimensions towards a multifaceted, metamorphic conceptualisation of tourism: the tourist can be many kinds of people, perhaps simultaneously, via infinite permutations of circumstance. Regarded in this way, the task of analysing tourism experience seems insurmountable within the parameters of traditional research methodologies and conventional descriptive models.

It is salient to note that the literature of dark tourism addresses and expresses these issues, and consequent conceptual difficulty, explicitly: Sharpley and Stone (2009:250) acknowledge, in the context of dark tourism's remarkable diversity of destination, that 'the significance or meaning of such sites … and the ways in which they are consumed, are also infinitely variable' and may be oversimplified, and thus eclipsed, by 'blanket categorisation' and conceptualisation. Dedifferentiation is approached or intimated within fundamental conceptual processes of dark tourism through paradoxical representations: in theories of absent-present death; the 'bringing the dead to life' through the immortalising procedures of exhibition and ambiguous authenticity, including replication or conservation of remains. Furthermore, the notable use of fluid schema within dark tourism representations – such as a spectrum or continuum, as in Stone's (2006) seminal model – juxtaposes variable temporal and spatial factors, allowing for 'sliding scales' of meaning and perception; perhaps because of the overt multiplicity of its exemplar and the pancultural reach of its themes, dark tourism praxis and conceptualisation actively seek accommodate the postmodern paradigms of a contemporary society that

‘demands an open identity capable of conversation with people of other perspectives in a relatively egalitarian and open communicative space’ (Hyun-Sook 2006: 1).

### 3.4 Dark horizons: developments and directions

These shifting paradigms of tourism studies are more than hypothetical: as with the late nineteenth century/early twentieth century inception of recognised tourism and its mid- twentieth century boom, its post-millennial status reflects the large social, cultural and political actualities that shape human mobility. This latter theme is implicated in many of the broken binaries outlined above, and some of its key causal factors are fundamentally political. In terms of, for example, home/away and familiar/strange conceptualisations, salient issues include the following (interrelated) exemplar:

- migration, impelled by such diverse political factors as global labour markets, regional and international extremism and conflict, expands cultural reach (as familial and other cultural groups relocate, visit, revisit and/or return) and increases intercultural encounters
- global financial crises reduce spending power and/or inclination, affecting the expansion and composition of global international tourism (Cohen and Cohen, 2012) and, indeed, its domestic alternatives.
- late-twentieth century decline of Communism (in former Soviet Union, East European and Asian (China; Vietnam) regions) entails societal, economic and cultural changes including emergent or increased or inbound and outbound tourism.
- humanitarian and environmental disaster, including natural catastrophe (earthquakes, tsunamis) and its manmade counterparts (terrorism, atrocity, nuclear accidents) are subject to significant media attention and, hence, heightened and rapid public awareness; public perception and sociological conceptualisation of ‘tourist’ places and roles are consequently influenced, and reflected in general academic attention to dark tourism and specific examinations of tourism’s decline and revival post-disaster (e.g. Cohen, 2008; Henderson, 2000; Pezzullo, 2009; Rittichainuwat, 2011).

These factors affect the composition and constitution of international tourism, further globalising and, through encounters with unfamiliar (previously 'closed') cultures and landscapes, arguably re-exoticising the phenomenon. Clearly, a significant proportion of 'darkest' tourism environments relate to regime-sponsored atrocity, armed conflict and disaster; in turn, access to such locations is frequently dependent on political factors relating to regime change, conflict resolution and economic resilience. Thus, dark tourism's potential destinations and journeys are shaped by political situations; furthermore, its economic and cultural agency in turn affect, in varying degrees, those socio-political contexts. In terms of touristic experience, those contexts of profound and large-scale human trauma represent particular attributes and attitudes of risk-taking and insecurity, sympathy and tribute, solidarity and conflict resolution. Lisle (2004, 2007) argues persuasively that much of the traditional narrative of tourism studies serves to perpetuate equations of tourism with qualities and places of accord, safety and comfort , gravely contradicted by visitation to 'danger zones' that suggests, for that author, parallels between the mobility experiences of tourists and soldiers (Lisle, 2004:11); thus, stereotypes of tourism conceal and distort actualities of, and indeed, anxiety and threat associated with, contemporary travel: 'because terrorists have targeted tourist destinations and transport systems, the threat of death exists, however minimally, in virtually every popular tourist destination' (Bowman and Pezzullo, 2010:191).

The influence of such affective conditions upon perceptions of touristic agency, identity and responsibility (from various viewpoints) cannot be disregarded: yet it is largely underrepresented in analyses of motivation and experience, outside the realm of dark tourism which, as we noted in contexts of de-differentiation, is uniquely placed, qualified and called upon issues of particular cultural currency. In this sense, emergent conceptualisations and 'turns' in tourism studies and in broader sociological contexts resonate with dark tourism and, arguably, reinforce its potential value in investigating macro-level concerns through micro-level exemplar.

Tourism studies may be conceptually ill-equipped, by sociological theory largely generated in Western contexts (Winter, 1998), for contemporary, global contexts; yet, emergent theorisation cannot claim universal significance without evidenced application to and engagement with broader cultural channels. As with previously

discussed paradoxes of mortality, whereby attitudes toward death and dying are both specific cultural constructs and common human concerns, effective paradigms for tourism must offer metanarratives that sustain the specific cultural narratives of mobility and mortality. In the contexts of that caveat we may turn our attention briefly to specific sociological developments: of potential paradigms, representing radical means of reframing the conceptual frameworks and relationships of tourism studies in contexts of media and mobility; and of research attitudes that complement them.

### 3.4.1 Mediatisation

As a cultural mode and institution within contemporary society, tourism is necessarily and irrevocably meshed with media representation (Knudsen & Waade, 2010; Lagerkvist, 2008); indeed, Hjarvard (2008:105) describes tourism as 'permeated by the media' to a degree that it 'may no longer be conceived of as being separate from cultural and other social institutions'. This identification of separation seems representative of sociocultural de-differentiation at institutional levels, and speaks to anxieties about institutional (and, with regard to tourism studies, disciplinary) vulnerability: yet, tourism and its analysis need not be subsumed within the de-differentiated socio-cultural landscape that 'the media' reflects and represents: as we have discussed, dark tourism exemplifies touristic behaviours located at, or as, an interface of multiple social/cultural and media institutions. It may be regarded as intuitively connected to these counterparts and as a force by which the 'separateness' of tourism may be deconstructed, yet its relevance and exceptionality sustained. Theorisations about the 'mediatisation' of tourist experience (Jansson, 2002; Tussyadiah and Fesenmaier, 2009) suggest that contemporary tourists are saturated by media images of their destination, so that touristic encounters are fundamentally mediated and mitigated by external, preconceived, sources: Mansson (2010:169) describes a tourist gaze 'intertwined with the general consumption of media images as tourists consume mediated images of places.' Here, a somewhat retrogressive alliance of touristic passivity and implications of media-distorted 'authenticity' signal theoretical associations between mass media responsibility for the rise of dark tourism as spectacle (Lennon and Foley, 2000, and Rojek, 1993). Seaton and Lennon (2004:63) suggest that the

popular press has elevated dark tourism's status of myth to meta-myth so that it may be depicted 'as a social pathology sufficiently new and threatening to create moral panic'; yet this opinion is not supported by empirical research about published media per se and perceptions of dark tourism per se. So that when we engage with discussions about dark tourism and its overt presence across cultural and media products, it is, firstly, is necessary to acknowledge that the application of the terms 'media' or 'the media' within sociological approaches to tourism, is so loose as to lack meaning. Distinction, through specific exemplar, is required in order to fully comprehend which aspects of global media modes and behaviours, from participation in which very few are (individually or collectively) excluded, are in question.

Secondly, high-profile academic discussion of media and tourism offer exemplar that predate postmodern media contexts: Lennon and Foley (2000) cite early disaster tourism reportage, especially of the sinking of the Titanic in 1912; Seaton (1996: 242) describes nineteenth-century press coverage of murders causing 'stampedes of visitors to death locations for sightseeing and souvenir hunting'). In postmodern contexts, the relationships between organised (industrial) media coverage and social media participation, their disintegrating differentiation, and their role in perceptions of dark tourism is gravely under-investigated. Furthermore, notions of mediation and mediatisation must be read in the contexts, outlined above, that accord tourists with agency and creativity: visual and other media created and/or distributed by the tourist, as evidenced in Chapter 6, represent remarkable and influential systems of exhibition and curation. These (new and social media) resources direct and expand a tradition of touristic behaviour – that is, the expression and reproduction of experience through image and 'journal' -ism – through new, global, channels and connections offering new means and modes by which tourists shape and direct their own, and their peers', behaviours and experience. However, these behaviours cannot be regarded in a vacuum but as one aspect of an overarching mobile-mediatisation of social behaviours, ranging from shopping and gaming to real-time reportage and memorialisation activities by which issues of disaster and loss are communicated and expressed: this diverse portfolio of activities, often undertaken near-simultaneously, reveals the actuality of postmodern paradigms. Hence, mediatisation is of immense significance to tourism experience and to shared imagining and narratives of place and mobility;

tourists are creators, and not merely consumers, within mediatisation, as well as touristic, processes.

However, it should be noted that sensory, including but not only visual, memory and cognisance are also and profoundly permeated by non-media sources that are mutually affective and overlapping: urban and traditional mythologies; familial, cultural and social taboos and moral values; educational and other life experiences. These sources, indeed, may be of profounder psychological significance than media material with which our contact may be of more ubiquity than meaning. In later discussion of the ego states of TA by which this thesis will appraise dark tourism experience, these non-media sources are identified as vital underpinning devices in our sociocultural narratives and the 'lifescripts' we enact. Furthermore, in examining motivational forces and influences upon perception of place and culture, media representations are those most easily assumed and described; as we have seen, the quiet forces of sociocultural narratives, taboos and archetype are more resilient to acknowledgment.

### 3.4.2 Mobilities

Much of the preceding discussion around de-differentiation relates to one of the foremost developments in twenty-first century sociological theorisation: the 'mobilities' turn offers an encompassing conceptual framework, and potential paradigm (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007) by which discrete fields might integrate within one 'post-disciplinary' domain (Coles, Hall, & Duval, 2006). In an introduction to its dedicated journal, *Mobilities,* Hannam et al. (2006:1-2) present the 'mobility turn' as transformative and transcendent of the social sciences and its twentieth-century disciplinary boundaries. Urry (2000:86) regards this broad philosophy as offering a new sociological agenda, drawing and focusing upon 'diverse mobilities' including 'imaginative travel, movements of images and information, virtual travel, object travel and corporeal travel' and their transformation of 'social as society' into 'social as mobility' (Urry, 2000:186). This grand-scale and complex system of global mobilities implicitly destabilises binary concepts, allowing for conceptual flow across mobile behaviours, the 'stations, hotels...resorts, airports, leisure complexes, and cosmopolitan cities' (Urry, 2000:12) that mark their shared physical interconnections, and other affinities. In

these contexts, the conceptualisation and material of tourism may merge, diverge or engage with manifold 'mobilities'; so too may (currently perceived) subsets of tourism – the prolific 'special interest' isms, including dark tourism, that currently tend toward resonant and reciprocal relationships with particular social themes or concerns and related, cross disciplinary agencies. The potential consequences for dark tourism research of integration within a mobilities arch-domain are profound, and its affinity for the premises of that domain are therefore deeply significant in terms of future development.

Mobilities theorisation offers a potentially pan-cultural paradigm that, by virtue of its globalism and prismatic perspectives, that may avoid the critique relating to cultural contingency that is directed toward (and arguably prevents the paradigmatic function of) discourses of authenticity. However, contemporary mobility opportunities are less fluid in actuality than in theory: their distribution between and within contemporary societies remains unequal (Hannam, 2008), a point exemplified in tourism and those real-world, socio-political factors that prove so resilient to dedifferentiation processes. If the mobilities argument is predicated upon contemporary 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000) that is neither universally significant nor consistent, then its paradigmatic claim is undermined; furthermore, that claim is still vague, and lacking the kind of basic propositions necessary to empirical evaluation. In this respect, the mobilities turn is vulnerable to the kinds of limitation it seeks to transcend.

### 3.4.3 Research attitudes

Recent application of actor network theory (ANT) to tourism supports its representation as fluid products of associative networks, formed and reformed around 'a chain of actions consolidated by mediators' (Paget, Dimanche, & Mounet, 2010:829–30). The theory ascribes agency to human and non-human elements: Ren (2011) suggests that objects, technologies, machines and computers participate alongside humans in chimeric configurations of material and semantic relations, tasked with effecting changes, to realise the (tourist) project. Here, we are confronted with a theorisation that might describe processes, not only of tourism behaviours but also the research activity for which it provides a focus. Tribe (2007:37) cites, as a consequence of heightened criticality in the field, the

emergence of various 'camps and coalitions' allowing for qualities of 'permeability, independence, resistance and unruliness' that invigorate and diversify the narrative of tourism studies. Furthermore, the preoccupation with definitive paradigms of tourism is problematised within postmodern environments of multiplicity, simultaneity and diversity of experience. Seismic shift in tourism's contexts and behaviours exert extraordinary force upon attendant philosophies and discourse; they reveal that universal paradigms cannot be constructed upon non-universal experiences and attitudes. The paradigmatic impossibility receives relatively early expression by MacIntyre (1985), suggesting that co-existent, flexible 'traditions' that develop rules and protocols offer a useful alternative conceptual framing device than paradigmatic rigidity. Within tourism studies, it is suggested, adaptable camps and networks might approach and represent specific research issues rather than conglomerate or unilateral values. Because the material of tourism is highly metaphorical, and 'because the iconicity of metaphor depends on cultural codes, and cultures themselves vary, there can be no universal metaphors' (Dann, 2002:1).

### 3.5 Summary

In the previous chapter, I observed that human conceptualisation of death is a deeply psychologised process in which archetypal material is created, adapted and utilised – and even enacted. In this chapter I have suggested that acts of tourism are also related to archetypal substance, notions of ritual and (re)enactment: thus, within acts, visitations or journeys of dark tourism we can identify dual sets of richly psychologised behaviours, narratives and meaning. However, these shared traditions and mythologies of death and migration are located, in the dark tourism phenomenon, within postmodern contexts of mobility, cultural diversity and ceaseless change. Arguably, then, dark tourism continues a tradition of the societal treatment/transformation of death within the flexible and evolving mode of tourism. Dark tourism's conceptual underpinnings may not mesh effectively with significant conceptualisations from the field of tourism studies: notions of authenticity and motivation are problematised by certain, arguably aesthetic or intuitive, aspects of dark tourism; yet, this dissonance accords with non-static conceptualisations and follows evolving theorisation, linked to broader paradigmatic shifts. In the following chapter, the dense theoretical constructs inherited from the divided

realms of tourism research are unpacked and appraised as to their inherent value in understanding the experiences, transactions and meanings that obtains within and across the sites and participants of dark tourism.

# CHAPTER 4: DARK SITES AND SITE-SEERS

## 4.0 The Dark Sites and their Site-seers: Introduction

In the previous chapter I expressed dark tourism as an evolving mode within both traditional and postmodern contexts of, respectively, societal treatment/transformation of death and mobility, cultural diversity and ceaseless change. As such, the phenomenon forms a paradoxical nexus of academic study relating to death, heritage and tourism, finding significant parallels and affinities across many conceptual traditions within that triple alliance whilst problematising others. Notions of death sequestration, for example, are not effectively evidenced within academic representation of dark tourism experience: the degree to which concealment/revelation/transformation of death and deathly material explain or are explained within it is ill-defined within the literature. Meanwhile, variation in cultural attitudes to death (including cultural differentiation relating to age, geography, ethnicity, gender and subculture) is, yet, inadequately accounted for within dark tourism research.

Furthermore, supply/demand paradigms influenced by tourism management theory confound the development of unique dark tourism conceptualisation. They direct analytical approaches toward the description of two poles: place with its perceived qualities, and visitor with their proposed motivations. Research framed within supply/demand models fails to identify and analyse the nature, quality and consequence of all agencies, intermediaries, relationships and interactions at play within the phenomenon of dark tourism, and, hence, its fundamental value and function as a mediating institution. Subsequent research questioning about whether dark tourism is demand driven (enigmatic dark tourist taste shapes place) or supply-driven (the intrinsic allure of dark place irresistibly calls to obscure dark tourist tastes) fails to reach useful or noteworthy conclusions (see, for example, Sharpley, 2005, on ongoing lack of clarity in this respect). Supply perspectives, most prolific at the onset of dark tourism's conceptualisations, focus on presence within and attributes of a site (see Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Sharpley, 2005 and 2009). Stone's (2006) spectrum further develops orientation toward education/entertainment and heritage/historic, along with characteristics of purposefulness, authenticity, time-lapse and infrastructure, as relevant

considerations in locating sites upon a sliding scale of darkness. Widely cited within the 'supply perspective tradition', Stone's model nevertheless touches upon aspects of interpretation and perception that overlap with 'demand perspective' approaches responding to calls for further attention to visitor motivation and experience (Seaton, 1996; Biran et al, 2011; Kang et al, 2012). These latter approaches tend toward a focus, and draw upon existing theorisation around, tourist motivation. Earlier (Chapter 3) I touched upon the ways in which dark tourism resists or controverts such theorisation and suggested that notions of motivation may be more adequately expressed though identification and examination of the kinds of resonance, attraction and compulsion that exist in anticipated, actual and communicated encounters with dark tourism sites. The emergent 'third way' approach to dark tourism, adopting integrated supply-demand perspectives, may allow for greater emphasis on visitor interaction with sites and critical investigation of their management; yet, a binary set of supply/demand 'agents' continues to underpin much of its product.

I suggest that the duality of dark tourism supply and demand can most usefully be integrated, and related research material reappraised within, a symbiotic representation of dark touristic encounters (developing upon valid models of spectrum and continuum extant within the literature). The materials and potential functionalities of dark tourism sites and the human associations that connect with them may be understood as a series of interactions or transactions, which in turn can be analysed as sets of anticipated, iterated and reiterated outcomes across cognitive, affective and physical dimensions. Such outcomes encompass issues of place and human identity, social narrative and memory, and touristic drive/agency/experience. This relational-constructive reading of dark tourism describes acts of perception, construction, performance, interpretation and reflection and their consequences as transactions within sociocultural contexts, which involve tourists, their destinations and other relevant participants.

To effectively resource a social transactional model of dark tourism, it is useful to offer an overview of findings from existing supply/demand perspectives. Firstly, translating 'supply' into characteristics of place (setting aside management/interpretation for later examination), I set out some theories of place identity and designation drawn from social science fields in relation to dark tourism exemplar. The physical, psychosocial and cultural significances/associations of

certain kinds of sites support our understanding of human perceptions of certain 'kinds' of space, and how that might enable and endorse potential social functions and capacities of space. Subsequently, in a review of notions of tourist motivation, I suggest that dark tourism visitation may more usefully be analysed via anticipated or intuited qualities, aligning place identity with psychological wishes or imperatives that cluster around significant issues of identity. Challenging static paradigms of supply/demand, this chapter seeks to emphasise relational contexts of the dark tourism phenomenon in which site, seer, and other participant agencies and institutions are engaged via interdependent actions, interactions and constructions.

## 4.1 Dark Sites

The diversity of sites located within dark tourism literature are notably, problematically, diverse. A non-comprehensive inventory of sites examined within the canon of dark tourism includes graveyards and cemeteries (Seaton, 2002; Winter, 2009) and the locations of historic events relating to the Second World War Holocaust (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Beech, 2000, 2009; Biran et al., 2011; Cole, 1999), slavery (Dann & Seaton, 2001; Rice, 2009), atrocity (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005), incarceration (Dann & Seaton, 2001; Strange & Kempa, 2003; Wilson, 2008) and disaster (Stone, 2013; Tang, 2014). Overlaps with other adjectival and/or special interest tourisms (grief; disaster; military history) further expand the mass of built and natural locations which may be designated as dark tourism sites. Stone's (2006) Dark Suppliers spectrum of subheadings - (dark) fun factories, exhibitions, dungeons, resting places, shrines, conflict sites, camps of genocide – is a useful attempt at rationalisation reflecting site interpretation that, however, has not been developed further within the literature. Concern about seemingly arbitrary correlation of, or even nominal connection between, remarkably different places, histories and experiences leads some commentators to highlight the risk of (perceived) ambiguity within dark tourism research findings (Sharpley, 2009). Continuing efforts to finesse definitions find resonance in Crick's (1989:31) comment that touristic taxonomies 'separate phenomena that are clearly fuzzy or overlapping'. The juxtaposition (via associated sites) or themes and events, the societal consequence and historic and human significance of which moves from the sublime to (arguably) ridiculous, further problematises the perceived validity of

dark tourism as a discrete mediating institution (and research field). Stone's (2006: 146) reservation whether it is 'possible or justifiable to collectively categorise' the plethora of locations outlined above as dark tourism is appropriate, if that categorisation is to be made on the grounds of overt subject matter alone.

Developing research directions further test the expansive boundaries of dark tourism definitions. Buda and McIntosh (2013) focus on a tourist's lived experiences in Iranian danger zones while Miller and Gonzalez (2013) situate death or suicide tourism within a dark tourism framework. Yet, this research range may recognise and reflect the potential range of meditating relationships that dark tourism has with the thanatological condition of society (Stone, 2012). As we contemplate our mortality in different ways in our daily lives, through modes including media, popular and literary cultural behaviours, so we contemplate death in different ways, including tourism praxis (Stone, 2012; Stone and Sharpley, 2008).

Tourism is predicated upon movement towards and away from place, and 'darkens' when movement is directed toward certain locations where traumatic events have taken place. Despite the postmodern blurring of boundaries between physical and imaginary places, people still uphold certain distinctions between simulations and 'real experiences' Jansson (2002: 429). Arguably, the virtual world and its mobilities may not replace physical traveling and indeed may trigger an interest in first-hand experiences (Mansson, 2010: 179- 180) of unique places and being present within them, especially when virtual environments are utilised in 'sharing' experience and imagery of such places. Prolific, and plastic, representation of events and sites within popular culture and media channels shape expectation and perception of an anticipated concrete destination, creating 'knowing' attitudes to unknown places. The kinds of sacralised, psychologised and even mythologised materials which cluster about, or are generated by the events memorialised within, dark tourism sites may heighten this sense of 'known' unknown territory.

Ashworth & Hartmann (2005) suggest that dark tourism is place-specific, and much discussion of dark tourism experiences and motivation relates to destination typologies. Miles' (2002) differentiation of sites associated with and sites of death, disaster, and depravity as respectively 'dark' and 'darker' tourism respectively also shades visit motivation and experience. This may confer critical spatial advantage,

in terms of locational authenticity, upon darker sites and a consequently heightened commemorative potential. Miles' conceptualisation is echoed within alternative designations of primary sites at the location of dark events (in situ), as opposed to secondary sites constructed elsewhere (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Wight, 2006; Wight and Lennon, 2007). It should be noted, however, that primary and secondary site designations do not confer absolute locational authenticity. Indeed, place identity is influenced by interpretive processes that are not 'felt' to be authentic, such as re-enactments, reconstructions and replication (Boorstin, 1964; com, 1973; Stone, 2006). Furthermore, interpretation at primary sites may be subject to certain logistical, political or aesthetic constraints that restrict strategic 'construction' or mediation of visitor experience and, thus, engagement (Bollag, 1999; Williams, 2004; Taum, 2005; Wight and Lennon, 2007). Such associations may relate to physical actuality, to the recreation of actuality, or other means of actualisation and affiliation: for example, the presence of artefacts and constructed monuments or markers. The type of association may vary yet, fundamentally, connects space and presence in the space to incidence of death/destruction, qualifying places so that a range of related transactions may occur. The nature of such transactions must be variable, depending on a wealth of historic, sociological, personal and public contexts and concerns, relating to the tourist, the tourist 'institution' or site, and the messaging and meaning-making systems that obtain and are sustained between them. The single commonality between tourists at a given site is their presence within it.

### 4.1.1 Dark sites: construction work

Theories of psychologised, social space offer conceptual frameworks by which to map space against the kinds of action and reaction that obtain from them. The postmodern turn in social sciences, including tourism and geography, moves away from the analysis of tourism spaces in terms of spatial uniqueness and individuality (see Sauer, 1956) to those approaches, developing from humanistic geography, which conceptualise place in the context of how people make relationships with it (Crang, 1998) and how those relationships influence (individual and collective) human identity. Borghini and Zaghi (2006) differentiate perceptual categories, where 'space' is changeable, movable, unowned; 'place' is stable, absolute,

occupied and has capacity for experience of sensation related to the area. This differentiation underpins the concept of a 'sense of place' (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1980) through which we attach meaning, experience feelings of belonging and exclusion, and shape identity and memory. That sense involves a trinity of affective, cognitive and behavioural dimensions, expressed respectively as place attachment, identity and dependence (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2006) and, subsequently, reflected in our sense of belonging in both social and physical environments (Mazanti & Ploger, 2003; Shamai and Ilatove, 2005). Furthermore, sense of place is located in identity domains across triple temporal dimensions: present experience of place, reflection upon or nostalgia for past place experience, and anticipation of future place experience (McClinchey & Carmichael, 2010). Thus, and germane to our current contexts, place is made meaningful through simultaneous personal, group and cultural processes (Low & Altman, 1992), as a physical environment in and with which an individual (or a group) may forge affective and positive bonds (Debedetti, 2004) and the context for social-psychological interaction (McClinchey & Carmichael, 2010).

Within heritage discourse, further useful perspectives on place typology reveal ways in which the identity and quality of place and space is influenced or transformed by socio-cultural agency. These influences are rooted in Benton's definition of heritage as presenting or constructing monuments to fulfil social functions, and to match the inevitable differences in 'collective' memory of events in question (Benton 2010). Thus, conceptual 'scapes' are predicated upon, and constructed to enable, certain kinds of memory and function (Williams, 2007; Jansen-Verbeke and George, 2012) and as such form the focus of research across heritage, human geography and other sociological studies. MacCannell's (1976) theories of site/sight sacralisation suggest processes and dimensions by and within which physical sites acquire, accrue and emanate meaning. Sites are named, framed and elevated through symbiotic human encounters, including and especially touristic encounters – that is, heritage place identity evolves in part because it is visited. Furthermore, visitation and management/organisational responses to it contribute to extended processes by which sites are enshrined, duplicated and reproduced mechanically and socially: the establishment, naming and production of associated sites, activities, resources (including interpretive, marketing and media resources) and objects (including souvenirs). These latter considerations

reframe touristic 'product' as component in creative construction as opposed to object of passive consumption and suggest mutual relations that controvert longstanding binary supplier/consumer paradigms drawn largely from tourism management theory.

The developmental processes involved in space-to-place construction are perhaps most usefully modelled by Foote (1997), whose examination of sites associated with tragic events (introduced in Chapter 2) proposes a prevailing set of conceptual processes and outcomes. Foote's proposed continuum incorporates phases of rectification, designation and sanctification, through which the historical/cultural identity of sites is amended, created and/or qualified; and obliteration, whereby the locus of violent or tragic events is forgotten at various levels of deliberateness and consciousness). Foote maintains that outcomes of these processes – even obliteration – are never final or static. They are metamorphic phases in an ongoing cycle of place identity, triggered or suspended by social, political and cultural perceptions about what has happened in a place and what to do with it. These perceptions arise from equivalent responsive cycles encompassing both immediacy and slow shifts, are represented in visitation behaviours and can be mapped against degrees of change in site status (Chapter 5 offers an overview of these processes at play within the case study site and history). Foote's vocabulary reflects active social agency in the validation, regeneration and/or destruction of sites implicated in dark tourism (and indeed in other contexts). Furthermore, the fluidity of this model allows that influences on how we regard and use space are of multiple origin, both intuitive and intentional, with various levels of impetus and impact.  For historic iconic sites, designation as a public memorial may take decades or centuries, a time lapse reflecting degrees of conflict resolution and shifting political and cultural contexts (Chronis 2005) and therefore notable in battlefields and locations of political imprisonment and atrocity. Rapidity in the creation of memorials (or spontaneous shrines) precludes neither eventual permanence nor obliteration (see the examples given in Chapter 2 of the Cenotaph on the one hand, and the

Gloucester 'house of horror' on the other; the former example reflects the potential permanence in temporary constructions, while the latter reveals the resilience of human fascination with horror in the face of formal social prohibition).  These transitions are predicated on social transference of meaning to and from, and transactions that take place within, sites of memorable human trauma.  Further

examination and evidencing of the ways touristic behaviour is involved in these transferences, and of touristic transactions that happen in and about dark tourism sites, is essential in renegotiating two-dimensional (supply/demand) conceptual rhetoric within dark tourism discourse.

### 4.1.2 Dark place identity

Walter (2009) describes (dark) tourist sites in terms of the death/mortality-related activities, located across private/public domains, they enable. For example, shrines are aligned with care and prayer, memorials with remembrance, and museums and heritage sites with learning/leisure hybrid activity. These alignments are clearly arguable and consciously generalised, and Walter allows that any of these various relationships with the dead may be supported at different dark tourism sites, although some relationships acquire dominance at certain sites.

When sets of meanings are consolidated in place to construct a dark site, a range of social functions are enabled/endorsed and enacted. These functions profoundly affect the tonal value of place, and are embodied in acts, demonstrations and experiences: of remembrance, mourning, spirituality, national and/or cultural identity, learning (Austin, 2002; Logan & Reeves, 2009; Slade, 2003). They qualify, and are thus essential to our understanding of, the nature of touristic transactions with powerful capacity to direct and to influence both the physical and conceptual landmarks and landscapes of cultural heritage and its narratives. In theoretical contexts of constructed place identity, conceptualisations of dark tourism may be described as adverbial, not adjectival. Not only what has been done (to death), but what can be done in 'dark' places is intrinsic to our sense of what those places become. The conceptual and material treatment of this thesis' case study site (to which I will return in Chapter 6), Auschwitz State Memorial and Museum in Oswiecim, Poland, represents a powerful exemplar of the ongoing metamorphosis of place identity through the active memorialisation of cataclysm: here, place identity of pre-atrocity past is largely obliterated, and that of the post-memorial future irrevocably laden with the weight of dark history. The most egregious past functions of this site form the nucleus of its future functions in allowing the enactment and embodiment of collective memory.

The kinds of memory and function at play at specific sites are informed, influenced and experienced by a diverse set of stakeholders and of cultural, historical and ideological factors. In this sense, a single site may be possessed of plural place identities co-existent within a metaidentity. The imprint of 'remembered' dark events is consequential not only to the place identity perceived by a site's visitors, but to nearby resident populations, whose own sense of place (and, hence, personal and social) identity may be challenged by spatially distant contributors to place designation. The powerful marking of dark memorials may represent an unwanted eminence on an arguably dubious reputational map. Indeed, auto-identification as a dark tourism site, or indeed as a 'dark tourist', is limited and liable to denote an entertainment-oriented exemplar.

Furthermore, the ascription of the dark tourism label 'rarely enjoys support from local governing bodies, official tourism associations and local communities' (Causevic and Lynch, 2008[2]). Dark tourism may represent, for many sites, a derogatory brand, causing recurrent, diverse negative connotations of morbidity, moral panic or cultural ambiguity within media and academic discourses (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Seaton and Lennon, 2004; Sharpley and Stone, 2000); Bowman and Pezzullo, 2010; Isaac and Ashworth, 2012).

Dark tourism's persistent evocation of violence, conflict and/or atrocity disrupts not only social and place identities, but a range of economic and cultural activities that predicate future capacity and development. The degree and quality of local participation in site development is, then, of increasing interest to dark tourism researchers. Morales (2013) examined the impact of the 2008 murder case of Scottish backpacker Karen Aim upon the local community of Taupo, New Zealand, where the crime occurred. With an agenda to prove that their small town was not a dangerous place – indeed, to change the negative place perception and portray a positive tourist image - the community created a memorial site as a means of acknowledging, yet enclosing, the dark event as a way of moving forward. This restricted accommodation recognises dark memorialisation as a positive/negative social function and marker of place identity and manages it through a conscious common agenda to realign perception of place.

[2] https://www.espacestemps.net/en/articles/tourism-development-and-contested-communities-en/

Conversely, conflict contributes to the conservation of place identity, as oppositional perspectives bring developmental processes to a standstill. The stronger the conflicts are, the more difficult for the place identity to change (Huigen & Meijerig 2005). In their exploration of dark tourism and place identity in Northern Ireland, Simone-Charteris, Boyd and Burns (2010) identify concern on the part of (political and social) authorities about, and attempts to distance themselves from, touristic reiteration of the region's dark history and influence upon place identity. While perceived qualities of 'dark' and 'political' tourist attractions, as revealed within this research, were relatively interchangeable, significant divisions of opinion arose among stakeholders regarding the overt interpretation – hence identification – of such sites using the term 'dark tourism'. The phenomenon is regarded as both a positive and transformative opportunity (Crooke, 2001; Devine & Connor, 2005) and, conversely, as potentially sustaining attachments to sectarianism (McDowell, 2008). Yet, Charteris et al argue that by encountering and understanding dark tourism sites and the turbulent past they symbolise, visitors develop a deeper appreciation of the region's holistic, including futured, identity. Furthermore, their research concludes that dark tourism activity, namely cooperative tourism projects, enables diverse communities to overcome historic mistrust and suspicion. These examples represent often-conflicting needs relating to personal/public, resident/visitor and material/metaphysical memorial domains, and the ways in which space may be co-opted with varying degrees of intentionality.

Unsurprisingly, dark tourism research referencing place identity and its political, historical, social and cultural influences is diverse and manifold. White and Frew 's (2013) edited volume usefully exemplifies that theoretical range and its cross-disciplinary frame of reference, juxtaposing analyses of case studies ranging from (pre)historic sacred places (Laws, 2013, on pagan cultures and evocations of 'other-ness') to massacre sites (Du, Litteljohn and Lennon, 2013, on the Nanjing massacre) in the context of dark tourism, finding common ground in processes of mediation, interpretation and (re)imagining within constructions of place identity. Du, Litteljohn and Lennon's research posits triple physical, chronological and social dimensions to place identity, and suggests ways in which this three-dimensional sense of place supports the development of collective (national) memory. The multi-dimensionality of place identity is reiterated by Lelo and Jamal (2013) in their

examination of the African Burial Ground National Monument, arguing a consequent resonance with multiple (cultural, familial and personal) identity aspects enables the site's functionality in supporting (a) the development of collective (diasporic) memory and (b) visitors' exploration of various identities and relationships with place and past, within current social contexts.

Exploring the forms of place identity that dark tourists encounter at memorials in Rwanda, Hohenhaus (2013) argues that touristic presence in these haunted spaces evokes a felt dissonance between the tourist's own national identity and local identity. Uncomfortable feelings of voyeurism and intrusion are engendered in tourists, deriving from an uneasy feeling of shared (international) collective guilt for not having prevented the genocide. Arguably, memory of the international intervention that did not take place influences perception of contemporary touristic presence as untimely and impotent. Hohenhaus sets out the ways in which perception of tourism as (guilty) trespass within the sacred space of victims is acknowledged and reflected in site management policies: English language provision offers some element of inclusivity within the site for visitors, while formal guidelines on tourist behaviour set out a protocol of respectful and authorised enactment and involvement with the site. The identity of the visitor is thus formalised and rehabilitated in a way which heightens the sacred aspects of memorial place identity.

Conscious awareness of the historic events that have taken place or are represented at a given location informs and inspires certain social processes set within emotional, cognitive, psychological and behavioural dimensions of human experience of space. The quality of that experience can be direct, complete yet often unconscious (Relph, 1976), working within both material and psychological realms to support 'simultaneously mythic and real contestations' of space (Foucault, 1986).

### 4.1.3 Theorising dark place

The preceding examples reveal the ways in which human and place identities, involving complex issues of collective, renegotiate themselves through touristic transactions and sophisticated techniques of (re)interpretation, sanction and prohibition, explored further in Chapters 5 and 6. These research approaches to dark tourism explore its potential social functions and interactions in useful and vigorous

ways, via significant conceptualisations of place and place identity drawn from cross-disciplinary canons of, for example, social memory, heritage and human geography. In turn, dark tourism research contributes to discourse within those realms. Heightened attention to 'deathscapes' (Maddrell & Sidaway, 2010a) brings such sites within sharper focus of academic analyses (Young & Light, 2016), while the inherent spatialities of practices associated with death/s, dying/s, surviving/s and remembering/s offer new and nuanced perspectives on space and place for geographers (Stevenson, Kenton and Maddrell, 2016).

Sites of dark tourism are vernacular spaces, continuously negotiated, constructed and reconstructed into meaningful places (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011). Within *post* post-modern, collaged cultural landscapes in which the meaning of 'reality' is fundamentally altered, notions of staged authenticity (MacCannell 1976) and its reception by traditional or post-tourists can no longer support scrupulous theorisation of contemporary attitudes to touristic landscapes and their markers. Travels in hyper-reality (Eco, 1986) displace qualities of authenticity not merely from objective to perceptive but across and between those dimensions of experience. Hannam et al. (2006) suggest that conceptualisation of places as pushing or pulling people to visit must be problematised by an emergent mobilities paradigm that challenges ontologies of distinct 'places' and 'people' by positing complex, unfixed relationalities of, for example, hosts, guests, buildings, objects and machines brought together in performative contexts. Plastic qualities described within emergent tourism conceptualisations resonate with new critical thinking in human geography and related fields, that treat spatialities as ''convergences'' or mergers of constituent parts that blur together for a moment in time (see Anderson, 2012). The notion of non-permanent convergences (the consequences of which may be more enduring) is particularly germane to dark tourism's paradoxical juxtapositions and to the tendency of dark tourism visitations to 'nest' within larger tourist portfolios. Furthermore, the structure of dark tourism activity, as we have seen, is problematised by certain binary models and related issues of critical and constructive agency. By reframing that activity as clustering, overlapping or merging concerns, acts and agencies, we allow for its analysis via their unique transactions and their sociocultural consequences. Through this perspective, dark tourism is intuitively and theoretically aligned with contemporary concepts of space/time (including virtualities) and its theorisation and praxis are located firmly

within mobilities paradigms. Moreover, such a model finds significant resonance with the qualities of psychologised materials that cluster about, and are concealed and revealed within, dark tourism.

A full discussion of developing and emergent theories of spatialisation is far beyond the current study's scope. However, 'third ways' of conceptualising social space offer useful insights into the kinds of non-binary analytical frameworks by which dark tourism's site-seeing interactions may be effectively theorised. Furthermore, the spatial trialectics established within, for example, Lefevbre's *Production of Space* (1974), Soja's *Thirdspace* (1996) and Foucault's (1986) conceptualisation of heterotopia clearly resonate with the foundations of psychoanalytical thought, most especially with Lacan's (1977) ordering of the Real, the Symbolic and the Imaginary (itself developing upon Freudian theories of complex, language and association). This philosophical compatibility speaks to the psychologised materials and processes at play within dark tourism, and to the conceptual tools of Transactional Analysis (see Chapter 6 and onward) by which this thesis 'reads' and frames its research data. Importantly, theories of third spaces and places acknowledge the increasingly blurred boundaries of 'space' that may be conceptualised as *physical, virtual, 'thinking', empty,* within a continuum of psychosocial processes. Similarly, I contend that dark tourism is represented simultaneously by physical spaces and by their perceptual and psychological parallels, but also within the processes and agencies by which all these spaces are constructed. The institution of dark tourism itself may be regarded as a *third space* within which participants negotiate 'dark' materials through ongoing social construction and discourse. The following overview of 'third way' thinking is necessarily selective, focusing on concepts that are most applicable to dark tourism's site-seeing interactions and identifying their resonance in the current research literature.

#### 4.1.4 Third ways of theorising dark sites

Postmodern spatial philosophies move between physical and metaphysical representations, drawing attention to the social meanings and modes that invoke space, or are evoked by encounters within it. Issues of identity and community are strongly represented within these theorisations of space and its (social) construction through social processes, reflecting critical and spatial turns within, respectively,

contemporary human geography and critical studies. The recurrent triadic templating central to much influential and/or emergent theorisation of space is particularly relevant to problematic binary paradigms of dark tourism, discussed earlier. These conceptual trinities acknowledge and analyse both physical and perceptual aspects of space in relation to an *Other* kind of realm in which physical and perceptual spatialities may be contained, confounded or converted. In challenging the duality of home/work (first and second places) by describing 'third places' of social interaction, sociologist Ray Oldenburg (1989) offers an early marker of the de-differentiation argument and utilises terminology on which increasingly complex conceptualisations of social space are developed. For Oldenburg, third places coexist with yet disrupt the duality of first and second places, representing both their overlap and their opposition. Parallels can be drawn here with the notion of *khora,* notably theorised by Derrida (1995) as neither *sensible* nor *intelligible,* belonging to a 'third genus' and being 'both this and that' (Derrida, 1995: 89). In her studies of sense of place among second-generation descendants of refugees, and the mobilities of forced displacement, Kuusisto-Arponen's (2009) application of the concept of *khora* is effective and relevant to the present discussion.

Within cultural, literary and arts discourse, physical (first) and remote (second) space are fused within a networked (third) space in a blurring of 'real' and virtual worlds. Here, social interactions may occur in which participants in different spatial and chronological situations – out of space and out of time – can yet share social space and engage in social transactions. Unsurprisingly the cultural/media third space is often identified in virtual contexts, such as social media and online forums that in various ways and degrees transcend time, space and culture. The online environments set out in Chapter 6, in which this thesis finds its source material, may be viewed as these kinds of networked space. However, fusions of real/unreal, near/far proximities across time/space continuums are equally implicated in encounters in/with physical spaces of dark tourism, where we find highly diverse participants at busy leisure: deriving, making, remaking and sharing multiple meanings from and about their own and Other histories, in collective perceptual contexts and within historic spaces perceived as 'frozen in time'. Yet these are also curated spaces, influenced in their management, maintenance and representation by broader, often politicised, cultural narratives and thus re-created across macro and

microlevels of interpretation in each generation. Furthermore, the memorial 'immortality' conferred upon sites such as Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum is challenged by actual degeneration (consequent to both historic damage and destruction and by ongoing environmental issues) and by the juxtaposition of historic elements with various interpretive and other amenities that enable its memorial and touristic functions. Auschwitz's physical space, its 'first place', and a second, remote space of perception and 'knowing', are simultaneously located (along with their associated narratives and cultural material) within the third space of the Memorial/Museum experience.

Lefevbre (1974) argues for the analysis of space, as a complex social construction with associated values and meanings, in terms of how we build, use and perceive it. This perspective implies and influences a redirection of research attention from space *per se* to the ways in which it is (socially) produced, and in turn towards further understanding of the often contradictory or conflicting social contexts and materials that feed into those production processes. Lefevbre offers three axes by which to analyse space: (i) 'standard' spatial perception and practice, (ii) theorised space and (iii) a 'spatial imaginary' or space of representation. This third space transcends and destabilises the first and second axes, even as it absorbs their perceived/conceived materials. By these axes, we might theorise Dark Tourism in relation to (i) place identity, (ii) its conceptualisation, and (iii) an 'other' entity that encloses, contests and surpasses the sum of its parts. Within post-colonial discourse, Bhabha's (2004) theorisation of a (sociolinguistic) Third Space describes an ambiguous and ambivalent area as developing from interaction between individuals or cultures, positing a cultural *hybridity* capable of displacing its constitutive histories and creating new realms for the exchange and negotiation of meaning and representation. Soja's *Thirdspace* (1996) further reframes the traditional dualism of material and mental spaces, theorising an 'other' space that surpasses two-dimensional conceptualisations in scope, substance and meaning thus enabling the reappraisal, contestation and reworking of cultural identities and boundaries.

Mapping notions of space across themes of cultural identity and power, third space conceptualisations present unique affinities with contemporary tourist behaviours and with psychosocial approaches to them; furthermore, in representing modes of being that come and go 'in a borderline between different zones of action' (Bhabha, 2004) they align readily with the mobilities paradigm. Spatial trialectics arguably

transcend dichotomies that continue to be influential in tourism studies (Wearing et al, 2010) including and especially reductive dualism and compulsive categorisation in research processes: through its metaphorical attention to schisms in places and identity, third space theorisation can assist tourism researchers in 'demassifying' assumed sameness/difference (Hollinshead, 1998). Indeed, for some scholars the (postcolonial) third space in tourism represents a potential transcultural premise for mutual understanding and cohesion (Hollinshead, 1998, 2004a; Hunter, 2001; Wearing & Wearing, 2006; Amoamo, 2007), and a means to challenge dominant negative perspectives regarding tourist-host encounters. In third spaces, we can identify encounters where tourists/host relations 'othered' – and dualised - by cultural directives are destabilised and reconstructed as hybrid (Wearing & Wearing, 2006). Where tourism's scapes are reframed as third spaces, its participants are reviewed in 'rich entanglements' (Fagence, 2014) with unowned space comprising not only the traveller but travel itself (Wearing et al, 2010); tourism culture, operating in third space, can be read as a hybrid engaged in a continuum of negotiated and uncertain dynamics (Harrison & Lugosi, 2015) rather than as a host-tourist duality busied about an ever-shifting balance of power.

Yet, third space theorisation is notably underrepresented in the conceptual frameworks of tourism research (Hollinshead, 1998, 2004a; Wearing & Wearing, 2006) despite its apparent compatibilities. The dearth of correlation between third space theorisation and dark tourism, in particularly, belies their common attention to ambiguities, overlaps and contradictions, allied with identity concerns and socially constructed space. Limited examples of third space application to dark tourism cases (rarely conceptualisations) offer insights into, particularly, issues of identity and their negotiation/interpretation. Soja's *thirdspace* theorisation is usefully applied within Smith and Zátori's (2016) work on alternative tours in Budapest, whereby tour guides are represented as facilitating a thirdspace in which to negotiate and transcend difficult heritage and stereotypes. Wilbert & Hansen's (2009) approach to 'crime walks' in London similarly reads tourist performances as 'more than' on-site encounters: their complex intertwining of cultures, bodies, images and texts form a thirdspace calling on, yet transcending, materials from concrete and perceptual realms. In both cases, tourism participants not only construct but embody (third) spaces. Meanwhile, Lelo and Jamal (2013) identify, within their case study site (the African Burial Ground National Monument),

another kind of 'third space' in which diasporic visitors can explore identity in current, historic and futured contexts. Collins-Kreiner & Wall (2014) appraise notions of pilgrimage, frequently referenced in contexts of dark tourism motivations, as having simultaneous conceptual statuses: centre, periphery and (liminal) Other, operating in (and in between) both faith-based and secular imaginations and tourisms. For these authors, sacred sites may be represented as third spaces, existing between and beyond first and second spaces of the lived and the planned world. The third space reading, they argue, controverts simplistic notions of oppositional and different pilgrim or tourist by means of their transposition into shared (collaborative and same) space. Indeed, these authors advocate a revised religious tourism paradigm based in part on the notion of third space, acknowledging the interdependent, simultaneously sacred and secular nature of participants and socially constructed sites (Gatrell & Collins-Kreiner, 2006).

### 4.1.5 Heterotopian sites of dark tourism

Theorising heterotopia and the underpinning principles by which we may understand and identify it, Foucault (1986) describes its cultural ubiquity, temporal fluidity and non-linear existence within a space/time continuum. These characteristics of heterotopia speak compellingly to dark tourism's spaces, the ambiguous relationships between its subject matter and cultural norms, and to the notable diversity and multiplicity of its participant agencies. The (pan-cultural) heterotopia may appear, evolve, disappear and reappear in patterns that evoke Foote's constructive/destructive/evolutionary processes of place designation, and the mobile, yet ubiquitous, sociocultural attitudes to death that those processes imply. In heterotopian space, normative conceptualisations of time, space and compatibility are contravened or suspended to allow disconnection with daily life and behavioural conventions. Thus, ‘several emplacements that are themselves incompatible’ (Foucault, 1986:25) may be juxtaposed within a single real space, conceptually and physically defined by their own principles and represented as transitional (liminal) zones within surrounding walls. A visitor's presence within such space represents unique encounters with aspects of their own social identities that may be highly problematic in normative spaces. These ‘other places’ present as worlds ‘off-centre’ from conventions that govern normal or everyday spaces

(Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008). They may even celebrate the discontinuity and changeability of existence (Johnson, 2013), or experiment with new moral values, that in other contexts may induce societal angst or disapproval. Foucault's (1986) references to the cemetery, the museum, the vacation village, the fairground, the brothel and the colony as heterotopias, clearly align with dark tourism itineraries; while his representations of heterotopian places of crisis, deviance, ritual/purification and time (lapse and collapse) fulfilling functions of illusion and compensation speak compellingly to dark tourism's its dealings with conflict, crime and the characterisations of guilt and victimhood.

Arising from such characterisations, significant moral contexts, as we have seen, problematise touristic presence in sites of historic trauma. These challenges invoke heterotopian motifs of crisis, deviance, ritual and time and involve compensatory (arguably illusional) enactments. For example, touristic behaviours may involve certain formalities, entrance systems and other 'rituals' that mitigate or even transform perceptions of identity arising from (collective) guilt about historic events, contemporary trespass and transgression of taboo. These mitigating enactments are guided by site management aspects such as formal prohibition, or authorisation, of certain routes and actions, including photography, touch, sound and appearance (the case study site of this thesis sets out such controls within online and onsite signage, see Chapter 6). Toussaint and DeCrop (2013) observe that visitors are often expected to follow rituals within the heterotopia, which cannot be entered as if it were 'a mundane place' but via systems of opening and closing that 'both isolate and make…penetrable.' Conversely, heterotopian theorisation (Foucault, 1986) offers an alternative kind of (illusional) entry system by which seemingly simple admissions conceal 'curious exclusions'. That is, everyone entering the heterotopic site is fundamentally excluded from it by the very act of entrance, as tourists who enter in situ death sites are excluded by their defining capacity to come and go, differentiating them from the static community of the dead.

Heterotopian research readings of dark tourism sites can be traced to early discourses about, and figure in developing conceptualisations of, physical heterotopia as represented by the (Western) cemetery (Foucault, 1986; Wright, 2005; Gandy, 2012; Johnson, 2013). Foucault (1986) discusses the physical construction, location and relocation, and visitation of cemeteries as reflecting

shifting sociocultural attitudes to death. Here, 'habeus corpus' memorial locations offer death as a physical fact, its permanence symbolised by fleeting lives whose ends are literally set in stone. In the sinking, eroding and ageing landscape of the cemetery the viewer intuits decay and decomposition beneath the surface. Yet these same locations enclose an ongoing presence of the dead, encounters with the living and, in their relocations, visitations and variations, constantly evolving perceptions of mortality and its meaning. The heterotopian cemetery allows for transition and negotiation of new meaning in relation to the norm, of ongoing relevance to rapidly transforming, and anxious, societies in which death and marginalization become central concerns for the postmodern subject (Sheppard-Simms, 2016). Touissaint and Decrop (2013), examining relationships between dark tourism and sacred consumption in the context of Pere-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris via heterotopian attributes, argue that cemeteries address specific postmodern concerns for re-sacralisation. For these authors, Pere-Lachaise's aesthetic and historic characteristics make it a quintessential 'place' that allows visitors to encounter a preserved sacred sense in a secular world. Furthermore, having a triple historical, cultural and commemorative ethos, the cemetery fulfils multiple, and potentially dissonant, functions of 'edutainment' and pilgrimage. It can contain sacred and profane enactments, and therefore the exploration of plural identity aspects, within visitor experience. Bavidge's (2017) heterotopian analysis of roadside memorials further emphasises the plurality of modes at play in these memorial micro-worlds, interpreting the fusion of public context with the iconography of personal remembrance as enacting a collapse between private and public space. Transformed by death and the social behaviours it invokes into sacred landscapes, these markers become mundane thresholds for (impossible) communication between the living and the dead.

Within the less tranquil domains of global politics, the heterotopian thesis supports analyses of dark tourism that challenge, and suggest redirections for, its current conceptualisations. Stone's (2013) application of heterotopian principles to Chernobyl's postmodern apocalyptic landscape usefully updates their, and dark tourism's, conceptual contexts. Examining ways by which a place of industrial disaster can convey broader narratives about politics and identity, Stone suggests that Chernobyl can be viewed as ritual space existing in seemingly arrested space/time. In Stone's reading, Chernobyl allows us to gaze on a post-apocalyptic

world in which collision of the familiar and uncanny and the consumption of notions of 'Otherness' are allowed. The surreal dead zone overlaps with the real live world as a symbolic consequence of human history and as a physical space in which we may (temporarily) inhabit the landscape of disaster. Within similar contexts of global narrative and identity, Bigley et al. (2010) locate dark tourism within a peace paradigm between North and South Korea. Yet conversely, they argue that Western hegemonic constructions of tourism and, specifically, Euro-centric perspectives of dark tourism dark are not applicable to other indigenous (non-European) perspectives. Citing the North Korean Mt Kumgang tourist resort, previously regarded as a site of peace tourism during a period of InterKorean rapprochement strategy, these authors align socio-political shifts with metamorphic place identity after the killing of a South Korean tourist. The resort, they argue, is now a Foucaultian heterotopian space in which dark tourism and idealised cultural narratives are combined within a contradictory geopolitical place.

The acknowledged capacity of heterotopian space to comprise multiple fragmented or even incompatible meanings to which it is difficult to ascribe common logic (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008; Chambers, 2013) and, indeed, criticism of heterotopia as coherent or consistent theory (Genocchio, 1995; Soja, 1996; Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002) is hugely evocative of (positive and negative) critical attitudes towards dark tourism. Yet, the fluidity, ambiguity and multiplicity of both the phenomenon of dark tourism and heterotopian conceptualisation demonstrate significant resonance with the postmodern, and performance, turns in sociological theorisation, and with the evolving mobilities paradigm discussed earlier. These conceptual developments fundamentally disrupt the ocularcentric and static nature of earlier representations of place consumption (Adler, 1989; Urry, 1990, 1995; Craik, 1997). This disruption redistributes the cultural power previously ascribed to the tourist gaze across alternative platforms and dimensions and challenges the role (and meaning) of the tourist as consumer. Consumption and construction of places are reframed as multisensory, poly-cognitive and synchronous processes in which tourists and locals (Rakic and Chambers, 2013), alongside a spectrum of stakeholding entities, are variously engaged. Moving beyond paradigms of ocularcentrism (Jay, 1997) to analytical frameworks that acknowledge plurality of sense and sensuality in tourist practice and performance, current rethinking of place consumption (Bærenholdt et al, 2004; Crouch, 1999a; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994)

suggests that embodied (touristic) consumption and construction of places can be located at the intersection of corporeal and multisensory aspects with cognitive and affective processes. This intersection of thinking, feeling and doing challenges existing distinctions between the physical carrying capacity of a tourist site, and its perceptual capacity (Walter, 1982).

Certain research attitudes (see Hetherington 1997; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002) suggest that applications of heterotopian theorisation might usefully develop toward an analytic device by which we read or approach space, following Foucault's own notion of a *heterotopology* that would within a 'given society' deal in the analysis and reading of heterotopias as 'a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live' (1986:47). Addressing the management of dark tourism sites, especially within the milieu of Other death, Seaton (2009) concludes that the evolutionary diversity and polysemic nature of such unique auratic spaces demand managerial strategies that differ from other tourist sites. I contend that they demand also unique philosophical strategies and have discussed the 'third way' by which dark tourism 'consumption' might be analysed outside existing binary parameters. Arguably, the heterotopian (non-static, non-normative) paradigm represents a third term in situations where strict dichotomies such as public/private, urban/rural, local/global no longer provide viable frameworks for analyses (Heynen, 2008). Indeed, Foucault (1986) represents heterotopia as not only geopolitical but as metaphorical structures in which 'things' – objects, people, ideas, beliefs, concepts, qualities – might be ordered in a way that may not mark out the boundaries of the Other (Hetherington, 1997) but blurs and absorbs them. Thus, we might read Dark Tourism experiences in place as incidents of geo-political heterotopia, but also, interestingly, we might recognise Dark Tourism per se as a conceptual heterotopian structure in which sociocultural concerns and behaviours may be 'ordered' – or disordered.

#### 4.1.6 Site summary

The academic aggregation, as dark tourism, of diverse experiences of journeys to and presence within sites associated with violence and mortality could feasibly be extended to include almost every location of human residence and experience. The potential 'darkness' of place identity is fulfilled through visitor experience – but not

always. Inferring transference of ‘dark’ qualification from site to visitor disregards the multi-functionality of meaningful spaces (Terkenli, 2001) whereby the same tourist space provides stages for different crowds (Edensor, 2000) and complex experiences, often of completely different natures.

Following Ashworth (2003) in relation to the site of Auschwitz, it may be this quality of dark tourism destinations that must be recognised above all others: diversity (of function, history and meaning). Without valid empirical understanding of this trinity the research literature must remain ‘eclectic and theoretically fragile’ (Stone & Sharpley, 2008:575). A key research objective, then, must be to theoretically accommodate the actuality from which concerns about diversity arise, usefully summarised by Keil’s (2005) observation and acknowledgment that Auschwitz-Birkenau is both a shrine and a point on a tourist itinerary: that places are multifunctional and polysemic across a spectrum of sublime and mundane enactments within material and metaphysical planes. Investigation of experiential evidence bases may elucidate this dilemma, and the way in which ever-diversifying socio-cultural contexts and perspectives may be reconciled within a common ‘narrative’ of Dark Tourism.

Having set out dark touristic place identity in terms of mutually enabled functionality, touristic presence in and experience of place may be regarded as critically active in the creation and maintenance of that identity. Conceptualisation of dark sites as 'suppliers' of intrinsically dark product to a tourist body steered by motivations to consume place qualities, is thereby revealed as a simplistic and counterintuitive proposition. Such an approach belies the diversity of meaning-making at play within postmodern tourism contexts, particularly revealed by third space conceptualisations. Rather, touristic presence in place may be examined as a set of transactions that predicate, designate, negotiate, communicate, perpetuate and/or negate notions of identity and possibility. This approach differentiates from other (especially visual and media) dimensions of dark culture, and, significantly, may draw upon an evidential realm relating to the functional capacity of a site: acts and demonstrations may be observed, experiences may be reflected and transmitted, and analysed in terms of their impact upon dark tourism sites and behaviours.

### 4.2 Dark Site-seers

Within this chapter I have so far sought to challenge the view that dark tourism is defined by (perceived) inherent characteristics of the site itself and to explore the ways in which dark tourism is socially constructed (see Jamal & Lelo, 2011). Tourism sites are recognised and treated as, and therefore 'become', dark not only because of spatial characteristics and symbols, but perhaps more so by the meanings constructed within and from them, by visitors. This can be regarded as what visitors do; why they are moved to do it (usually, but not necessarily usefully, discussed within the literature in terms of visitor motivation) must be contemplated in conjunction with ideas about social space and place identity. We have seen that, in dark touristic contexts, unique and remarkable places have potential capacity to support multiple functions across perceptual domains and dimensions. What evidence do we have that these functions are being fulfilled, and that their anticipation and reflection are important to tourist experience?

Stone (2005) posits that within contemporary society, people regularly consume death and suffering in touristic form, seemingly in the guise of education and/or entertainment. Acknowledging the assumptive quality of this statement, this author calls for further research to establish consumer behaviour models that incorporate contemporary socio-cultural aspects of death and dying. As we have seen, auto-critical recognition of an inadequate attention to visitor motivation and experience is recurrent within dark tourism literature. Consequently, the vulnerability of dark tourism's conceptual underpinning may be summarised by Seaton's (1996:40) sketch of activity '*wholly, or partially*, motivated by the desire for *actual or symbolic* encounters with death, *particularly, but not exclusively*, violent death, which may, *to a varying degree* be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects' (my italics). The statement (consciously) reflects the ambiguity that requires future conceptual frameworks to accommodate multiple and diverse interpretation and experience. Seaton (2012) later argues that over-emphasis on conceptualisation over individual visitor perspectives hinders recognition that dark tourism is not a single concept: in other words, there is a need for more empirical research tackling the actuality of dark tourism encounters, more comparative observations and differentiated identification of what tourists are doing, and why.

Multiple cultural sources influence expectation, perception and reflection of visitors' in-situ experience and the potential outcomes that arise from it. Such outcomes might be emotional or cognitive, relating to the sense of self or to others, within highly personal or public narratives; they doubtless inform other and future perceptions and incidents of dark tourism, so that we can recognise a continuum of influence/experience/transmission. No single stage can be understood without reference to the others. Yet much of dark tourism's motivational research depends upon post- or mid-visit evaluation, in which expressions of perceived motivation may be compromised by touristic hindsight. Strategic research attention to the effective mapping and analysis of pre-visit expectation, in situ experience and post-visit consequence must be framed by clearly differentiated definitions of motivation and intent; yet, clear differentiation between anticipation, intention and motivation is limited within the literature (but see Phillips & Jang 2007; Jamal & Lelo, 2011). Analysis of dark tourism motivation occurs largely in contexts of tourism management models challenged within general and dark tourism discourse: Scarles (2010:2) argues the need for alternative research methods that engage with participants beyond the realms of representation toward the 'haptic, non-representational spaces of encounter and experience', while Seaton (1999) identifies significant differences between dark tourism experience and general recreational models. However, without effective regard to what dark tourists do (before, during and after their journeys), this attention to motivation 'may not tell us much' (Walter, 2009). If, at best, studying (overt) motive assists us in knowing how people describe their reasons for undertaking dark tourism, it may not touch upon (covert) sociocultural and psychological factors at play and how stages of our own, and others', experience and transmission feed into them. Pearce & Stringer's (1991) call for the realignment of motivational studies' content with multiple attitudinal and determinant factors remains largely unanswered. A dearth of studies mapping anticipatory, experiential and reflective stages of dark tourism against its varied human contexts limits our current comprehension of dark tourism as a sociocultural mediating institution. Whether motivation to visit is (consciously) dark or not, the tourist encounter and its reflection may be shaded very differently. This raises necessary questions about how anticipations of, or compulsions to visit, dark sites are fulfilled or disappointed, and what wider sociocultural significance can be inferred from collated motivational expressions.

In response to points and recommendations set out above, (dark) tourist motivation has become the focus of prolific and varied studies in the 21st century research (Yuill, 2003; Dunkley, 2007; Hyde & Harman, 2011; Lee, Bendle, Yoon, & Kim, 2011; Winter, 2011a; Podoshen, 2013). As we have seen (Chapter 3) this focus, and its descriptive vocabularies are problematised by several factors, which it is useful to outline prior to an overview of recurrent posited motivations within the literature.

### 4.2.1 Problematising dark tourism motivations

Models of motivation/satisfaction represent unsatisfactory juxtaposition of impulse and satisfaction with sites of death and atrocity, problematising evaluation processes and attitudinal surveys, particularly in self-reporting methodologies. Affirmation of dark tourism motivation may be affected by various moral concerns, misunderstood vocabularies and identity issues. People are reluctant to reveal or admit to less socially acceptable motivations (Ashworth, 2004) as the seriousness of events memorialised at dark sites transfuses perceptions of the site and/or its representations, resulting in a 'sacred cow' status (Lennon and Foley, 2006) that dissuades expression of critical attitudes. More socially acceptable motivations, mandated by normative attitudes to the events represented at dark tourism locations, are therefore far more likely to be offered to researchers. These influences upon how tourists represent - and suppress - their impulses toward dark tourism sites are reflected in concerns with identity and deviance/taboo, and reference to emotion, education and social responsibility, iterated within research into motivation, to which this chapter will return. Furthermore, terminology used within fieldwork is susceptible to subjective and erroneous interpretation, particularly in questionnaires where little leeway obtains for contextualisation and explication. The grouping of words and phrases according to a presumed synonymy renders analytical processes vulnerable to misinterpretation, particularly where diverse visitor bases are likely to read and reflect different cultural and linguistic materials.

Researchers may assume dark motivations due to, or even perception of, a site's dark attributes in part because of their own specific cultural and academic contexts. As previously discussed, attribution of motivation/meaning within the literature tends to proceed from the etic, rather than the emic realm (Seaton and Lennon, 2004; Wight, 2006). In line with descriptive understandings of dark tourism, a

demand-oriented approach assumes the presence of tourists at death-related sites reflects some kinds of 'thanatouristic' motive (Slade, 2003; Biran, Poria and Oren, 2011). Hence, all tourists to 'dark conflict' attractions are read as dark tourists - overlooking the possibility that the reason for visiting might be completely devoid of any interest in death itself. Isaac and Cakmak (2013:174) note that 'dark tourism often occurs as a form of derived demand' located within a larger tourist experience representing 'a set of possibilities in which a visit to the dark tourism site was not pre-planned'. As such, some dark tourism is opportunist, as 'dark tourists' are liable to be 'light tourists' making visits to dark places - with varying degrees of intention (Austin, 2002; Logan & Reeves, 2009; Slade, 2003) - because they happen to be en route elsewhere, filling in schedule spaces according to guidebook directives (Walter, 2009:54). Yet we can also read some tourist presence at sites of dark heritage as conforming to a postmodern compunction to participate in a collective regard, or, in touristic vernacular, the 'must-see' experience. Auschwitz, in spite and because of the sublime tragedy it memorialises, is thus the 'spot that symbolises the pinnacle of European dark tourism' (Tarlow, 2005: 45) and the 'epitome of a dark tourism destination' (Stone & Sharpley, 2008:587) because it has become a must-see tourist attraction and an arena for a variety of tourist experiences. The elusive and evocative notion of 'must-see' is revisited later in this chapter.

Robust empirical studies acknowledge that visitation may lack thanatourist motives (see Ashworth, 2004; Edensor, 2000; Hughes, 2008; Tarlow, 2005; Teye & Timothy, 2004; Sharpley, 2005). Smith and Croy's (2005) study highlights that not all tourists to sites associated with death and suffering are seeking a dark experience. Moreover, at certain sites with dark history some tourists are not familiar with the historic attributes that contribute to its dark identity (see Poria, Butler & Airey, 2004). Braithwaite and Lieper's (2010) analysis of tourist presence at the 'Death Railway' on the Kwai River related some visitor motivations to personal heritage, or to general heritage interest informed by educational and/or media resources; other tourists made the trip for recreational purposes and were unaware of the site's history of suffering and slave labour. In this case, perception of the site was located across (at least) three domains of cognitive/affective and, therefore motivational attitude, none of which make compelling connections to dark tourism's specific motifs. Likewise, Robben Island is a popular tourism and recreation destination, visited by foreign tourists mostly because of its associations

as a former prison, incarcerating, among others, Nelson Mandela. However, it is also a wild life sanctuary and an excursion and picnic destination for local visitors who may be more indifferent to its dark associations (Ashworth, 2004). Thus, Smith and Croy (2005) argue that perception of a site as dark (rather than a site's attributes per se) determines the degree and nature of tourist motivation. Differing perceptions are, in traditional tourism research models, handled by their categorisation as one 'type' of tourism or another, yet these typological boundaries are particularly blurred where the same destination has variously artistic, political, historic, tragic, notorious, military, macabre, architecturally or ecologically noteworthy attributes (and many dark tourism sites do). Stone's (2006) perspective that the distinction of darkness is conferred by what has happened on the site itself is necessarily predicated on cognition of the events in question. Touristic presence at, and perception of, a dark site is largely consequent to its negative notoriety (unless the site has alternative, likely leisure or heritage, functions that counterbalance dark place identity, and where perception of historic trauma is culturally contingent as with Robben Island and the Kwai River landscape).

However, that notoriety must have different implications for different visitors, depending on a host of personal and sociocultural variables including degrees of awareness, recognition and knowledge of a site (supporting Braithwaite and Lieper, 2010). Seaton (1996) summarises these ambiguities succinctly, suggesting that Dark Tourism commonly exists alongside other motivations (for example, interest in military history or other personal, nationalistic or humanitarian factors) rather than 'purely macabre feelings or, a fascination with death per se' (1996:243). These co-existent multiple motivations (and expectations) exist not only across tourist groups, but arguably within individuals who in certain times and places may be light or dark tourists, or both. These overlaps in apparent intentionality, the blurring of motivational boundaries and multiple possible perceptions of the 'same' space speak to the notions of convergence discussed previously with regard to spatialisation, and suggest that dark tourism encounters are not utopian or dystopian displacements of anxiety to zones in which all is good or bad; rather, they comprise qualities of the heterotopia where 'things are different', (fleetingly) inhabited by a community 'whose members have few or no intelligible connections with one another' (Mead, 1995:13).

Seaton (1996) not only acknowledges multiplicity of motivational attitude but incorporates it within the continuum of intensity by which he proposes to interrogate ‘thanatological’ motivation by degrees: of direction (general or specific death-interest) and range (death-interest as standalone or one of few or many factors). Seaton’s five categories of (dark) travel (to: witness public enactments of death; re-enactments or simulations of mass or individual death; interment or memorial sites; synthetic sites of material or symbolic representations of death) are largely place-driven, and with the (ocularcentric) exception of ‘witnessing’, do not denote the roles, enactments and feelings that might be anticipated by would-be visitors. Seaton sets out, then, where tourists are going, but not what they intend to do; yet, his categorisation offers a means by which to differentiate the ‘darkness’ of tourist motivations.

Tarlow (2005) notes that even ‘darker’ heritage sites are spaces where tourists are involved in various, often unrelated, experiences that may more logically be described as heritage or educational cultural tourism. Indeed, the expressed motivations of so-called 'dark tourists’ may correlate so closely with those of heritage and/or special interest tourists that inference of specific interest in death and/or mortality is arguably speculative (Hyde and Harman 2011). Visits to battlefields and war graves, for example, resonate with dark tourism themes, yet for many tourists they are encountered as sightseeing, educational activities or acts of memorialisation for events that exist in personal, familial as well as collective memory (Keil, 2005). In this respect, battlefield tours may be interpreted as heritage tourism or as personal acts of memorialisation/return and represent ambiguous environments for specific dark tourism research. Butler and Suntikul (2012: 292) articulate ‘the many different motivations that there are for tourists to seek out war-related destinations’ and caution against ‘the blunt and misguided categorisation of all war-related tourism as ‘dark tourism’, associated with death and suffering’. Slade’s (2003) study of

Australians and New Zealanders visiting Gallipoli, because it is the site of a First World War battle in which many soldiers of those nationality were killed, finds that they are engaged in a heritage experience and are not interested in death itself (Slade, 2003).

Yet, while some of the motivations ascribed to visitors at potential dark tourism sites may be categorised as leisure pursuit motives – for example, educational, must-see/must do imperatives, special interest (Dunkley et al, 2011; Hyde & Harman 2011) - their direction toward certain themes must be a significant factor. It is death that defines this aspect of heritage and directs the evolution of Gallipoli and other battlefields of significant loss into tourist destinations. Seaton (1996: 234) notes that 'death is the one heritage that everyone shares and it has been an element of tourism longer than any other form of heritage', and it is curious that dark tourism should be subsumed within newer forms of heritage in discussing motivation. Because of their typological intersections, visits to dark sites have been conceptualised and studied within wider frameworks of heritage/dissonant heritage / tourism (Poria et al., 2003; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), offering valuable insight into dark tourism behaviours yet arguably displacing its dark focus. Expressed motivational attitudes (of interest, emotion, remembrance) in heritage, education and other tourisms may be synonymous with those of dark tourism, but if morbidity and/or mortality are inherent in the *object* of those attitudes then the inference of dark tourism motivation is valid (and later in the chapter I will pay further attention to attitudes and objects in the process of 'breaking down' motivational expressions in dark tourism).

A final point on problematic aspects of motivational analysis is that the direction of research attention and resource to motivational attitudes is not matched by research into those constraints or barriers that deter visitation to dark sites (Zhang et al, 2016). The notion of *demotivating* factors in dark tourism, which deter potential visitors (Nawijn and Fricke, 2015) and their relation to cited motivational factors, may offer useful insights into the differing cultural and moral attitudes, social norms and taboos, of those who do and do not visit sites of death and atrocity.

### 4.2.2 Motivation, drive and outcomes

If 'motivation' refers to the inner forces which arouse and direct human behaviour (Beh & Bruyere, 2007; Boo and Jones, 2009), its frequent usage in defining and separating tourism segments (McCain & Ray, 2003) arguably diminishes the complexity and nuance of the term. Inherent in the concept of tourist motivation within tourism management theorisation are human needs requiring satisfaction,

and the maintenance of balance between under- and over-stimulation (Crompton, 1979; Iso-Ahola, 1982; Pearce, 1993). These conventions are clearly rooted in notions of the 'management' of touristic expectation and experience within supply/demand models and have enduring if implicit influence on the ways we describe and represent the dark tourist. Yet, given the caveats suggested above and reflecting the cross-disciplinary interactions of the dark tourism academy, much of the recent work undertaken under the umbrella heading of dark tourism motivation offers rich insights into the expectations, experiences and reflections arising from dark tourism activity. Unsurprisingly, the range of motives for dark tourism proposed and conceptualised in the literature (see Rojek, 1993; Seaton, 1999; Tarlow, 2005) is proportionate to the diverse sites of the Nazi Holocaust (Lennon & Foley, 2000), imprisonment (Wilson, 2008), battles (Hyde & Harman, 2011), slavery and apartheid (Austin, 2002) to which they are applied. Motivational expressions across that range can be read as involving issues of *contingency, imperative* and *anticipation,* and tourist behaviours will be directed by various combinations.

### *Dark Contingency*

Certain motivational expressions relate not to touristic expectation per se, but to contingency. Consideration of the accessibility (or avoidability) of certain experiences, and the various factors that inform them, allows a perceived ever-increasing tendency toward dark tourism to be read, in part, as different levels of social opportunity or obligation at work. Blom (2000) suggests four similar and complementary factors (relating to consequence, communication, and mediating social institutions) to visit dark sites: that touristic desire to experience (a) the unusual and (b) catharsis through contact with events to which they have no personal connection, is fulfilled by the creation of new/unique attractions and by media introduction to people/places of whom there would otherwise be no knowledge. Dunkley (2007) cites the convenience, conveyancing and communication of tourism offer as making visitation not only accessible but almost unavoidable: one cannot visit Krakow without encountering dozens of opportunities to visit Auschwitz, for example, and such visits are often bracketed with other tourist offers. Indeed, in many post-conflict zones, sites of violence and atrocity

may be the only heritage landmarks to survive associated physical destruction or offer the foundation of tourism (hence economic) development. Touristic, media, mobilities and political institutions and factors combine to influence accessibility to and awareness of dark tourism experiences. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe (Shapiro, 1994) and South Africa's abandonment of the Apartheid principle and first free elections (Tunbridge, 2005) exemplify political shifts that reveal and enable dark tourism opportunities. Meanwhile, the 1993 film *Schindler's List* set many scenes in Krakow-Kazimierz, triggering rapid and diverse development of tourism activity at the former Jewish neighbourhood in Poland (Ashworth, 1996): tours of Schindler's Factory and the Jewish Quarter are often now offered in conjunction with, or as an easier alternative to, guided visits to Auschwitz. Film and virtual game representation of conflict and violence represent a significant source of awareness about related places and events for many tourists; Dann (2005) argues that tourism's convergence with media (specifically, media concerns with and representation of violence) is likely expressed in desires to visit dark attractions.

***Dark Imperatives***

The contingency issues outlined above represent that tourists 'can' visit dark sites, and perhaps contribute to the recurrent but indistinct expressions that they should – or even must.

Manifestations of compulsion without clear object remind us that tourists' psychological needs are matched by certain attributes, and not specific qualities, of a destination (Uzzell,1989; Poria,

Butler and Airey, 2004). The 'must-see/do' is a shared social mandate, relating to iconicity and reflecting the 'bucket list' vernacular of contemporary culture with its often unarticulated psychologised and socioculturally-oriented directives. Reflected in many of dark tourism's motivational expressions, the must-see directive is further finessed when articulated or interpreted as a sense of social/moral duty or obligation. Obligation as a motivating factor is unique to dark heritage sites and as such, and in addition to its psychologised quality, the 'must-see' directive is quite seriously under-analysed within dark tourism research.

While the servicescapes of traditional leisure tourism promote and are evaluated in terms of consumer facilities, comfort and amenities, these elements may be unpredictable and indeed incongruent in dark tourism landscapes. Unsurprisingly the former scapes are easily represented as 'attractions'; for the latter, the term 'destinations' seems more apposite (although frequently inaccurate: as we have seen, many if not most dark tourism (brief) encounters are detours from larger leisure tourism activity). This descriptive differentiation speaks to the ways in which tourists may feel, or assert that they feel, more destined than attracted toward sites of human trauma. The findings of Kang et al's (2011) rigorous quantitative and qualitative study of South Korea' 'Peace Park' note 'obligation' is a key motivation for a visit (see also Yan et al, 2016), as tourists at Cambodia's Tuol Sleng Museum of genocide crimes may visit, according to Hughes' (2008) study, simply because it is a 'must see' site. Visits to darker sites, especially those connected to the Holocaust, are driven by a sense that it is 'the thing to do' (Tarlow, 2005). That finding is reiterated within studies of visitation to Auschwitz by, among others, Biran et al. (2011), in which Auschwitz as an iconic site of paramount symbolic meaning is thus a must-see tourist attraction), and Thurnell-Read (2009), where younger visitors specify obligation as a significant attitude to visitation.

The notion of 'must-do' is reflected on micro-levels: things, places, souvenirs, postcards, photographs and events which must be seen, taken, bought, acquired, tried and experiences. We might read these responses to a communal imperative not as acts of consumption, but as the enactment of duties: touristic acts of social mitigation or contribution that may offset leisure time through community service. While in other tourisms (volunteering and eco-tourism) these acts will be tangible and measurable, the social work undertaken through dark tourism is more abstruse, relating to the sociocultural negotiation and representation of memory and mortality.

The tourist's work as 'an assembler of subjective and symbolic worlds' (MacCannell, 2011:97) is developed within co-creation and performative models, in which the reappraisal of the tourist role entails a revision of touristic destinations from locations of service provision and consumption to stages of action and performance. Earlier conceptualisations of dark tourists present a homogenous group of passive receptors (Lisle, 2007; Wight and Lennon, 2007) characterised in scholarly and media representations as either ogling spectator or destructive

consumer of death, disasters and atrocity as a commodified product. In this representation, tourists become end-point consumers lacking meaning-making agency, whose motivations are highly questionable and whose actions debase sacral sites. Sather-Wagstaff (2007: 27) suggests instead that tourists are participating agents in processes of social production, consumption, performance, and construction of iconic memorial sites, describing in an exploration of 9/11 'memoryscapes' (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011) how tourists construct and disperse knowledge through performative activities, to make sites of pain salient and meaningful on collective and individual levels.

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed how reiterated performative acts work in symbiosis with the place characteristics that enable them, to reinforce and sustain place identity and related sociocultural narratives. Yet while touristic performativity may 'collaborate in the production of the spectacle" (Chaney, 1993:164) to (re)produce social entities, it may also offer critical counterpoints to hegemonic narratives (Obrador, Pons & Carter, 2010) through acts of nonconformity, resistance and even deviance. Here, the imperative 'must-do' is negatively represented as what one must *not* do: a directive 'don't' that may be challenged by non-conformist acts, frame normative behaviours, or deter engagement in dark tourism altogether (see *Problematising dark tourism motivation*, above). Many tourist behaviours are institutionally scripted (Pearce & Stringer, 1991), particularly and specifically within the timetabled and guided activity common to 'inset' visitation to dark sites. Where there is capacity for less structured scripts and actions, more open-ended performances may contain cultural and creative ambiguities and even improvised codings of subversive messages (Palmer and Jankowiak 1996:236). Reflexive, critical or rebellious ``post-tourist" performances at dark tourism sites involving atypical, controversial or provocative behaviours range from independent visit navigation, through non-compliance/disagreement with guidelines and shows of humour and irony, to the content and distribution of 'selfies' subject to media reportage in terms of (a)moral outrage, highlighted by Shahak Shahira's 'Yolocaust' website[3]. More qualitative empirical research into the motivation and consequence of dark touristic rule-breaking might offer rich insights into the ways in which it undermines, eludes or affects social conventions, and,

[3] http://yolocaust.de/

indeed, its relationship to perceptions of deviance. If dark touristic performativity can reinforce and/or challenge the hegemonic narratives of dark sites and the events they represent, this significant potential social impact may be more fully understand by greater research attention to: the imagined roles tourists anticipate undertaking within their visits (pilgrim; witness; learner; mourner; penitent); the 'scripted' material to be enacted; and the various cues and prompts that support the performance. In the case of this thesis, those factors will be examined through the theories of Transactional Analysis (introduced in Chapter 5) and its underpinning notions of script, role and transaction. Meanwhile it is useful to keep in mind these issues of role and script within touristic performativity in the context of specific anticipated outcomes of dark tourism, as this chapter turns to their expression within motivational research.

### *Dark Anticipation*

Many cited motivating factors can be read as expressions of what tourists expect to encounter, consequent to their pre-existing knowledge/perception of the site and the events it represents. Those expectations relate to the use that can be made of social space: how we can feel, behave and act in ways that negotiation, express, suppress and otherwise influence identities (of place, self and others). This identity work is played out through roles anticipated within motivational expression (and recounted in post-visit transmission). Table 3 (below) sets out some authors' findings that summarise recurrent attitudes and motifs across the canon, breaking down reported *motivational expressions* into:

i. drive, including desire, interest and search
ii. verbal clause, such as, to feel, to experience, to know, to see
iii. subject matter, such as specific feelings and things, toward which the verbal clause is oriented.

| | Drive/objective | *subject* | See also |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dann (1998) | (desire) to celebrate | *crime or deviance; bloodlust* | Ashworth, 2004 |
| | fear of | *phantom* | |
| | search for | *novelty* | |
| | | *nostalgia* | |
| | interest in | *mortality* | |
| Ashworth | (desire) to feel | *curiosity* | |
| | | *horror* | |
| | | *empathy* | |
| | (desire for) | *self-understanding* | Cultural identity: Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011 |
| Blom (2000) | Seeking (to experience) | *Novelty: something different from everyday life* | Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005 Curiosity: Tarlow , 2005 |
| | (to achieve) catharsis by confronting media exposure | *…to unpleasant events to which we have no personal or individual connection* | |
| | (tourism market demand creates) opportunity for | *Novelty: new places and people; new and unique attractions* | Convenience: Dunkley, 2007) |
| Ashworth (2004) | positive quest for | *identity* | Cultural: Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011 personal status: Sharpley, 2009 |
| | | *knowledge* | |
| | | *social responsibility* | |
| | (desire for) negative indulgence in | *Depravity; violence; suffering* | Dann, 1998; 2005 |
| Ashworth& Hartmann | pilgrimage (quest) | | |
| | seeking/pursuing (quest: social mitigation) | *...truth* | |
| | | *...knowledge* | Biran et al, 2011; Dunkley et al, 2011 |
| | | *...social responsibility:(not: being forgotten/making the same mistakes)* | |
| Dunkley (2007) | special interest (in) | *iconic sites* | Biran et al 2011 |
| | Convenience (opportunity) | | Blom, 2000 |
| | Seeking (to experience/feel) | *…thrill/risk* | Mowatt and Chancellor, 2011 |
| | | *…validation* | |
| | | *…authenticity …self-discovery* | |
| | | *…curiosity (morbid) empathy* | 'Natural attraction' to discover, uncover and recover horror: Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005; curiosity: Tarlow, 2005 |
| | (desire) (to perform) | *pilgrimage* | |
| | | *remembrance* | Education/entertainment/memorialisation – contemplative, neutralises dread: Stone, 2012a |
| | | *contemplation* | |
| Biran el al. (2011) | interest in seeing (in order to) Believe (*see it to believe it)* | *the site* | Hyde & Harman, 2011 'Must-see/do': Hughes, 2008; Tarlow, 2005 Obligation Kang et al,2011: |
| | | *atrocities really happened* | |
| | (interest in) being educated about *'learning & understanding'* | *Second World War atrocities at Auschwitz* | Austin, 2002; Teye & Timothy, 2004 |
| | (interest in) seeing | 'famous death tourist attractions'; *real sites of death* | |
| | *in order to* feel | *empathy* (with) *the victims;* | Ashworth, 2002; Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005 |
| | (desire) to have an *emotional heritage experience* through | *connecting to his/her heritage* | Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011: cultural identity |

*Table 3: Summary of theorised motivational expressions*

By dismantling the motivational expression, we reveal the (desired) anticipated outcomes of the dark tourism encounter: to feel, contemplate, discover, believe, and perform certain things. As we encounter ascribed motivations represented as nouns - fear, sorrow, education - it's necessary to frame them with qualifying clauses: thus, fear is not the motivation, but (desire or compulsion) (to feel) fear, which is an expected or intended outcome; and so on. Where motivational expression is unpacked in this way, we understand 'drive' as desire for anticipated experience, which may be qualified as a dark desire by specific aspects: a *desire to see* is shaded more darkly as it is directed toward memorial to, replica of, or physical remains of, the dead. Clearly, motivational expression must be qualified by greater specificity around direction and context, that is, the focal point of desire.

Dann's (1998) eight 'influences' on tourist direction toward 'dicing with death' may be read as largely descriptive and, arguably (see Stone and Sharpley, 2008), follow the perceived quality of specific destinations rather than tourists' motives. Yet, Dann's vocabulary highlights drive, quest and emotion: *desire, fear, lust, nostalgia, curiosity, seeking, celebrating,* and their direction toward highly suggestive objects: *mortality; blood; novelty; phantom; crime; deviance,* with a useful specificity. Dunkley (2007) identifies eleven, more ambiguous, 'possible motives' for thanatourism, touching on convenience (to which the chapter shortly returns) but setting out several *quests,* relating to feeling and identity, for:

i. *[thrill/risk]*

ii. *[validation/authenticity]*

iii. *self-discovery/empathy/contemplation]*

iv. *pilgrimage/remembrance*

v. *morbid curiosity*

Personal involvement or connection represents another axis by which darkness might be measured and analysed: at sites of death, that connection qualifies visitor engagement in contemplative and developmental, or consumptive and non-developmental, practices that may be shaded from the memorial to the morbid. In the context of their study on motivations at Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum, Biran el al. (2011) identify four headings by which to group motivating factors: *'see it to believe it', 'learning and understanding', 'famous*

*death tourist attractions'* and *'emotional heritage experience'*. These groupings are mapped, importantly, across degrees of personal involvement with the site (see also Yuill's (2003) exploration of identity, feeling and activity along a scale of personal involvement, and Cohen (2010) on connections between personal involvement and engagement/motivation at dark sites). Biran et al's headings represent recurring notional sets (see also Biran & Poria 2012; Kang, Scott, Lee, & Ballantyne, 2012), of *[believing/validating], [education and understanding], [empathy and emotional experience]* and *[heritage/identity]* that find overlap in reiterated *curiosity, horror, empathy, identity/self-understanding* 'arguments' (Dann, 2005; Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005). These overarching themes accommodate a range of anticipated acts/feelings and outcomes as suggested in Table 4 (below).

| **Conceptual set** | **Experience** | **Outcome** |
|---|---|---|
| Believe/validate<br>*Witness, prove, corroborate, testify, pilgrimage, recognise* | Witnessing<br>Remembrance<br>Contemplation<br>Recognition | Social: witnessing; 'never again'<br>Personal: identity and status |
| Education/understanding<br>*Learn, know, discover* | Curiosity<br>Discovery<br>Contemplation | Social: knowledge = understanding, empathy<br>Personal: knowledge = enhanced identity status; self-discovery; 'edu-tourism', 'roots tourism' |
| Empathy/emotion<br>*Feel* | Sadness<br>Guilt<br>Horror<br>Curiosity<br>Nostalgia | Social: (shared) emotion; empathy for others; moral compass – 'never again'; 'mea culpa'<br>Personal: excitement, thrill, catharsis, indulgence |
| Identity<br>*Remember, memorialise, self-discovery (heritage)*<br>*Status,*<br>*self-discovery (personal)* | Witnessing<br>Remembrance<br>Contemplation<br>Nostalgia<br>Collective feeling | Social: 'never again'; social identity, empathy;<br>Personal: nostalgia; enhanced/problematised identity status; 'roots' tourism |

*Table 4: Summary, theorised categories, experience and outcomes*

In examining the social and/or personal outcomes that might follow on from anticipated experience, further insight into the 'darkness' of motivation (and deviance) might be gained: the social transactions that take place within dark tourism experience represent opportunities to affect and express personal identity

and status (how we feel about ourselves), social concerns (how we feel about others) and to negotiate relationships between the two realms. Dann's (1998) directives to feel excitement, bloodlust, curiosity and so on express outcomes relating to personal satisfaction; socially-orientated experiential objectives offer new typologies of mea culpa, (following Richter, 1999), never again, roots, and edu-tourism describing (respectively) pilgrimages of penance/repentance for assumed complicity in human tragedy and trauma; social missions to shape better futures; and (more and less personally engaged) quests for identity and for knowledge, understanding and enlightenment. These neo-archetypes readily overlap: mea culpa and never again attitudes have a shared resonance with social mitigation; never again is dependent on the knowledge and understanding of edu-tourism; roots tourists will find identity markers in mea culpa activity, and so on. In these contexts, we see the expression of desire to contribute to positive social outcomes that connect with the idea of self. Conversely, the desire for outcomes that have neither societal benefits, nor educational/enlightenment affects, sets the motivational expression within negative (deviant) territories dealt with later in this chapter.

Across the literature, we find certain motivational expressions can be read as factors that seemingly inform the likelihood of visitation, collated and expressed as anticipated thematic outcomes of dark tourism encounters as set out in Table 4. In separate studies of visitors' experienced benefits of dark tourism activities, Biran et al. (2011) and Kang et al. (2012) identified the following significant groupings:

i. meaning/understanding/learning/knowledge enrichment
ii. personal heritage experience
iii. social connections,
iv. achievement of an inner mission.

These perceived benefits readily align with Table 4's anticipated outcomes of belief/validation, education/understanding, feeling and identity. Indeed, a benefit-based, rather than motivational, approach is regarded as a useful model by which to comprehend dark tourism experiences (Kang et al, 2012; Biran et al, 2011).

### 4.2.3Anticipated outcomes

Desires and needs are imagined, and imaged, by cultural material, media and memory; they generate feelings of anticipation that involve tourists in imaging and imagining themselves in contexts of place, status and identity (Kim and Richardson, 2003; Nielsen, 2001; Wickens, 2001). Thus, the tourist arrives at their destination (an evocative term, rooted in destiny) carrying psychic representations – images, associations and scenarios – that infer certain (imagined but unspoken) roles (Ryan, 2003), tasks and feelings that may be performed, undertaken and experienced. Following the themes outlined in Table 4, these anticipated performative and experiential outcomes can be examined as they relate to interrelated overarching headings: of ***belief/validation; learning; feeling,*** including ***empathy, sense and sensibility; identity.***

***Belief/validation***

Dark tourism's collective nature and prevalence affords a ubiquity, and various rationalisations provided by media and tourisms infrastructures constitute positive cultural commentary, that to a degree 'sanction' visits to death-related destinations. However, dark tourism as an institution and authoritative agency are not (yet) normative: both academic and media discourse call into question the ethical and moral qualities of dark tourism and its legitimacy as a mediating cultural institution. Stone and Sharpley's (2008) advocacy of dark tourism as a means by which the participant may obtain ontological security may assume too readily its sociocultural licence to do so. Additionally, negative cultural commentary relating to dysfunction, deviance and dystopia within dark tourism contexts may problematise it. Clearly, positive and negative sociocultural commentaries are tributary to dark touristic narratives in which place, historic and touristic identity are implicated.

Biran et al. (2011) and Dunkley et al (2011) find that visitors have a need to visit a place to validate that certain events really happened, to reinforce an empathetic interpretation and to make sure that events like this can be avoided in the future – the 'never again' covenant underpinning much visitor reflection and, indeed, (dark) institutional messaging. How is it imagined that this undertaking can be accomplished through visitation and viewing? No logical evidence base can suggest that touristic visitation to sites of genocide, for example, has prevented further acts

of genocide or mitigated factors that might support such acts. Yet the possibility that visitors believe or intend that their visit can in some way mitigate past, or propitiate future, atrocity cannot be discounted. Such a belief follows in human traditions, located in symbolic/subconscious realms, of ritual behaviours connected with repentance, appeals for beneficent intervention, and redemption. In striving to perform these roles in touristic activity, contemporary forms of ritual or sacred journey (Morgan, 1999; Rojek and Urry, 1997) are, arguably, enacted. Notions of the tourist as witness and/or pilgrim (Belhassen and Santos, 2006) engaged in acts of social duty are strengthened by their coded articulation in the metaphors of imperative and belief: of 'must-see', seeing-to-believe, quests and obligation (in past and future contexts). Tourists can represent, to themselves and others, metaphorical or memorial witnesses, on the 'right side' of the atrocity equation. Memorial acts arguably represent ongoing affirmation of a shared moral perspective, and make statements about our beliefs and ourselves, relevant to issues of identity touched upon later in the chapter. They underpin significant cultural narratives and the ways in which individuals can actively engage with them and affect the ways in which people feel about themselves. The strength of such narratives, especially where moral and identity issues are highly implicated, makes them difficult, sometimes impossible, to challenge or question. This kind of difficulty is likely to influence how dark touristic motivations and experiences are expressed.

Moscardo (1996) and Pearce (1996) appraise the touristic experience in terms of *mindfulness*, distinguishing between 'mindful' interest in, and subsequently greater likelihood to express satisfaction with, a visit and 'mindless' repetition/replication of pre-existing scripts and routines (Pearce, 1996:13) where attention to alternative cultural values is less active. The related psychological concept of *importance attitudes* to social perceptions and behaviour is infrequently referenced in the tourism literature (although, see Lindberg and Johnson, 1997; and Um and Crompton, 1990). Importance attitudes generally resist change, remain stable over time and experience, and have powerful effects on thoughts and on behaviours (Boninger, Krosnick, Berent and Fabrigar, 1995). Such qualities resonate with earlier studies on the power of tradition (Hewison 1987; Fowler 1989; Heeley 1989; Hall and McArthur 1993) and an implied stability and continuity associated with heritage values. Touristic experience of heritage contexts may elicit purposeful

information-gathering and powerful identity reinforcement; or potent dissonance and resistance, depending on the alignment of importance attitude. Significant attention is required in managing importance attitudes, more so in the contexts of dark tourism representations of political, moral and national identity concerns and the heightened emotions they elicit. Where importance attitudes and related 'scripts' are not countered by opportunities for learning and development, experiential aspects of dark tourism, including and especially heightened emotion, may be rendered 'mindless'.

Thus, the role of interpretation at dark tourism sites in communicating, contextualising and even challenging received authenticities is of serious significance. Encounters at a site 'darkened' by tragedy and atrocity may afford intuitive affects – of sadness, horror, shock or excitement – that are dependent on cognition. Yet, awareness of dark history does not in itself constitute a meaning-making process, and absence of experiential learning outcomes may frame dark visitation within negative contexts of voyeurism and depravity. Sites of dark tourism that lack experiential learning opportunities are most liable to negative perceptions of integrity and intention, which permeate the spectrum of dark tourism experiences across a range of public, media and academic contexts.

These 'ambiguous sites' are least likely to form the focus of serious scholarly interrogation or overlap with heritage conceptualisations. While the focus of this chapter is on site interpretation and, therefore, sets aside transient and spontaneous sites, it should be noted that their intelligent analysis is necessary to support full understanding of the dark tourism spectrum and its varying expressions of development and/or deviance. Stone's (2006) seminal dark tourism spectrum model qualifies dark tourism within plural dimensions including perceived interpretive orientation (toward education or entertainment, history or heritage), locational (in)authenticity and purposefulness. Thus, the 'darkness' of touristic experiences is shaded not only by spatial and relational authenticities but by other qualifying activities including educative and interpretative constituents. Effective strategies of site interpretation must, then, express a thoughtful 'philosophy of sightseeing' (Webber, 1993:286).

***Learning***

Educational functions are crucial to the perception of dark tourism sites as a means by which their represented events may be processed in the context of humanity's shared narrative, and by which the tourist's role (at the site and within that narrative) are rationalised. Presented as an optional motivation within research questioning, it is unlikely that 'education' will be rejected by the research subject and, unsurprisingly, the assertion of 'educative context, often with an admonitory tone' (Lennon and Foley, 2006:119) is recurrent within site messaging. Indeed, the identity of sites at which 'traditional' tourism activities may not be acceptable (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005) is often defined and validated by affirmation that they are not designed for entertainment but for education (Heitman, 2011).

Yet 'education' has not been rigorously examined as either a motivation or consequence of dark tourism. Indeed, links between travel, tourism and education are generally under-researched (Roppolo, 1996; Smith & Jenner, 1997; Falk et al. 2012; Stone and Petrick, 2012), whilst research into informal learning in tourism, and particularly in dark tourism, is significantly underrepresented within the literature. Mitchell (1998: 176) points out that little is known about touristic learning 'despite frequent references to educative potential within tourism marketing'.

Meanwhile, Minnaert's (2012) study into social tourism and learning emphasises that further research into touristic learning is needed, reiterating the privileging of formal education experience whereas the unplanned learning opportunities of other forms of tourism have been left largely undiscovered. Consequently, the moral and intellectual status of dark tourism sites and visitors is dependent on a largely notional educational value. While educational dimensions may help distinguish meaningful dark tourism experiences from recreational or voyeuristic ones (Cohen, 2010) they may equally serve as a legitimizing mechanism for leisure (Schmidt, 1979). Unevaluated (anticipated) educative opportunities may endow the potentially voyeuristic experience with a veneer of profundity, without rendering it meaningful.

As a recurrent concern across dark tourism discourses, education/learning might usefully be discussed as validating, as much as motivating, touristic presence. Lennon and Foley (2000) suggest that the seriousness of memorialised events tends

to transfuse perceptions of the dark site and its representations, resulting in 'sacred cow' status that problematises criticism of interpretive (and logistical) facilities. Serious/sacred connotations are enhanced by the reiteration, along with the historical significance of the location, of the educative mission at dark sites (Lennon and Foley, 2000) and variously didactic expressions can be identified within dark sites and their communication materials and channels. For most prospective tourists, the first (or only) point of direct communication with dark sites will be via their online representation in organisational websites and/or social media channels, and these interfaces reveal the preliminary expression of educative or other functions, qualities and 'missions'. Three iconic sites of darkest tourism represent useful exemplar:

- The **9/11 Memorial** website[4] provides navigational headings relating to key functions: *Visit, Memorial, Museum, Teach and Learn,* reflected in its Facebook identity *history museum, historical place,* and *landmark.*
- **Auschwitz State Museum and Memorial's** website[5] expresses (and divides) its triple qualities in navigational headings *History; Visiting; Education* and Facebook identity *historical place; history museum;* and *education organisation*. Visiting information is prefaced by reference to 'the authentic memorial' and the following guidance – *'While*

  *on the grounds of the Museum, you are required to observe the appropriate solemnity and respect. Before the visit please read the rules for visiting'.*
- **Kigali Genocide Memorial Museum** website[6] defines '*a place for remembrance and learning; a marker of civil war, atrocity and genocide; the final resting place for more than 250,000 victims that honours the memory of the more than one million Rwandans killed in 1994*' and is represented by its Facebook identity as a *Community*.

---

[4] http://www.911memorial.org/

[5] http://auschwitz.org/en/museum/news/

[6] http://www.kgm.rw/

Significant variations in tone, visual and cultural identity are discernible across these online environments, reflecting very different approaches to interpretation and representation of site themes. A full analysis of this material is beyond the scope of this thesis (although the online and on-site institutional messaging of Auschwitz State Museum and Memorial will be subject to a much closer reading in later chapters). However, educational and memorial missions within iconic space are key to the institutional identities of these in-situ dark tourism destinations and key messages from online environments represent the tip of interpretive icebergs.

The effective contextualisation of events memorialised at dark sites is a significant and complex task; 'educating' the touristic visitor about them, within a period of hours and across a broad spectrum of knowledge bases and preconceptions, is arguably impossible. Within the specialised pedagogy of Holocaust education, for example, nuanced and meticulous attention is paid to sociocultural and ethical contextualisation, to specific vocabularies, the use of visual and other media, authenticity and other significant aspects of interpreting and 'telling' collective and individual narratives. A range of resources to support the (formal) educator and student and their conscious learning processes are offered, and regarded as largely mandatory, by academic and museological sources[7], in recognition of the inherent dilemmas of 'teaching' atrocity.  Yet, the potential touristic learner is largely unprepared and, arguably, poorly provided for. Furthermore, the visitor without specialist knowledge is liable to be mis-educated by the selective interpretation identified within many attractions dealing with political conflict and war (Wight & Lennon, 2007). The degrees to which interpretive materials at sites of dark tourism are underpinned by pedagogical principles, and the effective direction of tourists to post-visit further learning opportunities, are various but under-researched (an area to which future dark tourism research may make significant contributions through analysis and evaluation of learning opportunities, experiences and outcomes). In addition to paucity or poverty of interpretation, certain constraints of the general touristic experience may actively impede or undermine learning processes. These

[7]https://www.het.org.uk/education/teacher-training; http://www.holocausteducation.org.uk/teacherresources/pedagogical-guidance/; https://www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-theholocaust/general-teaching-guidelines; http://www.holocausteducation.org.uk/wpcontent/uploads/IHRA_Holocaust_genocide_and_crimes_against_humanity.pdf; http://auschwitz.org/en/education/resources-for-teachers/

are examined more closely through the case study in later chapters, but may include time, language, capacity and sensory aspects (see below, *Sense & Sensibility*) and consequent feelings of confusion and exclusion, misunderstanding and disengagement.

Arguably, learning very much about site history may be too much to expect of the tourist encounter. Some authors argue that the focus of memorial sites' general visitor interpretation should be the emotional appeal of genuine authentic historical sites and remains, with intellectual learning opportunities/resources ringfenced for 'other, more suitable, situations' (Marcuse, 2001: 391) such as formal educational visits and scholarly research activity. Yet such dependence on emotional appeal without intellectual learning risks a degradation of touristic experience, literally displacing potential learning outcomes from touristic to specialist spheres. The fulfilment of expressed motivations of both the dark tourism site and its visitor are implicated in the assumption that that tourists are more likely to change their post-visit behaviour if learning activities take place (Forestell, 1993; Orams, 1997) and thus absence of learning opportunities may compromise other hoped-for behavioural outcomes and indeed, the mission statements of many sites of darkest tourism. Importantly, touristic learning and behavioural change can take place not only though formal learning activities, but in tourist opportunities to integrate into a community of practice (see Minnaert, 2012) through shared contemplative and reflective behaviours.

An understanding of theories and praxis of non-formal, including experiential, peer and other modes of learning, introduces further scope for the identification and analysis of opportunities to acquire and develop knowledge, skills and comprehension. Boydell's (1976) trinity of *cognition* (an increased awareness), *emotion* (changed attitudes), and *behaviour* (changed or interpersonal competence), clearly reflect touristic expressions of (anticipated and realised) experience: these experiential learning modes offer useful zones in which the efficacy of dark touristic learning strategies and intentions might be evaluated. Ambitious, if not rhetorical, educative missions to 'learn from the past' so that we may 'never again' repeat (dark) history might focus on increasing awareness, changing attitudes and developing interpersonal competence, as represented by Boydell's conceptual trinity. Indeed, such a model represents flexible, feasible and measurable objectives by which learning in dark tourism contexts may be developed and evaluated.

***Feeling***

Moscardo & Ballantyne (2008:247) observe, in contexts of heritage interpretation, that issues relating to strong emotions are most clearly present in dark tourism sites at which emotional experiences become more critical determinants than with traditionally 'hedonic' sites (Miles, 2002; Mitas, Yarnal, Adams, & Ram, 2012). However, existing empirical research on emotional responses at sites associated with death and suffering is limited and descriptive (Preece and Price, 2005; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Wight, 2006; Walter, 2009), generally adopting qualitative methodologies and relating not to emotional intensity but to the kind of emotions expressed.

Specific studies which attend to touristic expressions of emotions include the following as a representative sample and with the outcomes listed:

- Austin's (2002) study of former slavery sites in Ghana, reporting feelings of **anger, anguish and sorrow;**
- Krakover's (2005) study at Yad Vashem Holocaust Remembrance Site, reporting feelings of **sadness and fear**;
- Lisle's (2004) study at Ground Zero in New York, reporting feelings of **despair, anger, frustration, sadness, hope, and love;**
- Best's (2007) study of Norfolk Island's former convict settlements, reporting feelings of **anger, fear, denial, grief, empathy, pride, fascination, interest and gratitude;**
- Thurnell-Read's (2009) interviews with young visitors to Auschwitz, reporting feelings of **sadness and hope;**
- Sharpley's (2012) study of visitor experiences at genocide sites - **disgust, sadness and hope.**

Broader theorisation involving emotion and affect (see Table 1; see also Ashworth & Isaac, 2015) commonly represents **curiosity; empathy; (empathetic) grief**, ie imagining Other grief; **shame** (conscience) about what has and has not been done; **anger; horror/dread/fear.**

As a motivating factor in dark tourism, the feeling of curiosity is logical: it pre-exists, and the feeling will be satisfied by seeing, hearing and discovering at the site

in question. The quality of such curiosity is shaded by its *direction* (a desire to know, to understand, or to see and touch) its *focal point* (facts, human experience, an iconic site, or human remains) and the anticipated role or outcome (of witnessing, sharing knowledge, satisfying 'bloodlust'); varying permutations of *direction* + *foal point* + *anticipation* will suggest more or less socially legitimate goals, and the differing terminology by which curiosity is expressed as a motivation (desire for education, discovery, certain feelings) likely acknowledges the different ways it may be perceived (compare, for example, the connotations of Dunkley's (2007) 'morbid curiosity' with Ashworth & Hartmann's 'natural attraction' to discover, uncover and recover horror).

Most emotional responses, as expressed within the research, would usually be regarded as negative: anger, horror, fear and sadness are emotions that one would tend to avoid in normal life, but which in certain controlled and/or authorised circumstances might be experienced as degrees of (pleasurable) excitement. Such excitement can be overt within thrill-seeking dartainment sites but will be regarded as deviant at (darkest) sites of atrocity, and it is unusual in 'darker tourism' that tourists express feelings far removed from sorrow and empathy: excitement, even its articulation as shock and horror, is infrequently reported, but may be covertly experienced. Simone-Charteris and Boyd's (2010) studies on visitation to in-situ sites, including former prisons and sites of death, were undertaken under the auspices of political and not dark tourism. This research revealed the expression of the emotions outlined above but also other, specific, feelings that relate significantly to dark tourism concerns: they include **support/solidarity, commemoration, nationalism, curiosity,** and **enjoying the 'thrill' of political violence** (also see Clarke, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Kliger, 2005; Brin, 2006; Burnhill, 2007; Causevic and Lynch, 2007). Arguably, therefore, attitudes to 'political' rather than 'dark' activity allow expression of feelings that may also (covertly) be obtained at dark tourism sites.

Prior to visitation, tourists will naturally consider what extraordinary feelings can be experienced at a given site and, in the case of dark tourism, the anticipation of negative feelings does not prevent the journey. On the contrary, expectation of feeling, or heightening, such emotions is given as a motivating factor, and it is this unique characteristic of dark tourism that so confounds existing models and premises of demand/satisfaction. Why deliberately experience what is unpleasant,

and what can be the compensating satisfaction in doing so? The contradictory notion that negative emotions may have positive outcomes deals with complex, subjective and nebulous materials, clearly rooted in the psychological domain. Desire to feel horror, shock and disgust (and indeed empathy) may be read across a light-dark spectrum from penance through thrillseeking to deviance. As with curiosity, the equation of focus/direction/outcome qualify emotional attraction to sites of dark tourism and its perception across a spectrum of deviance: from the socially approved via socially acceptable to socially unacceptable/aberrant emotions beyond normative degrees (arousal and excitement, sado-masochism) escalating, potentially, to psychotic disturbances (Isaac & Ashworth, 2015; Dann, 2005). Poria and Ashworth (2009) develop upon this to define the meaning of dark as emotions that deviate from the norm, leading to behaviour of which society, or indeed the individual concerned, disapproves, leaving guilt and shame as the ultimate and paramount dark emotions. Here, we might read dark tourism as having the potential to realise the gamut of human emotion, including those which by nature and intensity fall within the realms of psychological imbalance, taboo, or simply 'normal' tendencies revealed or exaggerated within the tensions of that specific context: in which case, *we are all actual or potential atrocity tourists.*

The highly emotional experiences dark tourism may present to visitors (Shackley, 2001) necessitate the acknowledgment in interpretive practises of emotionality and affective elements. By so doing, Sharpley and Stone (2008) suggest that a range of processes are enabled: satisfaction of emotional needs, making sense of tragedy or atrocity, and personal remembrance and even confrontation with or contemplation of death. This latter process may, these authors suggest, have a potentially therapeutic effect in allowing greater understanding and acceptance of one's own mortality through that of others. Thus, dark site interpretation must authenticate the events it represents in a way that recognises and responds to the emotions of potential visitors. Yet, this recognition and response must be finite and considered. Emotions are variable and difficult to manage, especially at sites of trauma and where attitudinal complexities exist. Balanced and responsible mediation processes preclude the prioritisation of visitor emotion over other experiential and cognitive elements: where recognising or creating opportunities to express emotion extends to strategies that, 'inject' an affective component into its subject matter (Uzzell and

Ballantye, 1998) interpretive integrity and experiential learning may be compromised.

Within dark tourism contexts, authenticity of feeling may be a conceptual tenet not necessarily elucidated via a tourist questionnaire. Strong anticipation of 'authentic' feelings of sadness and despair in dark tourism experience, frequently cited as a motivating factor, may not be matched because of mindlessness, failure of affective interpretation or a variety of other factors, including tensions between anticipation and veracity. During a lecture I gave to undergraduates at the University of Central Lancashire (UK) in 2015, in discussing authenticity, a student described her disappointment during a recent trip to Auschwitz-Birkenau on being told by a guide that a portion of the site (a gallows) had been reconstructed. Yet, her disappointment was not in the reconstructive aspect *per se*, but in *being told*. Her stated interpretive preference would have been concealment, to enable stronger feelings of sadness and shock, despite the lack of veracity that would, in part, have allowed them. There is, then, a potential dichotomy between genuinely educative interpretation, and enabling (satisfying) anticipated feeling. Indeed, 'hot' interpretation, engaging values, beliefs, relationships, interests and memories (Sharpley and Stone, 2008), if not tempered by 'cool' approaches and reflective opportunities, may engender degrees of emotion that require interpretive recognition and management in terms of risk and not success (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 1998): Walter (2009) points out that there is currently no research-based insight into the potential effects of such emotional responses (although, see Best's (2007) observations on positive word-of-mouth). In discussions of atrocity heritage, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) argue that the intensity of emotion evoked by dark site-specific events produces protective barriers which (therapeutically) block the reception of realities which would otherwise be overwhelmingly horrific; however, this restricted reception also serves to prevent full understanding of those realities.

Largely negative emotions must be considered, then, not only in terms of the expression and consequence of emotions felt as a primary response to the events and environments represented in dark tourism. The tendency of 'troublesome feelings of revulsion, grief, anger and/or shame that histories can produce' (Simon, 2011: 433) is to provoke secondary effects of anxiety, frustration, and resentment that unsettle meaning, assume uncertain significance and may be expressed in unpredictable ways and directions. Analysis of (dark) touristic emotion is further

complicated by the fact that strong emotions enabled, enacted or exacerbated within dark tourism contexts may originate in other personal and/or social experiences and realms, from which they are displaced or redirected. Expressions of emotion may relate not only (or at all) to the events and environments of dark tourism, but to other factors that may not be revealed within research activity (or indeed consciously understood by the tourist). The satisfaction or ambiguous benefit in anticipating and experiencing negative emotion is certainly a necessary focus of future research and, while 'dark tourism will not always comfort' (Sharpley and Stone, 2008: 54), its responsible interpretation must support processing and reflection of, and degrees of relief from, strong emotion alongside scrupulous attention to veracity.

***Empathy***

For Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) *empathy* relies upon the capacity of heritage consumers to identify with individual victims of the atrocity in question. Subsequently, Miles (2002:1176) regards this enabling of empathy 'between the sightseer and the past victim over and above the evocation of historical knowledge' as essential to the success of dark tourism interpretation. Yet genuine empathy (defined[8] as 'the ability to understand and share the feelings of another') with those whose lives and deaths are represented by in-situ sites of atrocity may be impossible to achieve. Within the literature, reference to empathy as a significant factor in tourist motivation and experience are ubiquitous. However, exemplary models of empathy-related interpretation are less so, and this oft-cited but ephemeral theme requires further empirical investigation to achieve a consistent understanding of what is meant by 'empathy' and how it can be evaluated.

E. Bruner (1991) and Galani-Moutafi (2000) suggest that tourists' desire for self-transformation may be fulfilled through empathetic encounters with 'authentic' cultures. Yet this is problematised at atrocity and genocide sites that memorialise the consequences of planned obliteration of culture or represent the ruination of cultural life. The 'authentic' cultures evoked by Auschwitz-Birkenau, for example, are both the cultures of the Nazi regime as well as the cultures (mainly, but not

[8] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/empathy

exclusively, European Jewish culture) that the regime persecuted and murdered at that site, and elsewhere. The former cannot enable empathy; the latter may evoke sympathy, but truly empathetic encounters are arguably disabled by mortality and the absence of exchange in the encounter.

Coming to know a place means coming to know its stories (Johnstone, 1990) whereby tourism experiences depend on the availability and communication of narratives (Arnould & Price, 1993; Bruner, 2005; Chronis, 2005; Chronis, 2012). Where storytelling is multisensory, attitudes of empathy and aspects of authenticity are enhanced. Thus, encounters at in-situ dark tourism sites with 'rememberers' or storytellers are potentially self-actualising. Guided tours are effective in reinforcing a visitor's emotional experiences, particularly if the guide is a relation of a site victim/survivor or, above all, a survivor of site history themselves. These first- and second-generation storytellers (Shackley, 2001; Uzzell, 1989) lend relational authenticity; tourists borrow their memories and emotions in a unique 'guided' experience. Indeed, the tourist is transformed by the perceived channelling of authenticity, heightening the potential witnessing roles, and the guide takes on the qualities of ritual leader or 'spiritual advisor' (Cohen, 1985). For example, Shackley's (2001) examination of tourism at Robben Island, South Africa revealed high levels of tourist satisfaction with their experience, especially the use of recorded voices and photographs recounting former inmates' stories. Furthermore, former political prisoners, telling their own stories in new roles as tour guides, enhanced visitors' emotional experiences and generated an authentic 'spirit of place' (Shackley, 2001: 356).

The capacity of heritage consumers to identify themselves with the atrocity narrative being related is more readily supported when named and personified individuals, rather than with large abstract groups, are in question: narratives encountered in interpretative material often seek to individualise experience and, thus, humanise 'one of many' as 'someone'. Dark tourism sites can and do offer access to compelling personal narratives, often presented so that connections and commonalities can be encountered in different ways. In so doing, the potential for empathy is maximised; yet, interpretation alone cannot engender empathy. A more nuanced, and feasible, representation of empathetic experience at particular visitor sites might be the acknowledgment and contemplation, rather than 'sharing and understanding', of victims' feelings and experiences: the former describes a

witnessing role, the latter an affiliation with the victim that is likely to be beyond the realistic capacity of many, or most, people. In seeking the pure empathy of sharing feeling and experience, are visitors to an atrocity site seeking to 'become', by interpretive proxy and in fantasy (Dann, 1981) a victim, a perpetrator or both?

Robb (2009) interprets Riches' (1986) conceptualisation of a 'violence triangle', in which victim, perpetrator and witness are positioned, for touristic contexts: interpretive sites may seek to anchor tourists in an (imagined) witness position, distant in space and time from more visceral elements yet capable of considering, processing and reflecting upon the experience of the 'Other'. Touristic behaviours (anticipated within motivational expressions) of in-situ presence, gazing, recording, documenting or recollection, associated with qualities of authenticity, readily translate into onlooking, memorialising, testimonial and other witnessing behaviours. Knudsen (2011) discusses various witnessing tasks in which tourists may achieve rich encounters with any historical and cultural Other, reconfirming or transforming relations to past events and those who experienced them (Antze and Lambek, 1996; Oliver, 2001; Knudsen, 2003). Such theorised tasks, including the re-establishment of first-hand witnesses' lost subjectivities (Caruth, 1995) and the *in loco* performance of testimonies on behalf of but different from original witnesses, imply a temporary overlap of victim/witness positions within the violence triangle. In the context of deviant attitudes within dark tourism, this implication leaves open the challenging possibility of an alternative role convergence between witness and perpetrator: such a negative identity affect is neither expressed as a motivational attitude, nor addressed within interpretive attitudes.

### *Sense and Sensibility*

Urry's (1990) seminal conceptualisation of the tourist gaze does not preclude his explicit acknowledgement that 'there will always be other senses involved' (Urry, 2002:151). However, readings of tourism as a corporeal and multisensory (Franklin and Crang, 2001; Dann and Jacobsen, 2002, 2003; Pan and Ryan, 2009) have arguably been under-acknowledged. Indeed, critical commentary suggests that preoccupation with the tourist gaze in analyses of touristic sense-making results in an 'absence of the body' (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994:149) and inadequate attention

to 'embodied practices of sensuousness / sensuality / utility' (Crouch, 2003:28). In non-hedonic contexts, and especially at dark tourism sites, multisensory aspects are even less fully interrogated. Yet these are significant contexts by which to understand and support embodied encounters, experiential learning through acknowledging visual, auditory and kinaesthetic sensory learning styles (Luecke, 2003) and complementary activities of seeing, hearing and doing. Within traditional heritage interpretation, the visual sense is highly privileged: often fundamentally through the 'seeing' of iconic places and things, and further through interpretive devices of text, image and film. However, 'post-museum' learning strategies highlight the usefulness of multisensory approaches to interpretation (although largely in consideration of children and playfulness, or visitors with sensory impairment for whom visual aspects require supplementation or replacement). Oral history recordings align with interpretive values attached not only to personal stories but to the human voice and form an increasing element of heritage experiences. Thus, twenty-first century scholarship and praxis investigate taste, smell, touch and sound in the tourist experience (Edensor, 1998; Son & Pearce, 2005; also see Dann and Jacobsen, 2003 for a discussion of 'smellscapes'). As tourists are sightseeing, they are also *site-hearing* other languages, experiences and sounds, through fellow-tourists, local populations, the media and nature. Indeed, *site-feeling* changes may be found in differing temperature, the texture of physical things, site-tasting or site-smelling of the unfamiliar or the remembered. Belk's (1990:670) expression of nostalgia as a 'wistful mood that an object, a scene, a smell or a strain of music' evokes speaks to developing interests in multisensory experiences and interpretations of (dark) tourism.

In the present context, it is worth noting that sensory experience obtains outside the interpretive domain: touristic feelings may include exhaustion and irritability, resulting from travelling, walking, paying attention, confusion, hunger and thirst. These are familiar, sometimes simultaneous, consequences of touristic visits to large, in-situ sites of dark tourism where terrain and climate are physically uncomfortable and seeking relief may be perceived as shameful or self-indulgent. These feelings may exacerbate or reduce feelings about site themes and interpretation and may be difficult to unpick from the emotions researchers are seeking to discover. They will also, as cognitive disturbances, similarly inhibit other learning and experiential processes. For dark tourists, physical and perceptual

feeling are subject to quite specific factors relating to constraints on physical space and interpretation. In collective movements through the regulated chicanes of tourist sites, in timetabled accordance with purposive, guide-led entry and navigation systems, tourists move in and around selected spaces, dissuaded from individual spatial exploration and limited to restricted spatial options (Weightman 1987; MacDonald 1997:153). Furthermore, tourists themselves intuit the nature and heritage of space and how they are

'supposed' to act within it, embodying sacred qualities – and in many cases reflecting the prohibitions set out in site communications - through restriction or repression of motion, gesture, sound and behaviour.

### *Identity*

Identity issues are implicated in all motivational expressions and the functions/roles they anticipate, expressing (as per the three preceding headings) the things tourists believe, learn, understand and feel about themselves and others. They inform the personal and cultural values that shape memorial, funerary, mourning and other behaviours relating closely to certain dark tourism destinations. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to unpick the various threads of cultural and personal identity woven across the (dark) heritage landscape, but dark tourism offers particular opportunities for 'personally meaningful' tourism (Novelli, 2005; Stone and Sharpley, 2008). Visitor sites associated with histories of slavery, conflict and atrocity will carry particular memorial meanings for individuals depending on manifold identity and heritage factors, including but not limited to issues of ethnicity, nationality, political and moral values, gender, sexuality and familial history (Bruner, 1996; Dann and Seaton, 2001; Slade, 2003; Williams, 2004 and Winter, 2009). Those factors are the focus of developing areas of dark heritage tourism research that reveal dark tourism is most, or more than, meaningful for tourists with an intimate emotional involvement that resonates with a sense of personal and cultural identity.

In terms of personal identity outcomes of tourism, Dann's (1977) work on ego-enhancement and associated personality needs is of particular interest. Dann outlines needs for social interaction and, within that interaction, for recognition, often described as status. These needs may be met in particular ways via the

different environments and experiences tourism offers. Dann's description of ego-enhancement through acting out an 'alien' personality touches usefully upon the identity affects of performativity; however, its emphasis upon otherness depends upon an arguably outmoded binary representation of familiar/strange that fails to acknowledge the ambiguous touristic modes represented within contemporary paradigms. Specifically, it does not engage with the unique and persistent conceptual contradictions coaligned within dark tourism discourse and praxis, such as: death/life (Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Stone, 2011), fear/fun (Buda 2015b; Brin, 2006), escape/confrontation (Qian, 2009; Podoshen et al, 2015), forgetting/remembering (Winter, 2011b) and deviant leisure/cultural practice (Stone & Sharpley, 2008, 2013).

The noteworthy 'Other' implicit within many motivational expressions is, within these contexts, a potentially metamorphic agency that may be encountered, expressed and utilised in different ways across touristic experiences that involve complex layers of belonging and exclusion.

The anticipated role-related outcomes of dark tourism are not exclusive and are qualified by their interrelated elements and contingent or imperative contexts, in conjunction with diverse attitudinal and identity factors and the rich cognitive, experiential and affective aspects outlined above. In this way, through empathy-outcomes and imagined acts of pilgrimage, memorial and witnessing, the tourist aligns themselves with shared or Other communities and expresses cultural values in ways that modify or reinforce a given aspect of identity. Meanwhile, personal status is potentially enhanced through acquisition of knowledge, witnessing death (Dann, 1998), 'superior' positioning with regard to the unfortunate or reprehensible, and even by the act of visitation to an iconic site. Conversely, negative perceptions of dark tourism's motivation and morality may adversely affect personal status, instilling anxieties about the transference of darkness from site history to self. Arguably, connotations of shared heritage and associated educative and interpretive activity defuse perceptions that a 'search for spectacle has replaced the respect for solemnity' at sanctified sites (Rojek, 1993:141, on tombs at Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris). Therefore, positive identity affects are obtained through identification with educational 'solemnity' rather than mere touristic spectacle.

### 4.2.4 Deviance

The notion of deviant touristic motivation is highly subjective, the cultural contingency that informs much motivational research being equally (especially) at play in contexts of taboo and morality. As we have seen, motivational models describe elements of attraction 'satisfied' by representations of death and atrocity, and this vocabulary evokes unpleasant notions of death/sensuality, powerfully contraindicated by social taboos. Here, the subjects of taboo or hegemonic disapproval are not death and atrocity per se, but attitudes toward them. Related concerns expressed, but rarely analysed, within media and academic discourses (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Seaton and Lennon, 2004; Sharpley and Stone, 2009; Bowman and Pezzullo, 2010; Isaac and Ashworth, 2012) include contempt and profanity, immorality or amorality, morbidity, schadenfreude, and even psychologically disturbed drives. The social and cultural intolerances revealed by this spectrum of deviance are equally signified by their absence within expressions of dark tourism motivation (although they may be inferred within sacred/profane paradigms) and by a subsequent dearth in research addressing deviant motivation/behaviour of travellers as a common practice (Biran and Poria, 2102).

Exceptions within the research canon variously explore notions of deviance in relation to motivational factors (Dann, 1998; Ashworth, 2004) alternative cultural contexts (Zhang at al, 2016), voyeurism (Buda & McIntosh, 2013) and morality and taboo (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). Much of the useful discussion around deviance attempts to position dark tourism across a continuum of non-conformity moving between rejection of social constraints (Rojek, 1999) and a sectional pathology (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). The effective development of these lines of enquiry depends upon further understanding of the complex outcomes (anticipated or not) of dark tourism encounters, rather than the simple fact of the encounter itself. Thus, curiosity may be read as morbid inquisitiveness or desire to be educated; desire to see actual sites of atrocity may reveal the potential witness or the prurient voyeur; encounters with mortal remains may imply pilgrimage or perversion. Dann (1998) sets out how apparently (meritorious) atonement and self-education does not preclude a simultaneous curiosity, anticipation of (heralded) violence and criminality and obsessive interest in the exercise of human cruelty, all charged by media as well as heritage contexts. These interpretive dichotomies challenge personal and place identity and represent further examples of dark tourism's

coexistent oppositions and the anxieties they induce. In their study of former slavery sites, Dann and Potter (2001) argue that historicity is endowed in contemporary thought with a moral simplicity. Moreover, this is compounded by binaries of good and evil connoted by dark sites, with the nostalgic capacity of heritage speaking to a touristic 'yearning for a past they can no longer find in their own social settings' and which 'it was once possible to distinguish right from wrong' (Dann and Potter, 2001:7). Where site interpretive processes seek to preserve simple binary perceptions of right/wrong, or where touristic experience is framed by related normative values, dark tourism's singularities – and its heterotopian capacity as a place of illusion, compensation and deviance - are denied.

A valuable extension of the dark-tourism paradigm is offered by Biran and Poria (2012) in their deconstruction and re-conceptualization of dark tourism, arguing that deviant (socially non-acceptable 'dark') behaviour, is the true frontier in dark tourism research and, indeed, its definition as acts of positive deviance (e.g. highly unconventional forms of behaviour in far-away destinations). This reconfiguration of dark tourism speaks to the rapidly developing discourse on 'deviant leisure' (Stebbins,1996; Smith & Raymen, 2016; Briggs & Ellis, 2016; Atkinson & Rogers, 2016), which offers significant areas of mutual relevance and fresh cultural contexts by which to interrogate dark tourism.

### 4.2.5 Seer summary

Dark tourism develops its iconography through its motivational studies, in which persistent conceptual representations and the touristic performances that they seek to describe reflect and connect with the pancultural narratives discussed earlier (Chapter 2). Touristic presence at sites of death and atrocity is a mode by which human stories are told and, as with any other aspect of human behaviour, it is influenced by degrees of social contingency, touching upon touristic cultural, media, political and mobilities issues, encompassing expressions of unavoidability and inevitability that are both prosaic and profound. When that contingency is at play, certain outcomes are anticipated from visitation, often expressed within research findings in quite ambiguous and unspecific ways.

Site seers move across a continuum of dark intention and experience in ambiguous ways that reflect how they feel, or believe they should feel, about themselves,

others, events, identities and morality, and how they negotiate psychologised directives of must- and must-not do/see. From an overview of the literature it seems clear that tourists expect to engage in transactions at dark sites, in which their actions will be both guided and reciprocated by certain intangible identity markers or modifications which relate to learning processes, belief systems and emotions. The transactions may be predictable or unpredictable, readily associating with the notion of 'scripting' that informs concepts of 'mindlessness' and performativity in touristic contexts. These transactions may be represented, or interpreted, as the performance of certain archetypal roles – pilgrim, witness, learner, mourner, social mitigator – from which certain intuited personal/social benefits may accrue. Furthermore, the imperatives and anticipation of the tourist may be read in terms of their divergence from certain hegemonic narratives, and thus of deviance. However, deviant and non-deviant traits may, as with many apparently contradictory elements, coexist within aspects, or all, of the touristic experience.

Given the compelling themes, relating to archetypal human stories, which arise from the collation and analysis of significant motivational studies, it is clear that push/pull models do not adequately describe the complex continuum of contingency, imperative and imagining that surrounds and is inherent within touristic presence at dark sites. These three elements are examined within this thesis in the context of ego states and their qualities and make useful alignments with the triadic spatial conceptualisation of (dark) sites.

### 4.3 Chapter Summary

Within this chapter I have sought to challenge binary modes of expressing dark tourism and its amorphous component parts through an assessment of spatial conceptualisation and its relationship with touristic experience and performativity. Following Sharpley's (2009) conceptualisation of dark tourism as interplay between the characteristics of a site and its touristic reception – and all their concomitant variables - the tourist and their destination are collaborative agents, engaged in a range of transactional encounters that influence and are influenced by internal and external meanings systems including cultural representations of death and dying. Dark tourism as a mediating institution involves not only the site and seer, but a range of agencies and factors engaged in affecting and offering

environments in which to express expectation, experience and reflection of the sites and events in question, and about the (social) self.

Furthermore, following discussions triadic representations of space I have highlighted their alignment with cognitive, affective and identity-related themes identified within both experiential learning processes, and with touristic anticipation of psychosocial outcomes of visitation to dark sites. Common characteristics of hybridity, and the juxtaposition of binaries with 'other' in triadic conceptualisation, recur within cross disciplinary literature pertaining to social space, tourism and death. Those conceptualisations support the representation of dark tourism as expressing symbiotic transactions between sites, seers and interpretive agents. Within these transactions, roles, stories and scapes are deconstructed/constructed as identities and events are placed, replaced and displaced in social contexts.

Thus, dark sites represent places where cognitive and emotional processes and potentially transformative experience (Bitner, 1992; Magee & Gilmore, 2015) occur as a result of the interactions between the visitor and the servicescape. Useful points arising from a review of spatial and motivational aspects of dark tourism that may benefit from discussion within new conceptual contexts include the meaning-making agency of the tourist in constructing dark sites.

Dark tourism's performative and anticipated engagements may incur sought benefits of cognition, emotion and identity across stakeholders; their ascribed motivations may be re-evaluated as anticipated outcomes whose commonality may represent parsing or contention of social (agreed) narratives.

The dark/light continuums of dark tourism supply/demand, where applied to motivation/experience, are currently represented by sacred/secular models and the vernacular of deviance. Yet, cross-disciplinary contemporary conceptualisations referenced within this chapter acknowledges that either/or interpretations are more usefully modelled as plural possibilities, in which no interpretation is exclusive. Conceptual keynotes in this chapter, and in previous sections of the literary review, support the research contexts rationale specified within the following chapters (5 & 6). They include the notion of thirdspaces, including virtual spaces, and their underlying triadic principles echoed within motivational expressions across cognitive, affective and other (imaginative) domains; and highlight the particular

psychosocial relevance of touristic acts within contexts of iconic dark (physical and remembered) heritage. Theories of heterotopia suggest new conceptual approaches to a dark tourism as a mediating sociocultural institution encompassing yet transcending all of its constituent parts. Furthermore, notions of tourist performativity juxtapose dark sites, the roles they enable and the scripts they enact as essential and interrelated elements of dark tourism.

In the next chapter, I align these conceptual keynotes with cross-disciplinary theorisation on social institutions and psychoanalysis, as they apply (or might apply) to dark tourism research approaches. Such theorisation underpins the validity of TA (explained within the research rationale) and its application, within physical and virtual social realms, to the psychologised material, mobilities contexts and heterotopian qualities of dark tourism.

# CHAPTER 5: Social institutions and psychoanalytical approaches in dark tourism

## 5.0 Introduction: social and psychoanalytical attributes of tourism.

In previous chapters, I appraised the literature of dark tourism and related fields in terms of its attention to touristic experience of dark tourism sites. Arising from this review, the theorisation of death and tourism was discussed especially in terms of psychological meanings and modes, and their relevance to dark tourism's extant and potential interpretive frameworks. More specifically, and in response to a perceived lack of effective theorisation of visitor experience, a discussion on dark sites and site-seers suggested that current conceptualisation of dark tourism is over-reliant on the templating of tourism management approaches and fails to respond with sufficient creativity to changing social paradigms. Reframing supply-demand models of tourist motivation as a complex set of socially-orientated contingencies, imperatives, and expectations played out within social space, I suggested that 'satisfactions' are more usefully interpreted as identity-related, perceived experiential outcomes: these outcomes align with cognitive and affective domains in which concepts of belief, knowledge and feelings are located, and are associated with certain tasks, roles and scripts performed within touristic transactions.

Within this thesis, then, I have identified certain psychosocial aspects to the themes, environments and participants of dark tourism. These aspects contextualise and qualify the research approaches and processes by which I will identify and critically analyse social interactions that simultaneously obtain within, and partially constitute, a posited dark touristic social institution. In this chapter, I set out some characteristics of social institutions and their relevant application to dark tourism behaviours (5.1). I then outline existing approaches to dark tourism that engage with psychoanalytical concepts and introduce the tenets of TA which inform my analysis of the data gathered within this research project (5.2). Especially, I identify tropes which are mutual to TA and to dark tourism, including scripts, roles, transactions and use of time. Within an overview of the case study (5.3), Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial & Museum, I discuss its development and identity as a tourist destination and as a memorial site, touching upon its social construction and treatment within dark tourism literature and certain iconic qualities that enable a

particularly wide range of close/distant social, cultural and personal associations and related psychological and memorial functions. Subsequently, I outline the online environments from which much of the research data has been garnered and their particular relevance to contemporary tourism and its paradigms. Throughout the chapter I highlight notions of social agency and identity in terms of transactions involving an iconic genocide memorial site and its visiting tourist body and how they relate to narrative congruence and construction and, consequently, identity and actualisation. Thus, the chapter aligns significant themes and approaches from a broad literature review with elements of the conceptual scaffold by which the research will be analysed.

### 5.1 A social institution of dark tourism

Addressing contemporary social mediation of mortality, Stone (2009b: 37) theorises the reconstruction of meaning systems via 'this new social institution (dark tourism)', inviting further examination of the characteristics of a social institution to further understand the functioning of dark tourism. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to interrogate theories of social institutions, we might usefully follow contemporary sociological understanding of the term as a self-maintaining complex of positions, roles, norms and values (Turner 1997: 6) that serve social need. Giddens (1984: 24) represents these enduring features of social life as including political, economic institutions and legal institutions as well as modes of discourse; Harre (1979: 97) offers schools, shops, police forces and asylums as further examples of social institution, the aims and outcomes of which may be both expressive and practical. Of particular relevance, in the current context, are constructivist theorisations (see, for example, Austin, 1962; Miller, 1984; Searle, 1995, 2012; Tuomela, 2007) of social institutions as being created and maintained by collective acceptance, without which an institution cannot exist. MacCannell (1976) observes that the touristic code – by which world-understanding is described through moral directives that compel and propel the tourist — represents a powerful modern consensus of significant reach: that code's collective acceptance of various social institutions of tourism may constitute their creation and maintenance, in a parallel process to the social designations of physical space discussed earlier (Chapter 4a). Furthermore, constructivist approaches speak to the

collectivity and performativity discussed in terms of tourist agency and experience in Chapter 4b, by which the behaviours and enactments undertaken by tourists within given social institutions may further maintain or modify it. The disciplined rituals and, conversely, partially improvised performances of the tourist, who may act out a variety of roles within a tourism experience, involve the meeting and contestation of different social roles, and the notions of appropriateness, competence and normality they transmit, reveal or contravene.

While we can regard tourism as a social institution, within contexts of dedifferentiation it cannot be regarded as a sphere in which motivations and activities are separate from other institutions or aspects of life (see Edensor, 2000). Indeed, as with other social institutions, it is fundamentally connected with overarching social paradigms and their stability or shifts. Handa (1986) examines the notion of the social paradigm shift, the societal circumstances which influence it, and the consequent effect upon social institutions – and, indeed, collective and individual perceptions of 'reality'. The dominant social paradigm comprising normative standards, values and philosophies, prevailing in societies and in social institutions at a given time, must necessarily be capable of being shaped (and modified) by cultural and temporal contexts – that is, by thought systems, strengthened and legitimised within key social contexts. These contexts are likely to involve media, political, legislative, educational and faith agencies that disseminate, legitimise, endorse and otherwise 'authorise' the value, credence and integrity of social paradigms. Depending on the quality and strength of such authorisation/dissemination, a social paradigm may render potential alternative thought systems counter-intuitive, unconvincing and even 'unreal': the dominant paradigm is perceived as reality so that any perspectives that seem to undermine it, are disqualified. Previously discussed issues of validation, learning and cognitive dissonance, especially with regard to interpretation and experience of dark sites, are clearly relevant in these contexts. We can expand upon this notion by bringing to bear a secondary, related, meaning of paradigm as a worldview – a collated bank of experiences, beliefs and values – in order to fully understand the powerful sequencing of social standards and values that inform (and can be informed by) social institutions, including tourism.

This thesis supports a conceptual, and social, paradigm shift by which tourists and site are co-located as (non-exclusive) participants within a particular social

institution, resulting from the interaction of its participants and having associated protocols and functions (Searle, 2012). In this case, the social institution is informal: by virtue of its associations it may be identified as *(dark) touristic encounters with Auschwitz-Birkenau*. It is distinct from, yet its constituency may overlap with those of, educational, heritage, research and other institutions that share affiliation with Auschwitz–Birkenau or dark tourism. As social institutions do not depend on a wholly unchanging, indeed require a regenerative, constituency, the tourist body allows for a remarkably diverse, perpetuating constituent set. The institution retains, reshapes and/or discards material depending on its capacity to support the wellbeing of the institution above and beyond any specific motivations/benefits of its variable constituent parts. This process mirrors human subconscious processes of memory, narrative and identity reconstruction and, indeed, participation within a social institution, or a range of institutions, necessarily affects and qualifies those subconscious systems. Constituents (including tourist and site) take on institutional identities as long as they are participating within that institution; hence, if and because perception of the institution is fundamentally associated with death-characteristics, the tourist is a dark tourist and the site is a dark tourist site, following Searle (2012:33): 'Part of being a war is being thought to be a war'.

Social institutions and their constituents, then, are 'thought' into being through associative and narrative processes by which the essential functions of describing, communicating, and thus maintaining the institutional identity are achieved. Hence, narrative systems across the hypothesised institution and all of its communicative modes are essential to its continued existence and identity but also, on more nuanced levels, to its capacity for meaning-making. Functional approaches to narrative analysis (pioneered with the field of psychology by J. S. Bruner, 1991) focus on the role of narrative as a means of resolving tension and dilemmas by shaping random and chaotic events into a coherent narrative, thus endowing them with meaning and manageability. These potent facilities are wholly germane to considerations of dark tourism themes, diverse cultural attitudes and dissonant heritage and speak to Rojek's (1997: 61) perspective of dark tourism driven by need for a collective sense of identity or survival 'in the face of violent disruptions of collective life routines'. They may also shape perceptions of the (dark) 'new tourist' (Poon, 1993) for whom self-fulfilment and reaffirmation of identity (Craik, 1997)

are significant aspects of tourism experiences, reflected in the thematic prevalence of identity development within studies of dark tourist motivation (Du, Littlejohn & Lennon. 2013). A sense of belonging within a social institution of tourism, and association with notions of moral certitude, social benefit, authenticity and memorialisation that are inferred from its (functional) narrative, contribute to feelings of self-actualisation and cultural agency. Thus, narrative reflections (re)create meaning and myths for and of individuals, allowing them to remember that 'we are heroes in a big human adventure' (Bammel & Bammel, 1992:364).

Narratives arising from and sourced within the institution, allow the observation of social processes at work and social institutional members in action (J. S. Bruner, 1991). These aspects are elucidated by theories of social change and the agency of individuals and groups upon significant institutions, for example, in Touraine's (1978) theories of social action and cultural orientation. These theories are usefully discussed via practical exemplar by Boog (2003: 430) in terms of social movements' reflection upon their collective identity as part of the 'historicity' of the dynamic social world in which they live, and a resultant clear collective narrative describing 'a project for the social world as they wanted it to be'. Benton (2010: 2) echoes social action theory in a representation of heritage/tourism convergence around dark memorial sites emphasising 'the power of collective memory, where large or small groups within a society share an idea of what happened in the past and why it was important, which translates into patterns of tourism'; meanwhile, Tarlow (2005) links the attraction of dark sites with either 'reflexive' or 'restorative' nostalgia. Thus, alongside the objectives of a governing institution to preserve its past, 'these sites of memory begin to assume lives of their own, often as resistant to official memory as they are emblematic of it' (Young, 1993:120). The social institution posited in this thesis may be viewed as one of these 'lives', constructed in response to and reflecting a unique set of associations and functions that, furthermore, underpin concepts of identity, validation, emotion and belief – significant factors in the motivational attitudes and expressions discussion in Chapter 4.2.

## 5.2 Psychoanalytical approaches to Dark Tourism

For tourism research, psychoanalytical concepts and processes, especially those involving fantasy, desires, drives and the unconscious, represent significant avenues by which to understand and interpret various tourist experiences. While serious engagement with such concepts has been regarded as cursory (Kingsbury, 2005), recognition of its relevance is introduced at a relatively early stage in the developing discipline, albeit largely in contexts of typology and motivation (see, for example, Plog's (1972) psychocentric classifications; Dann's (1977) seminal work on anomie and ego-enhancement; Pizam and Chandraseker's (1979) catalogue of tourist psychology references), and developed to significant degrees in later theorisations including Iso-Ahola's (1982) approaches to a social psychology of leisure, and Csíkszentmihályi's (1975) groundbreaking conceptualisation of 'flow'. Investigating the 'ego factor' in tourism, MacCannell (2002) affirms that tourists' perpetual motion towards something which they may not have should lead us to 'look for clues in the psyche': referencing the ritual and symbolic aspects of tourism, MacCannell notes the (psychoanalytically) primary mechanism of the symbolic as a shield from the real, which touches us in the form of, for example, sex, pain, birth - and death.

Closely related fields of study have drawn more confidently on psychoanalytic theories to the extent that a 'psychoanalytic turn' (Callard, 2003, p. 295) may be observed in social and cultural geography (see Bondi, 1999; Callard, 2003; Kingsbury and Brunn, 2003; Sibley, 1995). These authors not only employ psychoanalytic theories to examine 'imperfect' and 'deviant' others but suggest their value in addressing socio-political injustices and other social issues. Furthermore, with specific regard to places and spaces of ongoing conflict, Buda (2015b) describes the particular usefulness of geographies of affect and psychoanalysis in examining touristic engagements with, and embodied feelings relating to, such places. Subsequently, calls for tourism researchers to engage critically and more hopefully with the field of psychoanalysis (Buda & McIntosh, 2013; Buda, 2015b) have been met by specific application of psychoanalytical conceptualisation to visitor experience, constituting a rapidly developing line of enquiry.

The dark aspects of human nature, involving notions of deviance and 'powerful and scary irrationality', seemingly exert 'inevitably attractive force' (Platenkamp & Botterill, 2013: 123). Yet, they are only recently – and largely within dark tourism research - receiving attention in tourism studies. The intuited, if not yet effectively articulated, 'presumed fascination' (Sharpley, 2009) of dark tourism, allied with the compulsive 'must-see' evidenced within motivational studies outlined in Chapter 4, is suggestive of hypnotic, obsessive and related subconscious states. Meanwhile, references to voyeurism and deviance within associated theorisations make clear connections to the concepts and vocabularies of psychoanalytic discourse. Lisle (2007: p336) argues that perceived deviant and voyeuristic behaviours represent the most provocative and challenging aspects of dark tourism and, indeed, attention to these aspects within the literature (Kingsbury and Brunn, 2003; Lisle, 2004, 2007; Uriely, Ram, & Malach-Pines, 2011) draws upon psychoanalytic concepts in apposite and interesting ways to further understanding of tourists' possibly indescribable feelings about unspeakable events. In particular, psychodynamic concepts of the *death drive* and *voyeurism* - related concepts developing from Freud's (1999) propositions on drive in the seminal *Beyond The Pleasure Principle* - align significantly with dark tourism's subject matter and the act of 'looking' upon it, or *thanagaze* (Johnston, 2015). A brief overview of these concepts is relevant to understanding their potential and actual application within dark tourism research.

The *death drive* describes a repressed death instinct expressed through 'repetition compulsion'. Freud explains that what is primarily repressed (a desire to gaze upon death) continues to exercise attraction upon everything with which it can establish a connection – that is, any materials that connote or symbolise death. For this reason, (conscious) fear and repulsion can be experienced alongside an inexplicable (unconscious) attraction where the desire to gaze upon some kind of 'death' is in question. The tendency to repeat subconsciously repressed impulses via 'memories or enactments' (Boothby, 1991:72) may cause 'unpleasure' and increased psychic tension for some, yet, it can also bring pleasure, satisfaction, and decreased tension, to others. Freud notes that following the experience of a traumatic event (such as war) people may re-enact the experience, concluding an unconscious desire to die, tempered by a contrasting life instinct. Buda (2015b:39), discussing

interconnections between tourism, psychoanalysis and the death drive, suggests that some tourists may access the death drive while negotiating family memories and archaic traumas. In a sense, the returns & re-enactments of memorialised trauma speak to a collective exposition of death drive behaviours and, conversely, a simultaneous expression of life instinct within ubiquitous reported motivations to keep memory alive and to prevent recurrence of atrocity. While ritual behaviours and tropes are explored within theories of leisure and tourism, particularly in the conceptualisation of event and festival experience, they are rarely examined in psychoanalytical contexts of drive or compulsion. Rojek's (1993) work on leisure forms constructed around black spots, however, recognises signs of repetition-compulsion and sought duplication of (unpleasant) experience. Meanwhile, Clark's (2006) visual culture perspective upon trauma tourism aligns visitor motivation with Freudian discourse around repetition-compulsion and psychological need for closure and disclosure. Furthermore, Clark infers a highly contested tourism practice in which competing interests comply with or resist established paradigms that, as we have seen, underpin social institutions. The death drive speaks to the blurred boundaries of dualities discussed earlier (Chapter 3, with regard to de-differentiation and paradigms of mobility): denoting life-in-death, invoking simultaneous attraction and repulsion toward mortal materials, and confounding perceived polarities such as life/death, fun/fear, safety/danger and peace/war prevalent in tourism studies (Buda et al, 2014).

*Voyeurism* is a frequently, and somewhat haphazardly and imprecisely, used term within discourse around social behaviours, including tourism. Initially, and largely, the focus of the *voyeur* (one who looks) is associated with the taboo of sex; however, contemporary definitions have evolved to include looking at other social taboos, including death: the OED gives a secondary meaning of voyeurism as 'enjoyment from seeing the pain or distress of others'[9] and exemplifies the act and the actor by means of the following apposite phrases: 'murder trials make voyeurs of us all'; 'township visits are bordering on voyeurism'. For the purposes of this chapter, voyeurism is perhaps most usefully understood (in psychoanalytical

[9] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/voyeurism, accessed 13/06/17

contexts), as the passive facet of *scopophilia* (Lacan, 1977; developing on Freud's *Schalulust,* or pleasure in looking). This drive to look (see Freud, 1999; Lacan, 1977), is connected to a desire for mastery and knowledge over the (usually taboo) subject, and makes strong connections with philosophical conceptualisations of the gaze, and related issues of power and relationships, introduced by Foucault and developed across cultural contexts (see, for example, Kaplan (1997) on the *imperial gaze*; Butler (1990) and Mulvey (1975) on *gendered gaze*; and, of course, Urry (1990) on the *tourist gaze*). As with the death drive, the drive to gaze (upon death, or associated material) clearly offers relevant avenues for the analysis of dark tourism behaviours, resonating strongly with the nebulous 'must-see' imperative discussed in contexts of notions of expressed dark touristic motivations, discussed in Chapter 4.2. Those discussions further revealed deep concerns with knowledge and understanding of the substance of dark tourism, speaking to the scopophile desire for mastery and knowledge of subject at hand. Furthermore, in developing a psychoanalytic theorisation of the phenomena, especially its relation to issues of identification, empathy and affect, Fenichel (1945) describes the compulsion to look in order to 'feel along with' the object and discusses looking as a possible substitute for acting as a means of guilt-avoidance. Thus, recurrent themes within the often-ambiguous literature of dark tourism literature are reflected in psychoanalytical concepts of looking at (and showing) indescribable (or unmentionable) matters.

The seemingly antithetical, yet allied, concept of exhibitionism as the active facet of scopophilia (Allen, 1974) is underexplored within the literature, yet is likely to offer significant connections and comparisons with theorisations of voyeurism. The touristic tendency to look/show is allowed by the capacity of their psychological conceptualisations to coincide: either within the same act or in sequential enactments of power/authority. Thus, psychoanalytical approaches to voyeurism/exhibitionism may allow meaningful insights into problematic - including deviant, defiant and socially disapproved - touristic behaviours. These approaches are especially relevant in contemporary (social) media contexts involving the (unauthorised and arguably compulsive) capturing, sharing and viewing of images, particularly the highly dynamic, visual and social contemporary phenomena of the photographic (show/tell) self-portrait or 'selfie', and the social media environments and technologies that support them.

Useful, progressive perspectives upon dark tourism draw upon psychoanalytical drives involving death, looking and showing to investigate a range of contemporary exemplar. Lisle (2004) deals with social treatments of terrorist events through an analysis of a temporary viewing platform at Ground Zero, New York as a site of voyeurism and spectacle. Furthermore, Freud's and Lacan's theories on voyeurism underpin Buda and McIntosh's (2013)'s examination of the desire to travel to and gaze upon something that is (socially constructed as) forbidden, specifically a place perceived as hostile to tourists, in their innovative analysis of a dark tourist jailed in Iran. However, multiple psychoanalytical concepts are evidently at play within 21st century dark tourism research and the breadth of sociocultural contexts and concerns it encompasses. In discourse analyses of risk, security and anxiety in US travel magazines following the terrorist events of September 11, 2001, Kingsbury and Brunn (2003) utilise psychoanalytic concepts of symptom, ego, defence and fantasy (following Freud, 1999; Lacan, 1977) in theorising 'uncanny disjunctures' of the exotic, vulnerable, terrorized, and sunny in tourist worlds (Kingsbury and Brunn, 2003:40). Elsewhere, Buda & Shim's (2009) contemporary interpretations of the psychoanalytic concept of desire touch upon notions of fantasy, novelty and 'object' cause in contexts of (dark) tourism to North Korea. Meanwhile, shifting from spaces of conflict and politics to liminal places of public/private grief, Blom (2000: 34) draws parallels between the notion of inner purification and the psychoanalytical concept of catharsis in an examination of 'morbid' tourism to the grave of Diana, Princess of Wales, in Althorp, UK.

At an interesting tangent from Freudian and Lacanian conceptualisation, Biran & Buda (2018) specifically employ Terror Management Theory (TMT) in their approach to dark tourism. Developed by social psychologists toward the end of the twentieth century, TMT proposes a psychological conflict between the desire to live and a simultaneous realisation of death's inevitability. The death anxiety, or terror, consequent to this conflict is dealt with by the development of self-esteem and attribution of purpose to life, largely by shoring up one's own cultural identities through alliance with cultural values or symbolic systems (Solomon, Greenberg, and Pyszczynski, 1991). Biran & Buda (2018) challenge readings of dark tourism as pathological deviance, theorising instead that socially sanctioned dark tourism experiences allow the manifestation and amelioration of fear of death and, additionally, a sense of meaning, to obtain. Biran & Buda (2018) highlight the

value, in terms of understanding dark tourism experience, of psychoanalytical perspectives and, particularly, material within the subfield of death psychology. Their proposal of TMT as a conceptual frame, and the specific readings of dark tourism exemplar give above, challenge the notion that psychoanalytical approaches to tourism 'simply redescribe rather than explain' touristic motivation and behaviour (Pearce & Packer, 2013:402) with loose and difficult-to-apply concepts.

### 5.3 Introduction to Transactional Analysis (TA)

Within this thesis, I draw on the conceptual (and not clinical) materials of Transactional Analysis (TA) as an effective and distinctive means of analysing social transactions, the psychological/emotional standpoints they represent and the consequences they may have upon related social behaviours and narratives. At this point, it is useful to set out the background and development to TA theorisation, to detail its relevant mechanisms and its particular usefulness as an analytical device. The section below is the result of desk research across TA literature listed within the bibliography, and specifically draws upon the writings of Eric Berne, Thomas Harris and Claude Steiner in order to present an overview of relevant concepts and terminology. Subsequently, the chapter reviews existing reference to or application of TA concepts within the literature of (dark) tourism.

TA was developed as a means by which social transactions may be analysed, to further understanding of human behaviours. Developed by therapist Eric Berne within therapeutic practice in the 1950s, the system focuses on social behaviours and their observation as a basis for praxis and upon which to build conceptual frameworks. Its attention to social transactions and the series of stimulus and response mechanisms that comprise them, allied with its interpretivist, ethnographic attitude to research and observation-based theory-building, suggest useful conceptual frameworks by which to analyse social behaviours. While it is beyond the scope, and necessity, of this thesis to fully represent fully all facets and developments of theory relating to TA, models and vocabularies germane to the analytical approach are outlined below. They are: *transactions*; *ego states;* and *strokes.*

TA's underpinning conceptual framework defines *transaction*s as the fundamental unit of social intercourse. Berne's identification and development of this unit responded to concerns that psychotherapeutic practice ad theory lacked basic units by which to measure, monitor and classify its processes. Berne (1964: 29) describes transactions, made up of more or less complex sequences of action and reaction, in relation to encounters between two or more people: 'Sooner or later one of them will speak, or give some other indication of acknowledging the presence of the others. This is called the transactional stimulus. Another person will then say or do something which is in some way related to the stimulus, and that is called the transactional response.' This seemingly simplistic equation may be modified, extended and adapted as a template for human encounters in social settings. In a significant reversal of traditional psychotherapeutic practice, transactional analysis is less concerned with questioning individuals about themselves than with the observation of transactions (including speech, expression, and physical affect). In developing TA, Berne utilized group therapy sessions as a locus for transaction observation, often engaging participants in observational processes and analytical modelling to support understanding of their own role within the transactional sequence.

Analysis of the interactions between individuals involves the identification of the *ego states* at play within transactional incidents. Berne (1961: p13) defined an ego state as 'a consistent pattern of feeling and experience directly related to a corresponding consistent pattern of behaviour' which can be identified and observed within ordinary social situations, given an understanding of their characteristics. The ego states conceptualised within TA are often associated with earlier psychoanalytical theories relating to compound ego models, particularly Freud's early twentieth century theorisation of a triplicate personality structure comprising the Id, Ego, and the Superego (see Freud, 1999). Freud describes the capacity of this ego-state trilogy to work together in the production of complex human behaviours, and to influence mental health, wellbeing and behaviours according to their (dis)equilibrium. These personality aspects – Superego, Ego, Id - reside in and represent the moral, rational and irrational/emotional zones of the mind, respectively. Thus, the Superego may be seen as a manifestation of societal and/or parental values, for example. An essential factor in understanding Freud's concepts of Id, Ego and Superego is that they do not feature or function in isolation:

rather, they collaborate and interact with each other across the (individual) human personality in encounters made manifest by thoughts, mood, feelings and behaviour. Thus, theoretically, an individual's behaviour can be understood via Freudian analysis of the triple alliance of Id, Ego and Superego and their function/balance. A significant factor in Freud's theorisation, and a fundamental influence upon Berne's later conceptualisation of Transactional Analysis (first published in journal articles, 1957: see Berne, 1961), is this multi-faceted nature of human personality, by which multiple aspects co-exist within, and indeed comprise, a single psyche.

However, in a fundamental differentiation between Freudian and (post-Freudian) TA ego states, Berne (1961: p4) notes that Freud's proposed structures are 'concepts… [and not] phenomenological realities'. Within Berne's theorisation of three ego states: Parent, Adult, and Child, he defined associated behaviours that could be observed and confirmed externally, in social situations, and thus identify ego states at play. This capacity for practical observation of ego states, by and within individuals exhibiting the associated behaviours and not only by therapeutic practitioners, is key to the potential application of TA models in broader research context, in which theory may be built around and from observable behaviours.

Berne developed his characterization of the ego states in published works based upon significant observation of individuals and groups in social and therapeutic settings. Over the course of a conversation (transaction) Berne recognized that changes in behaviour, affect, mood – that is, personality - might be identified through shifts and incidents of tone, vocabulary, regard, demeanour, expression and various verbal and non-verbal cues. These shifts represent moves between personality modes identified by Berne as Parent, Adult and Child ego states. The capitalisation of the ego states is a marker that the descriptor is not only or always literal. One of the tools used within Transactional Analysis is a **structural diagram** of ego states (Figure 1, below) representing the complete personality of any individual and its distinct ego states – Parent, Adult, Child (P. A. C.) Even where only one ego state is involved or in question, TA structural diagrams will always represent the trilogy, emphasising the holistic, if variant, nature of the three states. These three ego states represent the basic modes in which people engage in social interactions and will be used to identify responses to social stimuli within representative transactions or transactional statements drawn from the research material.

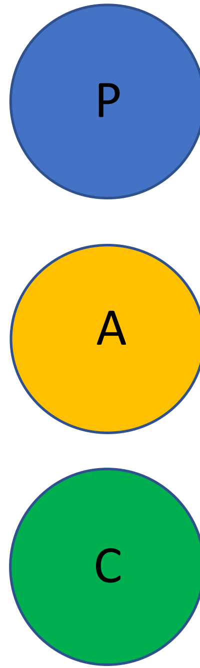



*Figure 1: simple PAC model, ego states*

The features and qualities by which the P.A.C. ego states are characterised and recognised within behaviours and transactions are fundamental to an understanding and analysis of social transactions, and to the roles, relationships and reactions they comprise.

The **Parent ego state** exemplifies the behaviours, thoughts and feelings copied or recalled from parent figures and external events, agencies and encounters experienced or perceived in our developmental years. The Parent state and its messaging thus represents a massive collection of recordings in the brain of early and ongoing external influences. Parent messages are both overt and covert but recognizable throughout lifespans, and by our various ego states. Our Parent is made up of messages based upon admonitions and imperatives that are appropriate to the guardianship of moral and physical wellbeing, yet also reflective of social, familial and individual moods, anxieties and even obsessions. Typical parent messaging might be characterised by the structure/vocabulary of the examples below:

*(you /he) (should/must) (never/always) (say/do/forget) (this/that).*

*Don't touch! Stop that! That's dirty!*

The parent message is the voice of (value) judgment and evaluation and, indeed, penalty and reward. Their statements, therefore, may be identified by reference to punishment, prizes or other consequence of actions that is controlled within the Parent domain. Parent body language may range from protective, to overbearing or even intimidating/threatening use of space or gesture. The language of the Parent may be consoling, patronising, judgmental or critical depending on negative or positive affect. Theoretical development in TA has introduced modified or elaborated versions of the ego states to reflect these sliding scales, so that, for example, *Critical (or Controlling)* and *Nurturing* Parent represent extreme, disproportionate, or specific attributes of the Parent ego state and associated behaviours. *Critical* Parent is a strong, persuasive, or forceful mode characterised by prohibitive and corrective messages and behaviours, invoking parental or societal authority in ensuring obedience and transferring value and belief systems. This mode may protect and prepare the Child state to which it addressed, or with negative affect or intent represent the overbearing, illogical force of the bully. *Nurturing* Parent represents the caring and protecting attributes of familial or societal authority, offering concern, comfort and contentment that, in extreme cases, may manifest inappropriately as over-attention and a denial of the Adult in others. These positive-negative variations are also theorised in the Child (see below) and are a useful means by which to acknowledge the range of behaviours that may characterise each ego state. However, for the purposes of this thesis and its analytical use of TA ego states, and in alignment with the non-binary paradigms it advocates, it may be more useful to consider the ego state in the context of give transactions as a continuum of more or less emphatic observable behaviours.

The **Adult ego state** represents human capacity for thoughtful agency: decisive and active response to the specific 'here and now' that requires understanding and analysis of internal and external environments and resources. In addition, the Adult is the means of keeping Parent and Child in check, drawing on the resources of both Parent and Child, and negotiate between the two. The Adult in us is the 'grown up' rational person who talks reasonably and assertively, neither trying to control nor reacting aggressively towards others. Berne (1961: 110) describes the Adult as being ‘transforming stimuli into pieces of information, and processing and filing that information on the basis of previous experience’. Harris (1969) likens the Adult to ‘a data processing computer, which grinds out decisions after computing the

information from three sources: the Parent, the Child, and the data which the adult has gathered and is gathering'. The Adult is comfortable with itself and is, for many of us, our 'ideal self'. When a person is in Adult state, they are likely to show interest and attention, appearing neither threatening nor defensive. A conversation with someone in Adult will, unless the other participant is fixed in truculent Parent or Child, seem down-to-earth and may involve information exchange, fact-finding, problem-solving and resolution. They tend to ask for information before forming opinions, employing the *Who? Where? What? Where? Why?* checklist that, interestingly, underpins museum and heritage interpretation. Individuals working from Adult use logic statements - that's: *true, not the case, unlikely, probably, possibly* – and offer their own thoughts in an unforced and non-dogmatic manner: *I think, I realise, I see, I believe.*

The **Child ego state** in which individuals behave, feel and think similarly to how they did as a child is the expression of feelings, thoughts and emotional responses replayed from childhood. Lacking the thoughtful agency of the Adult and in contrast to the Parent, the Child represents cognitive-emotional recordings associated with external events the child perceives. That is, the Child is a storage system for *emotions* or *feelings* which accompanied external events. An individual who is in their Child often behaves more emotionally than they do at other times, appearing obviously sad, angry, despairing, fearful, depressed. They may use the body language of a child - giggling, whining, shrugging, teasing. The Child tends to use simple but emphatic syntax and language:

*'I want', 'I need', 'I don't care', 'don't know'; You can't make me! Let's do it now!*

Within the Child ego state, different modes of expression are represented conceptually by the following sub-states: the *Natural Child* represents the playful and spontaneous, lacks self-awareness and is characterised by the non-speech noises (humming, *Hurray!)* and open, self-caressing or impulsive gestures. The *Natural Child* is implied in notions of the tourist as a child (Dann, 1989). The *Little Professor* is the curious and exploring Child seeking new experiences (often much to their Controlling Parent's annoyance). Together with the Natural Child they make up the *Free Child. The Adapted Child* ego state represents the injured, maladjusted or resentful Child, responding with negativity, resistance, and hostility. They use the reactiveness of the Child in response to the world around them, either changing

themselves to fit in with, or rebelling against, perceived social forces. As with the sub-types of the Parent, these versions of the Child may be incorporated within a continuum of Child-aspects that is responsive to environmental and other factors relevant to the transaction at hand.

Having encountered the three TA ego states and the characteristics (and characters) that represent and comprise them, we may now turn again to the transaction in which these states are revealed.

As we have seen, TA's underpinning conceptual framework defines the transaction as the fundamental unit of social intercourse. Transactions can be illustrated and analysed by developed versions of the PAC structural diagram (Figure 1, above) and its representation of the type and direction of stimulus/response obtaining within the transaction.

In the diagram below (Figure 2) Person 1 is in the Adult state. They address the Adult in Person 2: *Have you seen my shoes?* Person 2 responds in the Adult: *Yes, they are in the kitchen.* Logical, factfinding, straightforward language characterises the Adult ego states and their transaction.

Person 1's stimulus line, and Person 2's response, are directed to and from the adult, and this may be described as a *complementary transaction.*

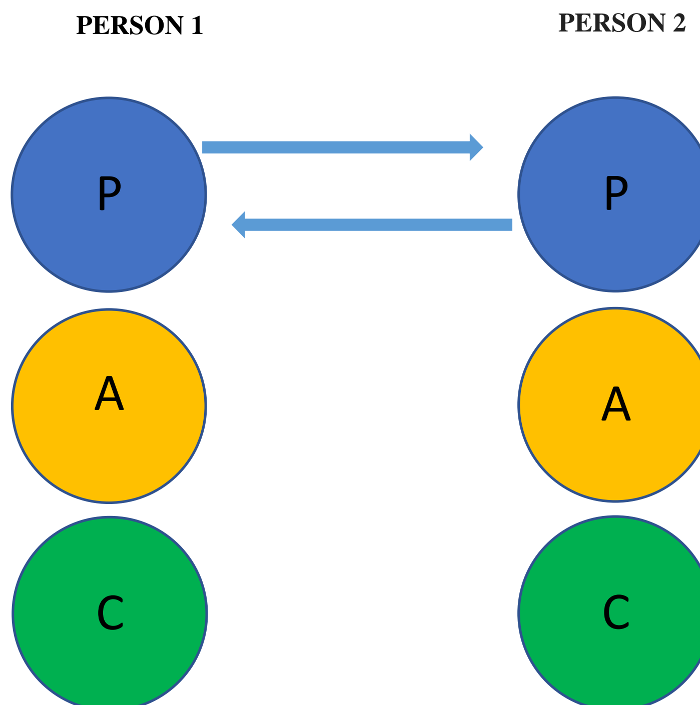



*Figure 2: PAC models in simple complementary transaction*

Complementary transactions, in which the ego state addressed is also the ego state that responds, may involve all ego states (for example, Child-to-Child, Parent-to-Parent). They do not need to engage the same ego state on each side, as long as there is a match between the state addressed and the state which responds. For example (Figure 3, below) Person 1 in Child addresses Person 2 in Parent: *Will you get it for me pleeease?* Person 2 in Parent responds: *Of course I will sweetheart.*

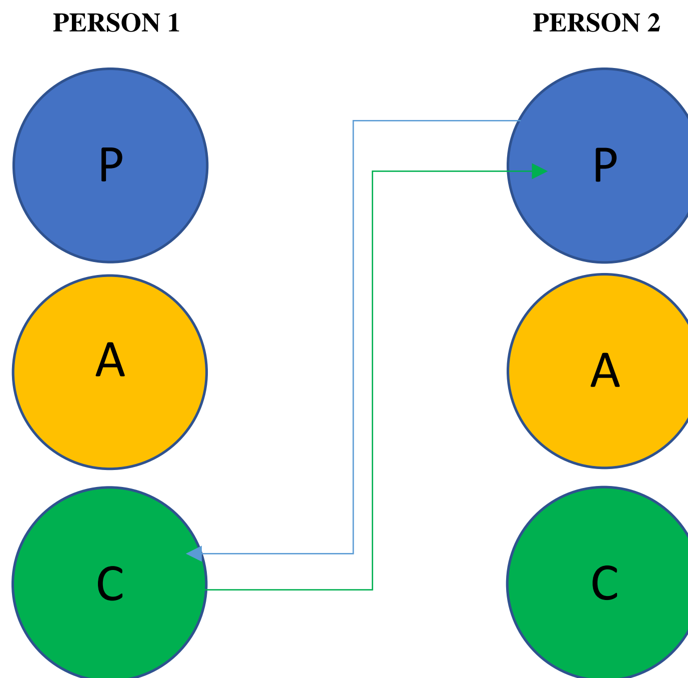
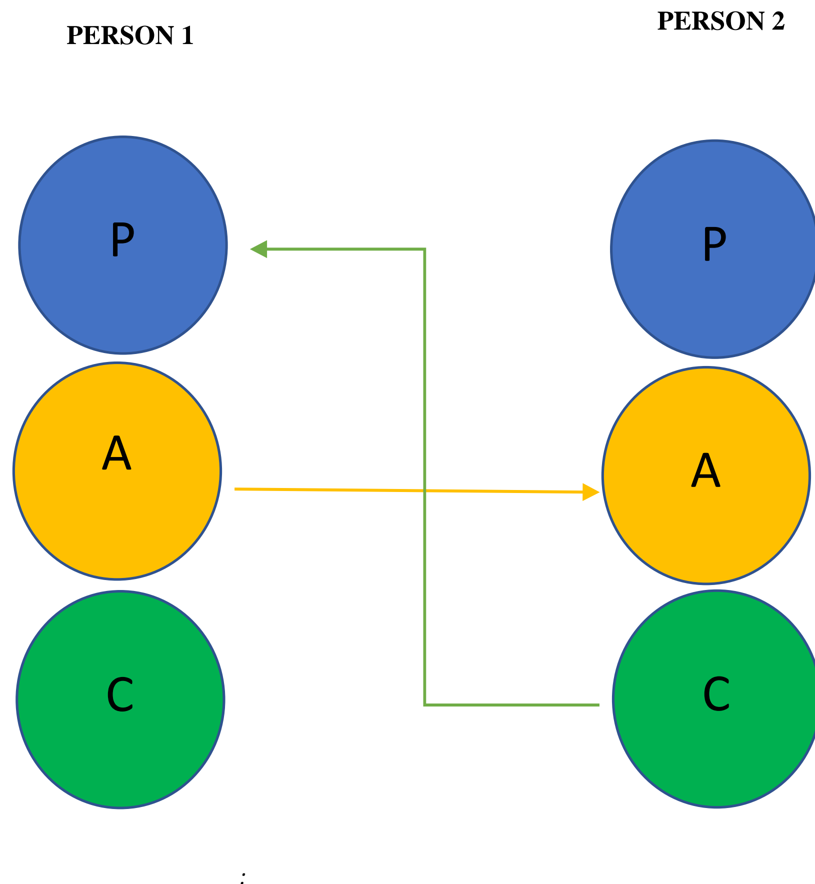



*Figure 3: PAC models and alternative complementary transaction*

The response comes *from the ego state which was originally addressed* and is therefore complementary. The recipient has recognised the stimulus state and responded accordingly. These kinds of transactions are the building blocks of harmonious social life and 'communication will proceed as long as transactions are complementary' (Berne, 1964: p 96).

Breakdowns in communication are the result of transactions which are not complementary: where the response to stimulus is unexpected – that is, sent from a different ego state than the one originally addressed – a crossed transaction obtains. In Figure 4 (below), an Adult-to-Adult stimulus is met by a Child response (for example: A: C*an you pass me my shoes?* C: *Get them yourself!*) In that scenario, Person 1's Adult has been ignored and, furthermore, Person 2's Child has called upon Person 1's Parent – which may well respond: *Who do you think you are talking*

*to?!* representing one of the ways by which ego states can be seen to shift within a (noncomplementary) transaction.




:

*Figure 4: PAC models in crossed tramsaction.*

It should be noted that different kinds of transaction can of course be represented by further variations of the basic structural diagram, to a highly complex degree – especially where multiple states are at play, overtly and covertly, within group situations. Furthermore, there are additional subdivisions and permutations of the original ego states, diagrammatic representations of which are labyrinthine. Therefore, it is of course beyond the scope of this study to offer an exhaustive reading of the variations in conceptualisation and praxis of TA as a therapeutic tool. However, the ego states and complementary/crossed transactions discussed offer an adequate means by which to assess transactions within visitor experience of dark tourism sites and, as such, provide a sufficiently robust yet flexible framework by which to analyse data samples. It is clear that where communication between site and visitor involves complementary transactions, in which the appropriate ego state is addressed by and, subsequently, responds to stimulus (including interpretation, communication, human encounters) a more positive visitor experience will obtain.

Where any transactional participant experiences stimulus or response that does not correspond to their preferred or appropriate ego state, visitor experience is liable to involve failure in communication and dissatisfaction.

It is useful to remind ourselves that all ego states are present concurrently, and any may be invoked, provoked or utilised across the ongoing transactional sequence represented by touristic experience and visitation. Therefore, dark tourism sites' multiplicity of function and meaning, discussed throughout this thesis (including considerations of diverse cultural concerns, personal life experience, problematised typology and perceived motivation) is augmented by the different meanings and perceptions that may arise within the different ego states and across the transactions in which they engage. The nature of the (crossed or complimentary) transaction is fundamental to the visitor experience and to their communication of it and in this way, the ongoing narrative of the dark tourism site and the tourist's role within it is shaped by transactional experience. This study assumes that visitor experience consists of a sequence of transactions between the ego states of the site and the ego states of the tourist. That is, different ego states are invoked, or provoked, in the tourist by certain aspects of the visitor experience. These aspects, in turn, embody and/or express recognisable ego states that represent the visited site. The ego state/s of a physical site will be informed by and composed of particular narratives and concerns about its identity and function. They may be revealed in touristic transactions through site interpretation, communications and messaging systems and as such their ego-state manifestations may seem relatively static and overt. However, variable elements (such as personnel, responses to nonstandard events) may disclosed less considered/conscious ego states, stimuli and responses.

It is not always possible to recognise and identify the ego state invoked in a tourist within the confines of organised group behaviours, such as guided tours. Indeed, it is not always possible, practical or appropriate for the ego state to manifest itself overtly in such an environment. Yet, the transaction has taken place: the ego state in question has been invoked or denied, addressed or oppressed, in an encounter with the site and the ego states variously representing it. Arguably, that response is more fully expressed, and therefore identifiable, at a later stage – in post-visit conversation, in reflection, and in review. This study takes the post-visit review as a narrative representation of the transactions – the addresses/stimuli and responses/reactions - experienced within a touristic visit, authored by the ego states

that have been involved in them. If the ego states in question can be recognised and observed articulating particular visit aspects in narrative 'portions' of tourist reflection, we may obtain useful insights into how critical, expressive and other elements are managed by the tourist psyche. Across a spectrum of reviews, we may investigate the balance – or imbalance – of ego state representation and how seeming communication failure or continuity evidence crossed or complimentary transactions.

This approach utilises significant concepts of TA in specific ways in order to investigate the transactional events and consequences of touristic visits to the case study site. The validity of TA as an analytical tool in the current context is suggested by its resonance with the psychosocial qualities of dark tourism, and its attention to observable social behaviours, mirroring the research approach of this thesis (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, the understanding of 'transaction' as involving stimuli and responses between multiple potential aspects of complex but combined psyche usefully moves the vocabulary and theorisation of push/pull, supply/demand binaries into more productive conceptual territory: ego states are a particularly interesting model in contexts of dark tourism and 'third-way' paradigms. The three modes also make distinct connections with existing conceptualisation of (dark) tourism behaviours. Parent' attributes - notions of inherited (social) injunctions, values and behavioural codes aligned with authority and memory - speak to the recognition of social institutions, shared narratives, memorial behaviour; and their totems and taboos, with which dark tourism and its discourse is so deeply concerned. Controlling Parent characteristics, too, may be implicated in the prescriptive and proscriptive qualities of organised tourism and in the societal constraints, articulated within media reportage of dark tourism's potential ghoulishness, detailed visitor guidelines at dark heritage sites and, tacitly, enacted within the touristic group and critiqued in its messaging systems. Dann's conceptualisation of the tourist as a child and embedded perceptions of the hedonistic tourist and associated notions of thrillseeking and play inherent in the Natural Child ego state, are enriched and nuanced by the TA concepts of the Little Professor and Adapted Child: post-tourist typologies of ecotourist and edutourist are reflected in the former, while the latter describes the conformity/rebellion dichotomy of the contemporary tourist within the challenging contexts of dark heritage, diversity and tourist shame. Meanwhile, the rational Adult expresses the

researching, documenting, tourist, their itinerary-making and data-processing of complex 'files of memory'; this ego state draws upon the attributes of, and mediates between, Parent and Child within the tourist. As the ego states are co-existent and concurrent, this conceptual model fundamentally challenges fixed notions of motivation and experience within as it displaces binary paradigms of, (dark) tourism.

Thus, the specific analytical modes and models of TA effectively address concerns about the conceptual frameworks of tourism research, treating observable social behaviours within coherent theoretical structures that make valid connections with dynamic, emergent sociological paradigms. With regard to conceptualisation of dark tourism, the following section addresses the extent to which TA conceptual frameworks and/or vocabularies are referenced within the tourism/related literature.

## 5.4 Transactional Analysis: approaches to tourism

Representation of interactional and transactional approaches (Stewart and Hull, 2015) refers to psychology as a parent discipline, offering a range of worldviews by which to understand relationships between time, place and people in leisure and tourism contexts. Here, interactional approaches regard these three as separate entities within transactions analogised as certain Newtonian particles (environments and situations) colliding with others (psychological processes and behaviours) and relocating or displacing them (Altman and Rogoff, 1987). The transactional approach, however, shifts the analytical focus from cause-effect to one in which place, time and person jointly define one another and contribute to the meaning and nature of a holistic event' (Altman and Rogoff, 1987: 24)

Key TA vocabulary describes social transactions and the roles and scripts that underpin them, and clear parallels may be drawn between these observable, here-and-now phenomena and the kinds of tourist performativity discussed in Chapter 4. TA attends to cognitive and emotional behavioural factors and, furthermore, to the inherited narratives and past premises that inform ongoing social behaviour. In its trilogy of ego states (Parent/Adult/Child) authoritative, rational, creative and playful behaviours, relating to values, morals, data and knowledge transmission and processing, emotion and impulse, may all be encountered sequentially or simultaneously. Such behaviours may be unpacked as systems of stimulus and

response that may complement or cross one another depending on the ego states at play, drawing upon on past premises, responding to present environments and subject to repetition or modification for future (social) transactions. Challenging binary or static analytical models, the shifting ego states of TA allow manifold, mobile permutations of ego-state encounters with the self and with others, representing a continuum of contingency, imperative and imagining that surrounds and is inherent within touristic presence at dark sites.

These encounters or transactions reflect essential human needs to structure time, to give and receive social signals that influence emotion and identity, and to play a part in the micro- and macro- narratives of human society. As we have seen, institutional narrative has the capacity to create congruence across diverse and potentially conflicting constituents, but TA offers understanding on how this may be problematised. Harris (1967:67) notes that where stimulus/response are complementary 'the transaction can go on indefinitely'; where the transactional balance fails (where the transaction is crossed, not complementary) the conversation (or narrative) is endangered. As we have seen, the social institution cannot exist if it is unable to articulate its existence. This narrative must be sufficiently flexible to support cultural, social and experiential diversity within the institution. The tourist body (with its unique characteristics of variety, multitude and mobility) may function particularly effectively in certain editorial tasks: not despite but because of plural authority (i.e. authored-ness). Plurality also allows the useful disposition of function, so that incapacity in each constituent (for example, a site spokesperson) to transmit particular narrative content or form, is balanced by capacity elsewhere in the institution (for example, an online visitor review) depending on the need of the institution. Hence the shifting ego states at play within touristic transactions may have significant consequences if the balance of those transactions is not maintained. TA concepts relating to *redecisioning lifescripts* (Berne, 1961) - that is significant revision to the received narrative – allow that the institutional narrative is by no means necessarily static or invulnerable to its own paradigm shifts. Indeed, its capacity to evolve in response to circumstance may ensure the survival of the institution.

The tenets of TA link with notions of role, power, performance and play in tourism. Perceptions of host/guest culture and the choice of roles available to tourists (Schwaller, 1992) and intermediaries such as the guide or travel agent (Arnould & Price, 1993) emphasise the importance of role scripts, role taking and role congruence/conflicts (Solomon et al., 1985). If travel is a performed art (Adler, 1989) it is also a serious form of play (Turner, 1982), with complex messaging systems and transactions that authorise, inform and emote about destinations and what they mean. Yet the parallel roles, scripts and transactions of TA are seriously underused within tourism conceptualisations, although they inform practical aspects of tourism as a service industry. Wachtel (1980) demonstrated TA applications for different activities within travel and tourism organisations including supervising personnel, developing better relationships with customers, and improvement of interpersonal communication and feelings, while Riley (1986) cites TA as a useful means of developing social skills and understanding behaviours and ego defence. Outside of these prosaic contexts, Farell (1992) references Berne's (1961) representations of harmonious and disharmonious modes of communication among three major personality states and suggests that, by extending this model, parallel group states might be theorised. Farell goes on to apply concepts of complementary and/or crossed transactions in contexts of collective interchange, proposing *colonial transaction*s (parent-to-child) between one culture and a 'foreign other' as opposed to the adult-to-adult mode enabled by sociocultural shifts, including and especially political independence. Schwaller (1992), exploring today's tourist within a framework of European cultures, conceptualises the tourist as aware of self, but also of the conscious choice of roles available to them. The question of the tourist playing a more responsible role is addressed using TA as a 'short-hand' understanding of what happens between people when they interact socially. Locating the tourist in this model is suggested as a possible means of formulating recommendations for how to be a responsible tourist. The analogical treatment of the tourist as a child (Amirou, 1994, 1995; Dann, 1989, 1996; Selwyn, 1993), however, recurrent within literature, offers an advantageous link with various psychoanalytical concepts, not least TA, that might facilitate the examination of related identity themes (see also Dann's (2000a: 371) references to Freudian and Jungian analytical theory and, specifically, Harris (1967)). Dann's (1989) chapter on *The Tourist as a Child* discusses the tourist industry's attempts

to control clients given a (simultaneous) impression of unrestricted freedom, cast in child-roles by the evocation of 'themes of regression and pleasure… [and] play' (Dann 1989:117). Similarly, Pearce (1982:74) examines stereotyped relationships between the passive, child-like tourist and the guide as a parental figure, referencing Gatto's (1977) suggested interpretation of tourist/guide relationships via a TA framework. The triptych of ego states allowed by TA, however, allows for a more fluid set of modes by which participants within a social institution of (dark) tourism, and their varied transactions, might be analysed and understood: here, the Tourist as a Child works in parallel with the Tourist as Adult, Parent, and combination/collaboration of the three states. Furthermore, the varied agents with which/whom the Tourist engages and interacts are equally three-dimensional: between these permutations of ego state, the crossed or complementary transactions in which they participate, and the stimuli/responses enacted, touristic experience, agency and communication arise and evolve.

### 5.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have represented dark tourism as a social institution, incorporating complex and multiple participants and narratives and reflected by associated collective, narrative and cultural functions. I have suggested that the significant symbolism, inherent within both social institutions and within dark tourism as a nexus of death, heritage and tourism studies (Chapters 2/3) supports the validity of psychoanalytical approaches, evidenced by developing research directions and approaches. Furthermore, I have drawn parallels between the apparent motivating factors discussed in Chapter 4 and significant psychoanalytical concepts. It is likely that essential aspects of strengthening psychoanalytical approaches to dark tourism will be twofold. Firstly, a more structured and specific selection of relevant analytical concepts and materials drawn from ongoing engagement with other disciplinary conceptualisations is needed, with explicit relevance to the research focus. Secondly, such materials should inform bespoke, functional conceptual frameworks to support concrete dark tourism research activity, generating salient new philosophies of dark tourism that actively contribute to cross-disciplinary discourse. Therefore, I have proposed Transactional Analysis as a system developing upon

## CHAPTER SIX: Research philosophy & methodology

### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter will set out and explain the validity of the research philosophy and methodology, detailing the selected case study site, data sources and methods and analytical techniques. In addition, reference is made to limitations, benefits and specific affective factors relating to the conduct of research activity. The research aim, question and objectives are revisited in Table 5 and frame the intentions and rationale of all research activity.

| **Dark Tourism and Other Death: Mediating Relationships in Contemporary Society – A Transactional Analysis** | |
|---|---|
| Research Aim | To critically appraise interactions at, and relational representations of, a dark tourism site within the context of Transactional Analysis (TA) and ego states. |
| Research Question | How do dark touristic transactions and resultant ego states reflect social narratives of and relationships with the sites of traumatic heritage? |
| Objectives | 1. To critically review dark tourism conceptualisations in synthesis with cross-disciplinary theoretical, and sociocultural, concerns, in contexts of contemporary heritage and tourism.<br>2. To evaluate online and social media contexts as a facility for expressive, reflective and constructive touristic modes.<br>3. To identify and analyse tourist experiences, transactions and ego states and their representation in selected modes and environments (research material).<br>4. To explore the construction and mediation of shared social narratives of memory and mortality. |

*Table 5: Research aim, question and objectives*

This thesis aims to develop and assess a model of (dark) touristic experiences using Transactional Analysis (TA) as an underpinning conceptual framework. Challenging critical perspectives of dark tourism as a 'consumption-led' sequence of encounters, this thesis suggests instead a transactional continuum involving multiple, mutable or parallel stakeholders, attitudes, experiences and roles. As current perspectives (Biran et al, 2011; Sharpley, 2012) highlight the benefits, to existing discourse, of more rigorous attention to wider sociocultural contexts, the study adopted a cross-disciplinary approach in its literary review which is mirrored within its research methodology.

## 6.1 Research Philosophy

The research philosophy aims to represent, where possible, non-binary models in all aspects of the work and to avoid either/or approaches in its methodologies. Earlier (Chapter 4), this thesis raised concerns about perceived imbalance in etic and emic research approaches and the agility of existing conceptualisation, in contexts of (dark) tourism research and contemporary social paradigms. These concerns, reflected in calls to extend and invigorate tourism research's methodological toolkit (Franklin & Crang, 2001; Tribe, 2006) are addressed by this study's implementation of mixed methodologies, by which parallel touristic and theoretical perspectives frame and direct analytical processes.

The research approach has both inductive and deductive aspects. The purely inductive approach takes the generation of new theory from empirical research material (Gilgun, 2001) as its focal point, rather than the validation or disputation of existing theorisation, highlighting themes of social construction and meanings. Meanwhile, the deductive research attitude takes the extant canon of theoretical and empirical material as its starting point. However, it is reductive to read these approaches as discrete and as Veal (2006) argues, most research is both inductive and deductive. Even in the most deliberately inductive research rationale deductivity is implied, even required, by the presence and production of research objectives (even where aims & questions are pending). The absence of deductivity risks disconnection from ongoing discourse and its capacity to enrich and validate research quality and range. Yet, where empirical enquiry is contingent upon existing theory deductivity may limit and/or direct research scope, questioning and

interpretations, ‘forcing’ the work (Glaser, 1992) and thus jeopardising its relevance and validity. A combined, inductive- deductive approach, as advocated by Ezzy (2002), represents an ongoing dialogue between pre-existing understandings and new insights generated in real-world situations from which theoretical developments arise. This study’s contextualisation via a literature review, examining existing theorisation in terms of elucidating dark tourism experiences, coupled with the subsequent construction of original conceptual frameworks via new investigations, adopts such a synergistic methodology.

### 6.1.1 Research Approach: Grounded Theory Principles

This thesis adopts a qualitative-explorative research methodology, aiming at theory-building through the analysis of largely open-source data and minimally-directed inquiry. Therefore, grounded theory principles, advocated for their strength in terms of generating theories out of rich data (Bryman, 2004), have been applied in this study’s iterative and comparative processing of ideas and new material collected specifically for the purpose.

The purpose of grounded theory is to reveal the actual and observable, rather than the (solely) theorised or surmised, describing the emergence of unique concepts and theories from the study of human interaction within particular environments and clarifying their theoretical value (Glaser, 1992). However, while grounded theory is an influential strategy for conducting qualitative data analysis, the consistency and precision of its application and meaning are subject to ongoing debate (Bryman, 2004; Charmaz, 2000). Yet, it may be incongruous to enforce rigid regulations upon philosophical principles, especially within the multi-method, multidisciplinary research toolkit. For the purposes of this study, grounded theory principles are reflected in the fundamental underpinning of its theorisation by empirical data, systematically gathered and analysed through an explicitly defined research process. Open-source, user-generated data is regarded as the focal point of analysis that is framed by concepts of Transactional Analysis (TA) which are themselves, as discussed in Chapter 5, rooted in iterative actual observation of real-world behaviours and transactions. As such, the theoretical component of the research approach in fact resonates with grounded theory principles.

### 6.1.2 Research Strategy

The research philosophy is rooted in an interpretivist approach. Orlikowski & Baroudi (1991: 13-14) understand interpretive research as aiming to understand how members of social groups participate in, enact and endow with meaning social processes and particular realities, and thus 'understand the actors' views of their social world and the role in it'. This description emphasises cognitive (meaning-making) processes in profoundly social contexts, and as such is germane to dark tourism experiences and to the concepts of TA by which this thesis seeks to elucidate them. Meanwhile, Pizam and Mansfield (2009) distinguish interpretivism by certain key assumptions about fundamental research issues: the nature of reality; research goals and interest focus; knowledge generated and information desired, and the researcher/subject relationship. The qualities of these assumptions resonate with the unique qualities and challenges of dark tourism research, and with emergent socio-cultural paradigms, arising from the literature review: they relate to social construction, multiplicity and relativity of time, space and values; to understanding and meaning, in terms of how different people think, respond and problems-solve; to interactivity, participation and mutuality. Furthermore, Pizam and Mansfield note that positivist approaches measure and mark the average and the representative while interpretivism questions what is specific, unique and/or deviant – that is, attributes associated with the contexts and content of dark tourism.

The traditional dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative research, however, is at odds with developing non-binary paradigms, discussed in earlier chapters. 'Third-way' thinking around this dilemma is represented by the introduction of *pragmatism*, alongside positivism and interpretivism, as a research paradigm within fields as diverse as information systems analysis (Wicks & Freeman, 1998; Goles & Hirschheim, 2000) and psychology (Fishman, 1999). Braa & Vidgen's (1999) model of three epistemological orientations describes three research directions toward (a) explanation and prediction, (b) interpretation and understanding and (c) intervention and change. There are clear correlations with positivism, interpretivism and, arguably (but not, for those authors, actually) pragmatism. Third-way epistemological frameworks address a perceived schism between positivist and interpretative traditions, as observed by Hollinshead (2004b) who, however, suggests that integrated multi-method research approaches represent a solution to that dilemma.

The thesis integrates its qualitative research strategy, aimed at elucidating emotional, psychological and experiential aspects through both interpretive and naturalistic approaches (Denzin & Lincoln,1995; Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001), with quantitative research tools in a mixed method approach. The study's use of emergent netnographic methods responds to calls (Hollinshead, 2004a, 2004b) for greater use of innovative, cross-disciplinary methodologies in contemporary tourism research, and the perceived value of interpretivism as a philosophical attitude (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001; Guba & Lincoln 1994; Sparkes, 1992), in supporting 'culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world' (Crotty, 1998:67).

### 6.1.3 Research Epistemology & Ontology

The study adopts a constructivist-interpretive epistemology, aligning with the notion that human beings filter events and experience through collective understandings of the world and consequent practices and behaviours (Schwandt, 2000). The constructivist approach, described and advocated by Crang (2003:494) as revealing 'people discursively creating their worlds', takes the contextual background 'of other meanings, beliefs, values, practices and so forth' (Schwandt, 2000:201) as essential to understanding human behaviours and their (often covert) causes and consequences.

This study therefore acknowledges the constructivist perspective's imposition of a subjectivist epistemology, based upon understandings co-created between researcher and 'respondent' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1995). While much of the research material is garnered 'at arm's length' from the researcher, nonetheless, interpretive processes preclude absolute objectivity in epistemological processes. This recognition of the researcher's involvement in meaning-making is necessary to the study's integrity and etic/emic research equilibrium, and relevant to its methodology. The research approach relocates the researcher to the periphery of data-generating discourse in which the tourist is defined as a contributor to, and not subject of, the study. In data collection stages where research material largely comprises user-generated content, researcher-led questioning and intervention is minimal. However, data generation/collection occurs within overarching, if transitory, communities/dialogues located in actual (physical site) and virtual

(online forum) domains that (co-) exist independently of the research work. Indeed, the researcher is implicated and involved in these domains outside the project: having undertaken tourist activity as a visitor to the case study site, and as a reader/contributor to TripAdvisor, for example. In this way, the researcher (knowingly) has an existing informal relationship with the modes and environments in questions, in addition to and in parallel with the research activity. Meanwhile, the observed tourist in the actual and virtual sites in question is undertaking independent activity while (unknowingly) contributing to the research question. Furthermore, the tourist and the researcher are co-located (with other participants in the social institution of the case study site) in additional 'nested', overlapping and/or overarching domains. These include social (cultural, academic and media) narratives of the Holocaust, tourism, memory, and so on.

Recognition of the logical implications and associated dichotomies of a constructivist approach is essential to a clear research rationale. Especially, that recognition allows for a robust interlocution of the researcher/reader and their capacity to understand, contextualise and interpret experiential data - not only through a singular and familiar conceptual lens, but comprehending the multiple perspectives and unfamiliar contexts that inform and generate the source material. Indeed, some commentators (Ley, 1988) advocate an overt methodology of engagement in research approaches to complex person-place relationships. In the present study, relationship development of this kind was rendered impractical due to the quantity of experiences involved and, significantly, the complex considerations surrounding researcher relationships in the context of TA precepts (as applied within this study). However, onsite scoping activity involving questionnaires allows for some informal, follow-up discussion. Furthermore, this study takes as its focal point user-generated content within online public fora, where both content and location represent engagement opportunities across the broad stakeholding constituency of the research study.

Thus, the study follows social constructivist pathways toward findings that reflect 'a compilation of human-made constructions' (Raskin, 2002). Raskin's description, within the discourse of psychology, resonates with contemporary developments across the social sciences (including, and especially, tourism) and in pedagogic discourse, by which the recognition, if not incorporation, of perspective plurality is increasingly advocated within research fieldwork and analysis. Pedagogic

theorisation, developing from (cognitive) flexibility theory (Spiro et al., 1988) on knowledge acquisition, within 'complex and ill-structured' domains, emphasises conceptual interrelatedness and the need to provide multiple representations, themes and perspectives on case-based content, because there is no single schema (no objective reality)

Furthermore, perspective plurality is implicit across the current research contexts, in which dark tourism, aligned with contemporary (global) tourism and associated developing paradigms, is examined through the inherently social-constructive processes of TA via its representation within new and social media environments. These environments speak to the network society and the cultural diversity and global interdependence by which it is characterised (Castells, 1996).

### 6.2 Research Design

The research scheme adopts a mixed-method approach to a single case study site, Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum and Memorial (The Museum). The mixed method approach, which is effectively matched with integrative research strategies (Creswell, 2004; Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2005; Johnson & Christensen, 2011) employs different yet complementary data collection instruments. Thus, the approach readily aligns with Hollinshead's (2004b) representation of mixed-method approaches as a means of addressing the lacunae created between oppositional positivist/interpretivist paradigms, and with the overlapping environments and roles represented within the research project.

The study collates sample and multiple reflections of visitor experiences or transactions at the case study site, in physical and virtual environments. The resultant data is analysed in terms of its representation of ego states, as defined within TA theory. Analytical attitudes are **comparative,** juxtaposing the formal messaging of the site institution with diverse visitor perspectives; **narrative**, investigating the form and structure of expressions within the transactional exemplar; **content-based,** deconstructing experiential expressions to identify key aspects of vocabulary, syntax and language and the clusters, oppositions and other phenomena that arise. The research data is comprised of commentary and narrative materials emerging from the social institution of dark tourism at the Museum, its constituents and the transactions that take place across it. These include site-based

questionnaire/interview activity; autonomous reviews or comments in online environments (TripAdvisor), formal messaging at the case study site and its associated online media spaces and observed transactions at the site.

The study follows ethnographic principles in its sampling at the case study site, observing themes that emerge from the studied group to achieve an overall interpretation (Wolcott, 1994) of those themes and associated meanings. The research material is field-based, in that the observation and documentation of data takes place in 'frontline' environments, whether physical or virtual sites, in which individuals in question have located, and conduct, themselves. However, the methodology of the research activity in this study is somewhat at variance with traditional definitions of ethnographic approaches, associated with long-term and immersive fieldwork within a fixed 'other' community. In this case, contemporary contexts (both conceptual and cultural) modify those factors that are assumed to describe the ethnographic methodology to a significant degree, therefore it is useful at this point to clarify, and even qualify, the attribution of an ethnographic approach within the research activity of this study.

Firstly, the social groups in question (the tourists at Auschwitz-Birkenau; the reviewers in the TripAdvisor site) are connected not by permanently shared geographical location or other physical space, other than their transient presence, within different temporal contexts, at the Museum; nor is there a shared ethnicity or other ongoing sociocultural commonality. The tourist body that, in part, comprises the social institution of dark tourism to the museum is a shifting social group, located across and acting within fluid temporal and spatial contexts. Therefore, while the fundamental qualities of ethnography are retained in principle, a reorientation of the nature of its 'naturally occurring settings, social meanings and ordinary activities' (Brewer, 2004), and the researcher's presence within them, is needed to reflect contemporary social groups and communities, especially in online contexts. The role of the traditional ethnographic researcher is perceived as switching from an external to an internal entity, with lengthy periods of immersion within a static, shared 'other' community and environment. In the present case study, the researcher may be regarded as a transient member of an equally transient social group of *visitors* to Auschwitz-Birkenau. To rework Brewer's description, this largely unrelated group share *unnaturally* occurring settings, social meanings and *extraordinary* activities, following the prescribed pathways to, from and within

the physical site. Once the return journey is completed, the social group dissolves until and unless it is (partially) reformed within repeat visits, or within new (physical or virtual) contexts of reunion or reflection. Thus, in this case, the researcher is immersed in the social group and its shared sights and actions – on the coach trip, in the guided tours - as far as the nature of the group allows. In this way, the binary quality of traditional ethnography – either in or out of the social group environment – is profoundly challenged, while the qualities of the mobilities paradigm are acknowledged and, indeed, enacted.

Similarly, the mixed methods - participant observation, field notes, interviews, and surveys – associated with ethnographic research and relationship-building require modification in order to effectively engage with research participants via their unique modes, media and environments.

The open question format allows broader opportunities for participants' unassumed, authentic expression and language than the (recorded) dialogue of questionnaire/questioner-led interview; meanwhile, observation within online communities involves interpretation of textual and/or photographic material (deliberately created and curated by the research participant) as opposed to physical behaviours.

The study's ethnographic approach is enhanced by its netnographic methodology: here, the researcher is again immersed within a fluid social group connected by experiential and elective, as opposed to sociocultural, inherent or inherited factors; the data collection itself consisted of

TripAdvisor member behaviours (that is, reading reviews). Indeed, as an ongoing member of the 'TripAdvisor community' (as the site describes its members), this researcher's immersion in the community expands beyond the remit of the research project. Therefore, inasmuch as contemporary social paradigms and research contexts influence this study's ethnographic approach, its netnographic attitudes are influenced by the social/communal quality of the research environment. As a significant proportion of this study's research activity is undertaken in online environments, netnographic principles are relevant to the study and offer usefully complementary approaches. Certain challenges and limitations presented by traditional ethnographic methods are in fact mitigated or avoided within netnographic research activity. The latter mode is not problematised by arranging

physical access, often for long periods in order to assure empirically robust data, to remote or diverse locations, and the cost in time and material resources that might entail. Furthermore, concerns about researcher bias in immersive research contexts, and the delicate 'interplay of individual agency and social structure' (Ybema et al., 2010) may be allayed where netnographic data collection requires observation and collation of user-generated or open source data, rather than the construction and communication of questions or surveys. Indeed, this traditional dichotomy of the objective ethnographer is highly significant where TA factors – roles, ego states and transactions - are concerned.

While netnographic approaches shares the inductive, accumulative and holistic methods of traditional ethnography, their focus is upon cultural, symbolic information insights into meaning, engagement and exchange within online communities (Kozinets, 2010; del Fresno, 2011). Its key processes: research planning, entrée, data collection, interpretation, ensuring ethical standards, and research representation (Kozinets, 2010) may overlap, if and because communication and presence may be non-linear within the online frame. Thus, netnography shares ethnography's natural, immersive, descriptive, multi-method, and adaptable qualities. However, online contexts problematise certain kinds of social cues, and codes. Based largely on observation of textual discourse, interpretation and representation require particularly clear methodologies and effective tools, including software, in order to achieve integrative (qualitative and quantitative) integrity. Careful use of convergent data collection methods to bridge offline and online research (Kozinets 1998, 2002), and the deployment of mixed methodology in general, is a useful approach to addressing concerns about netnographic fallibility, as with all methodologies.

A further concern with netnography is the tendency towards anonymity, or lack of identifying features of individuals in online environments. However, research into dark tourism's challenging subject matter and the complex psychosocial factors that surround its perception may be positively enhanced by location within online domains, in which participants feel less restrained in expressing related experiences and attitudes (Bjork & Kauppinen-Raisanen, 2012). Research ethics may be one of the most important differences between traditional ethnography and netnography as, in a major departure from traditional methods, the latter system uses cultural information that has not been made specifically available for research

representation. Early concerns about information-based consent in cyberspace (Paccagnella, 1997) are to a degree resolved by general clarification and legislation across media and other domains, and by the development of specific research protocols (Kozinets, 2002). In the case of this thesis, TripAdvisor reviews are located in the public domain and anonymous usage of non-identifying textual material is accepted within reviewer membership procedures.

Online sources offer a significant quantity of data and, often, basic demographic information in highly accessible formats. Furthermore, online groups and environments may comprise highly diverse participants, while shared or common interests may be usefully defined and/or easily identifiable. Access to the opinions, perspectives and opinions of these participants is likely to be significantly less demanding in terms of resources and may offer 24-hour data generation. Finally, online environments represent a locus and tool for communications, resource sharing and virtuality, whose use in tourism contexts is continuously developing: it is the 'natural environment' of touristic shared narrative and opinion. Yet, netnography is currently underused in social research around tourism behaviour and experience (although, see above, and Clemons and Gao, 2008; Ye, Law, & Gu, 2009).

TripAdvisor, the source of this study's data, represents an electronic social world generating discourse and user-generated material broadcast for wide public consumption. Reviews of the case study site offer demographic data including self-designated identity markers. They offer an alternative, visitor-authored means of perceiving visitor identity and experience, displacing existing tourist typologies and motivational models. This study investigates how review material represents a public response to stimuli encountered at the site, and the fractured transactions that obtain from that stimulus/response mechanism. McCabe and Foster (2006) assert tourist tendency toward narrative attitudes, adopting storytelling techniques to define and describe touristic events. Those narrative attitudes are deployed, in TripAdvisor reviews, as remote responses, arguably in lieu of response mechanisms unavailable at the time and place of the site visit. I deconstruct the reviews as narrative elements that describe micro-transactions and reveal shifting touristic ego states and the (perceived) ego state and stimuli/responses of the case study site. The full complement of traditional narrative elements (abstract; orientation; complicating action; evaluation; resolution; coda) as set out in Labov's (1997)

principles is absent in the majority of reviews. However, Elliot (2005) suggests that the complicating action (i.e., what happened) forms the most minimal of narratives and, indeed, visit descriptions largely resemble that element, Furthermore, Elliot regards the evaluative element, present in all reviews, as demonstrating the meaning of the events for the storyteller. Reviews are usually posted in close proximity to the time of events experienced, and are therefore less likely to reflect impaired or inaccurate recall (Verbrugge, 1980).

### 6.2.1 Case Study Selection

Visitor experience of Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum and Memorial, a historic landmark, heritage site and visitor attraction, is selected because of its significance in the context of iconic dark tourism locations. In Chapter 7 an overview of the site and its status is contextualised by observations of the protocols and landscape of the physical site. Survey-generated material, follow-up discussion transcripts and on-site observations provide scoping material and context for broader online data collection and treatment.

As an established research tool suited to theory building rather than testing, the case study is particularly useful in studying, and supporting in-depth understanding of, of events, roles and relationships, encounters and given situations (Merriam, 1998; Kitchin & Tate, 2000; Stake, 2000). Hence, case studies focus upon meaning and relationships (Veal, 2006; Merriam, 1998) representing both process and product of inquiry (Yin, 1994; Stake, 2000). Case studies are susceptible to broad criticism that wider theory testing and development are not supported by perceived specificity (Beeton, 2005). Furthermore, concerns about bias within the researcher's presentation and analysis (Hoaglin et al, 1982) and, potentially, reader tendency toward 'results that support his/her values, rejecting the others that do not fit as neatly' (Beeton, 2005:39). This is an apposite concern given the tendentious and sensitive subject matter represented at this study's selected site. Nevertheless, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the research strategy, approach and methodology has consistently addressed potential vulnerability to bias to acknowledge and mitigate it as far as possible. The single case study approach aims to obtain rich data relating to visitor experience and perception, to map similarity or difference,

and test new analytical frameworks. The single case study also supported quantitative and qualitative research approaches.

The case study site is reasonably accessible in terms of opportunity and resource, hence its popularity as a touristic attraction. Furthermore, the most proximate city, Krakow, is itself a popular destination for short breaks and has created a robust transport and service infrastructure associated with the case study site and related historical material. Research activity, including site familiarisation, visit observation and participation, questionnaire distribution and follow-up activity, is detailed in Table 6 (overleaf).

The purpose of exploratory visits was to aid familiarisation of on-site issues specific to this study. Consequently, each exploratory and other visit provided a basis to consider research methods and to refine research issues/questions. Taking part in a range of coach trips and tours, in addition to an independent journey and visit, allowed the researcher to develop a fuller understanding of the visitor experience and to utilise coach journeys for some questionnaire follow-up activity.

Approaches to potential questionnaire participants involved a preliminary check for exclusions: that is, English first language/self-declared competency (resources do not allow for translation/interpretation and the responses are necessarily completed immediately) and age above 18. Approaches applied an informal and intuitive attempt to achieve a reasonable variety of age and gender, however no formal efforts were made as the activity was intended as small sample scoping to inform broader netnographic research. Visitors who had not experienced both zones of the Museum, or who were mid-visit, were also excluded.

Initial discussion about the research project, conditions and activity offered an opportunity for further exclusion: visitors with an expressed personal connection or who were visiting in the context of a formal educational or other special-interest group. Coloured transparencies and large print version of questionnaire were made available for those with reading or vision concerns, and participants with serious visual impairment could be offered reading/transcription by the researcher, if desired. An information sheet was available for all potential participants and an enhanced version was prepared in case of concern regarding hearing impairment. However, none of the access measures were required.

This study adopted methodologies that allowed the collection of responses to and reflections upon experiences of an iconic site of dark tourism with minimum intervention on the part of the researcher. From these responses, their commonalities, disparities and notable themes/tropes, ongoing shared (cultural) narratives relating to the site and its meaning within contemporary society may be constructed and analysed. Furthermore, the reflective data allows for increased understanding of the potential roles and relationships performed and created by tourists and their behaviours (including reflective and communicative behaviours post-visit).

| | **Location/s** | **Date/time/ duration** | **Activity** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Ethnographic** | **Oswiecim, Poland**<br>Auschwitz Museum & Memorial site<br><br>Private coaches to/from Krakow/Museum | **2014**<br>30 Aug | Site familiarisation, protocol observation<br>Note-taking and protocol/behaviour observation<br>2 x public coach trip & guided tour<br>2 x guided tour, unbooked<br>1 x full-day independent visit |
| | **Auschwitz Museum & Memorial**<br>Coach park, refreshment area | **2014**<br>31 Aug - 2 Sept<br>6 x 1-hour periods<br>*(AM 3 days; PM 3 days)* | Distribution self-complete questionnaire (x 18 completed)<br>Follow-up discussions x 10<br>*Apply exclusions* |
| **Netnographic** | **TripAdvisor**<br>Reviews | June 2015 – June 2017 | Gather 300 TripAdvisor reviews<br>*Apply exclusions* |

*Table 6: Research activity*

### 6.3 Research Methods (also see Case Study Selection)

The principal methods used for this study were a purposeful integration of covert participation observations, semi-structured interviews, and netnography as outlined above. The design of empirical methods involved on-site and online environments as bases for ethnographic and netnographic study.

**Activity/product 1a** ethnographic design: site familiarisation, covert observations (preceded by exploratory visit) and **note-taking**.

**Activity/product 1b** ethnographic design: **questionnaires,** distributed on site, accompanied by **1c.**

**Activity/product 1c** semi-structured **interviews** where possible.

**Activity/product 2** netnographic design: collation and sorting of representative sample **TripAdvisor reviews** and associated content/information.

### 6.3.1 Ethnography

**(Covert) Participant Observations**

As discussed in earlier sections relating to ethnography, netnography and research methods, observation activity allowed further understanding of visitor protocols and experience as well as site interpretation, landscape and management so that reference to these in necessarily brief interviews, or within short reviews, were comprehended quickly.

Covert observation of visitors in and around Auschwitz and Birkenau (exhibition and open spaces, entrances, amenities, facilities including coaches) involved noting conspicuous behaviour including: photography, interaction with staff, pathfinding, conversation, resting, 'rulebreaking', interaction with signage and interpretation. Informal notetaking about clustering and dwell time at specific locations, overheard comment/opinion or questions arising was supported by photography relating to locations of interest and, especially, signage, interpretation or other visual/verbal cues/transactional material.

**Self-completion questionnaires**

(See Appendix 5: Ethnographic Questionnaire Master Transcript).

18 of over 100 questionnaires distributed were completed in the open spaces around the visitor entrance of Auschwitz I, where it was possible to identify visitors awaiting return transport. Many extra questionnaire (31) were half-completed, as the pressure of travel itineraries intervened or for other reasons. These were not used as the intention of the activity was to gain a small but consistent set of response to the same question set. As questions were deliberately (dis-)ordered to avoid

'cross-contamination' or pre- and post- visit perspectives, half-completed questionnaires added no value, and may have confusion, to the results. Gender, age, nationality and other demographic detail was not included in the questionnaire, as their purpose was to scope experience and vocabularies. Robust demographic data was obtained from the broader online research activity.

**Follow-up discussion**

10 of 18 respondents were able to engage in follow-up discussion, mainly (6/10) because the research was able to undertake these on the return coach journey. The remainder were conducted on the benches nearby, or in the stationary taxi booked by me. Face-to-face discussion offered an opportunity for both researcher and participant to clarify, explain and/or amend questionnaire content. Having preciously completed basic responses, the discussions quickly reached deeper levels than could be obtained in written response. Finally, the overarching aim of the on-site investigation was to ensure visitor terminology and/or concerns were considered in the analytical stages and covert observation combined with face-to-face discussion supported that goal.

### 6.3.2 Netnography

300 online reviews were taken from TripAdvisor, representing the designated timeframe. 59 reviews were set aside as analysis revealed exclusionary factors. Reviewer demographics were included in the data collection.

## 6.4 Research Analysis

**A. Activity/product 1a** ethnographic **note-taking**

i. Researcher further narrative analysis.

**B. Activity/product 1b** ethnographic **questionnaires**

i. Narrative analysis.

ii. TA analysis: researcher mapping of scoping content according to TA models of ego state and crossed/complementary transaction.

**<u>C.</u> <u>Activity/product 1c</u>** semi-structured **interviews** where possible

i. Narrative analysis.

**<u>D.</u> <u>Activity/product 2</u> TripAdvisor reviews** and associated content/information:

i. Demographic data analysis of online data (TripAdvisor content) utilising NVivo software ii. NVivo analysis of online data for word frequency and incidence, linked to sample (netnographic) findings iii. TA analysis: researcher mapping of scoping and samples of review content according to TA models of ego state and crossed/complementary transaction.

### 6.5 Further issues and Summary

Schedule changes: In the original research schedule a focus group involving practitioners of TA was to feature as a key method for the analytical phases of this study; however, two incidents of (six-month_ authorised interruption to the study caused the scheduled process to be postponed and, subsequently, time constraints and a change of personnel within the planned focus group meant that this aspect of the study was not possible. This necessitated additional desk research and software-based analysis, and the resultant time constraints determined that a second small-scale sampling/scoping activity, relating to Facebook posts, was removed from the research schedule to retain focus on the main research material and environment (TripAdvisor).

Ethical practice: As the research design involved site-based, public-facing data collection and discussion, and in view of the difficult subject matter involved, ethical considerations were an important factor in the research project. The empirical design, and all associated material, was submitted to the University of Central Lancashire's Research Ethics Committee within the Faculty of Management in 2015, receiving final approval received in September 2017. Specific factors relating to online material, identity and permission are covered above (Netnography).

Within this chapter I have outlined not only the detail of the research activity but its connectedness with the conceptual background (literary review). By utilising mixed methodologies, supporting participant agency and engagement and exploring online

environments this study seeks to align itself with emergent mobilities paradigms, engage with 'third-way' conceptualisations of social space and challenge traditional perspectives upon tourist motivation and agency. The next chapters describe the ethnographic (Chapter 7) and netnographic (Chapter 8) research environments and undertake analysis and interpretation of empirical findings.

# CHAPTER 7: Ethnographic research contexts, findings and analysis

## 7.0 Introduction: ethnographic research context

This chapter offers a context (7.1) to the case study site, including a brief site history and status report of its current profile and recent development as a visitor and heritage attraction. Visitor protocols and other pertinent information relating to the visitor experience are set out ahead of further contextualisation. This takes the form of an overview and narrative analysis of ethnographic research undertaken at the site for the purposes of this review, with key findings supporting and flowing in to further (ethnographic) analysis (Chapter 8). Material drawn from this sample material, specifically, from follow-up discussions with survey participants will be subject to initial modelling via TA concepts of ego states and crossed/complementary transactions, testing the conceptual framework in touristic contexts.

## 7.1 Introduction to the Museum and its messages

Biran et al. (2011, p. 838) define Auschwitz as an iconic site in the dark tourism literature, saying it is a 'site of paramount symbolic meaning and may be seen as a 'must see' tourist attraction'. For Keil, 'Auschwitz-Birkenau is a shrine, but it is also a point on a tourist itinerary. Meanwhile, Ashworth (2003) recognises 'diversity of function, history and meaning' as the outstanding quality of this iconic memorial site. Such diversity relates to the many different meanings and memories attached to the events and experiences that took place at Auschwitz, the former Nazi concentration and death camp. Those events and experiences are represented and interpreted by the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum and Memorial, itself a multifunctional facilitator of museological, pedagogical and memorial activities, and of the large-scale tourism and visitation experiences this thesis seeks to investigate. The physical spaces of the former are host to the latter, albeit in reduced and reconfigured forms. Factual and symbolic meaning, and personal or public memory, are interlinked within, and are subject to diverse and ongoing processes of debate, dissonance and interpretation that multiply the complexity of, a third entity: the concept-place, *Auschwitz.* Frequently referenced in dark tourism

literature and receiving inarguable year-on-year rises in visitor numbers, the ways in which these touristic transactions managed, and the roles and experiences they offer for contemporary visitors, are of fundamental concern to the current thesis.

Clearly beyond the scope of this thesis, the Nazi Holocaust of the Second World War and its aftermaths represent appalling human tragedy, cruelty, experience and depravity on every conceivable scale. On personal, cultural and global levels, the events of the Holocaust are of profound ongoing resonance, reflected in a spectrum of responsive outcomes: multidisciplinary study and literature, cultural, media and creative material and artefacts, and memorial sites, spaces and activities. In the specific context of the present research case study, activities relating to travel, visitation and tourism are salient. Indeed, these activities themselves, especially the motivations and outcomes of tourism presence and behaviours, are subject to ongoing and increasing social scrutiny in academic, media and popular cultural fields. Contemporary concerns about the uneasy juxtapositions of 'Holocaust tourism' (Ashworth, 2002) 'genocide tourism' (Beech, 2009), 'sightseeing in the mansions of the [Holocaust] dead' (Keil, 2005) and 'atrocity experience' (Stone, 2005) fundamentally problematise, but do not hinder, visitation to the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum and Memorial, which in 2016 saw over 2 million visitors – the highest number in its contemporary history as a visitor attraction (see Appendix 1: Visitor Numbers).

Ongoing tension surrounding the issue of mass visitation to sites of historic tragedy is characterised by the aesthetic and conceptual disparity between the past and present incarnations of this site, and complicated by the profoundly affecting name they share. Brief overviews of these incarnations are set out in the following sections.

### 7.1.1 Auschwitz identities: Concentration and Death Camp

The site's most notorious previous incarnation is, of course, related to its use and development from 1940 – 1946 by the Nazi regime in Poland as a concentration and death camp. This aspect of the Nazi Holocaust is treated in thousands of academic texts, and the personal experiences of those who witnessed its atrocities is documented across oral histories and other literature; significant documentary audio and video footage also speaks to the functioning and atrocity of the camp.

The extraordinary acts and processes of inhumanity, underpinned by scrupulous administrative functions, undertaken at the camp are represented, alongside the remarkable endurance, ingenuity and faith of humanity, in museums, exhibitions and collections (including and especially the case study site), and subject to creative interpretation within fictional literature and poetry, media, cinema and fine arts. This section, therefore, offers the briefest overview in order to contextualise the temporal and spatial aspects of the case study site.

Having annexed the city of Oswiecim to the Third Reich following the annexation of Poland, the Nazis Germanified the name to Auschwitz. A nearby, existing barracks was identified as a useful means by which to contain the subjects of mass arrests, which exceeded local prison capacity. Konzentrationslager (KL) Auschwitz – Auschwitz concentration camp – processed its first inmates in June 1940. Local Polish civilians were forcibly removed from their homes in several operations during 1940-1941in furtherance of a Nazi-managed zone covering around 40 square kilometres, across and around which SS patrols were constant. Thus, earlier incarnations of the Auschwitz site as a community of residential and work spaces (homes, businesses, barracks, and civic buildings) were replaced by this sprawling site of atrocity. Its scale of operation required division into three semi-autonomous zones – Auschwitz I; Auschwitz II (Birkenau) and Auschwitz III (Monowitz). Outside this core zone, however, more than 40 subcamps were scattered over an area of several hundred kilometres. Each of the three main camps took on specific roles: as well as a prison environment, significant space was allocated to Nazi administrative functions and resource storage. Birkenau functioned as a concentration camp towards the end of the regime, but more uniquely as a death camp (more than nine in ten deaths at Auschwitz took place here). Monowitz evolved into a labour-orientated, industrial sub-camp. The vast concentration camp administrated and implemented forced labour, resource appropriation and medical experimentation among its imprisoned population. Conditions at the camp, including overwork, violence, malnutrition and illness, led to such high mortality rates that the installation of crematoria was introduced, and increased as the camp evolved. From 1942 KL Auschwitz functioned as the largest Nazi death camp. It is estimated that 1.1 million deaths occurred there in less than 5 years.

Towards the end of 1944, a forced evacuation of camp inmates capable of movement took place in anticipation of Allied attack. Many further deaths occurred

because of that process and following liberation, as camp conditions, long-term illness and abuse continued to take their toll. By mid-January, sentry posts at the camp were no longer manned and remaining SS staff managed the explosion or burning of crematoria, gas chambers and warehouses (containing goods stolen from inmates and the dead) in Birkenau. A disorganised liberation on 27 January 1945 (a date now marked as International Holocaust Memorial Day, reflecting the camp's iconic representative status as a landmark of the Nazi genocides) was eventually followed by the painful rehabilitation and relocation of survivors, and interment of the dead. Simultaneously, transit camps for German POWs were in operation at Auschwitz and Birkenau.

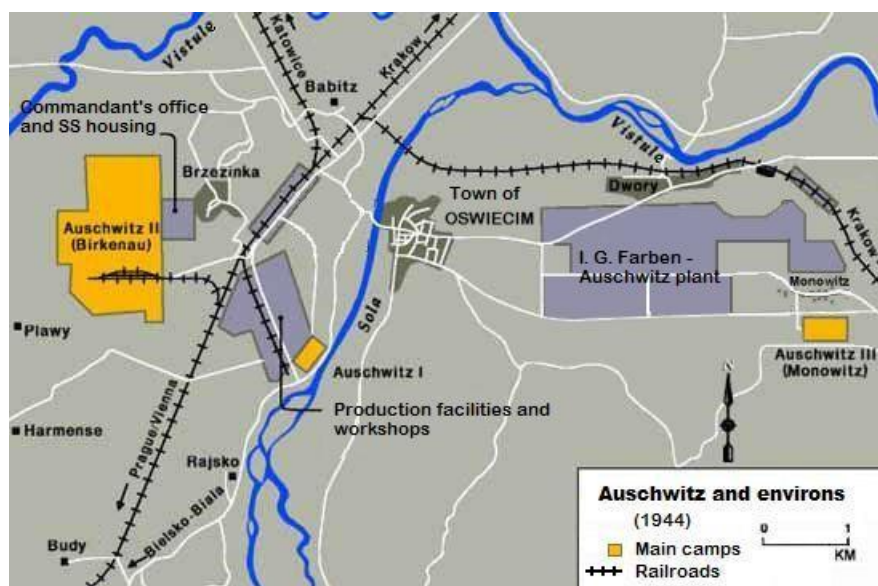



*Plate 1: Plan, Auschwitz I/2/3 and environs, 1944 (image) public domain*

### 7.1.2 Auschwitz identities: Museum and Memorial

The foundation of a Protection of Former Camp Territories Board in 1946 led to some preliminary work securing the site and employing, mainly, former prisoners in security, exhibition and guiding roles, safeguarding what remained of largely-ruined premises: not only Nazi destruction of key parts of the site but the use of building materials for improvised shelter left much of the camp in states of dereliction. The Museum website (History of the Memorial

(http://www.auschwitz.org/en/museum/history-of-the-memorial/) offers a useful timeline of key developments and events in the site's post-war history and its evolution as a locus for educational, museological and, indeed, touristic activity.

The present-day site is located on (parts of) the former grounds of the Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camps. Of 470 acres, around one sixth comprise Auschwitz I, including the visitor centre, national exhibition blocks, physical artefacts including personal belongings, and the conserved (largely brick) buildings, including a crematorium, walkways and fences of its earlier incarnation. It is in this part of the Museum that guided tours locate much of their detailed interpretation, description and retelling of former inmates' personal stories. The remaining 320 acres comprise the bleak landscape of Birkenau, the ruins and reconstructions of its wooden buildings, the ruins of gas chambers and crematoria, its watchtowers, fences and railroad spur or ramp. In all, the site includes hundreds of buildings, ruined gas chambers and crematoria and some dozen kilometres of fencing.

The site's incarnation as a Museum and Memorial, formally created by an Act of Polish Parliament in July 1947, has involved complex cultural and political considerations and interventions, beyond the scope of this thesis but represented in many scholarly works on the evolution of Auschwitz (diverse but insightful examples include Dwork and van Pelt, 1996; Cole, 1999; Steinbacher, 2005; Gallagher and Kalin, 2016) but including the conservation, display and interpretation of artefacts and physical spaces and the significant moral, ethical and practical issues that surround them. The actual and perceived authenticity of the site is implicated throughout these contentious discourses. Subject to ongoing repairs and reconstructions since its designation as a museum, the site comprises a mixture of replica, reconstructed and derelict buildings that arguably compromise notions of authenticity as they illustrate infinite human concern and interest in that authenticity. During repair work to the gas chamber at Auschwitz I in the 1950s, an entire original wall was lost, while the evocative barbed wire fencing is subject to ongoing replacement as it rusts and degrades. Contemporary challenges involve theft and vandalism, most notably the theft of the notorious Arbeit Macht Frei sign in December 2009. Intended to be sold to a collector, the sign was cut into three sections before its retrieval and repair. A replica takes its place at Auschwitz I; however, for many visitors the physical authenticity of this, and other artefacts and constructions at the case study site, is unquestioned. The ambiguity of authenticity is sustained not only by the varying degrees and stages of reconstruction/conservation and the changing museological and ethical

philosophies that have influenced them in the last several decades; but also, by a lack of clarity in site-based and online interpretation, exacerbated by the lack of ease with which questions can be asked in guided tour scenarios and with which effective and specific searches can be made on the Museum website (they cannot). Furthermore, even where signage or tour guides informs visitors of replica or reconstructed artefacts/areas, these terms are unclear for many visitors and detailed by site interpretation. Indeed, the site reiterates qualities of authenticity across its primary communications. Finally, for reasons explored earlier (Chapter 4) in discussions of mindfulness and barriers to understanding, some visitors at some times are not listening effectively. This may involve the loss of audio headset function (not uncommon), language or accent issues, or attention deficit. During a visit to Birkenau, a fellow-visitor responded to a description of the post-mortem removal of teeth from the bodies of those murdered at the camp with horror that this was undertaken 'without any anaesthetic'; she had not absorbed or processed the fact that those under discussion were dead.

Cole's (1999: 100) contentious representation of the 'Holocaust theme park… Auschwitz-land' and recurrent concerns about the Disneyfication of dark heritage sites (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011: 224) 'cleaned up for tourists' (Robert Van Pelt, quoted by Curry, 2010) are exacerbated by the site's inherent and inherited ambiguities and contradictions. This 'cemetery without tombstones, a graveyard without graves' (Keil, 2005) juxtaposes reconstructed artefacts and enactments (photography, memorialisation, movement in place, relation of narratives) upon an original geographical landscape. Auschwitz is 'a place that constantly needs to be rebuilt in order to remain a ruin for us' (Van Pelt, quoted by Curry, 2010), its ruination consistent with notions of authenticity but sufficiently controlled to allow a degree of visualisation of the site's previous incarnation. The site's actuality is remodelled and eroded as successive generations strive to see and, temporarily, inhabit a place that no longer truly exists; physical authenticity is therefore incompatible with the representation of aesthetic historic authenticity.

The site's subject matter, its representation and interpretation have been, and remain, contentious, conflicted and emotive and its definition as a tourist attraction represents a further complicating factor in the perception of the site, its authenticity and ethical credentials. Following its placement on the UN World Heritage List in 1979, the Museum's evolution as a visitor destination with international attendance

is fundamentally connected with developments in technology and travel services, and with the fall of European Communism in the 1970s. Mainstream, cheaper travel and access to former Eastern Bloc nations, allied with those nations' need for economic renewal, initiated a new tourism market and the development of associated services. For nations such as Poland, with minimal economic capacity to create new leisure resorts and attractions, existing (largely historic) locations were absorbed into the developing tourism offer. The city of Krakow offers an accessible and attractive location for tourism, and its tourism activity is heavily orientated towards the locations associated with the Nazi occupation. Within the city, tourists may choose from numerous tours of the former Jewish ghetto location, Jewish cemeteries and the Old Jewish Quarter. The advent of the film, Schindler's List, in 1993 heightened interest in and awareness of locations featured in the film, triggering significant development of visitor services around these areas. The historic site of Oskar Schindler's factory opened as a museum in 2010, contributing to Krakow's portfolio of visitor attractions relating to the Second World War Holocaust. The city's reasonable proximity to Auschwitz Museum and Memorial enables visitors staying in Krakow to easily undertake an independent or organised visit within a day, and even to combine the visit with other activity on the same day.

Currently, the Museum is an international tourist and visitor attraction, in addition to conservation and education activities. Its visitor numbers see consistent annual increases, and in 2015 high security entrance barriers, baggage restrictions and online booking systems were put in place, reflecting the Museum's organisational profile and visitor mass, in part 'to make the site more and more available', (Andrzej Kacorzyk, director of the International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust: Museum website[10]). Visits can be booked a year in advance and from 7.30am, at specific times so that, as far as possible, numbers can be anticipated and the multiple guided tours mapped to avoid increased congestion/overlap on their largely shared pathways around the Museum. While Polish visitors make up almost a quarter of its visitors, in 2016 its two million visitors included 271,000 from the UK and 215,000 from the US, with Italy, Spain, Israel and Germany each accounting for over 100,000. Most of these visitors have booked trips with one of hundreds of tour organisers, and some 70 per cent visited with licenced Museum

---

[10] http://auschwitz.org/en/museum/news/, accessed Sept 2017

‘educator-guides’. The Museum strongly recommends that tours are booked in advance and that individual visitors join guided tours on arrival, while groups are required to join a guided tour (a range of tour types/prices are available, all involving the use of radio headsets), with the standard general tour lasting around 3.5 hours. These tours involve both sections of the Museum, and shuttle buses operate between Auschwitz I and II (Birkenau).

### 7.2 The Museum’s messaging: transaction stimuli

In its transactions with visitors, the Museum utilises several modes of ‘stimulus’ or address: its website, in which a Visiting section represents communications with potential visitors; its tours by ‘educator-guides’ comprise the majority of visitor experiences and are in fact mandatory in certain situations (at certain times and for certain numbers); signage, both navigational and interpretive, on the site; Museum staff, including visitor centre and security personnel. These modes of address are all representative of and authorised by the Museum; in the case of the website and signage there is no variation in delivery, and the narrative voice is static. In the case of tour guides and other staff, significant variation may be encountered in terms of delivery, affect and attitude, although the routes and key stations of tours are prescribed and templated. In this section I give a brief overview of the website and signage, as most reasonably representative of ego states observable within the organisation.

#### 7.2.1 Museum Website: Visiting Information

In 2016, over 43 million visits to the www.auschwitz.org website were recorded. All those interviewed at the Museum site for this thesis had looked at the Museum website in preparing for their visit, and it is a key means by which the Museum communicates and manages expectations and protocols. Auschwitz State Museum and Memorial’s website (accessed September 2017) gives the following text as its homepage heading:

*Memorial Museum*

*Auschwitz-Birkenau*

*Former German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp*

In setting out its identity in this way, the organisation reflects the two pertinent incarnations of the site (present and past). As we have seen (Chapter 4) the site expresses navigational headings: *Museum; History; Visiting; Education.* The *Visiting* tab's subheading references *the authentic Memorial* and states that

> *A visit with an educator allows better understanding of this unique place.*

Thus, qualities of authenticity and uniqueness are communicated at the outset of visit preparation, and notions of education and understanding are associated with the suggested format of potential or planned visit (a guided tour). The *Visiting* sections' basic information page[11] does not in fact include what might be regarded as standard primary information such as opening hours, pricing or location. Rather, it sets out recommendations and requirements, covering behavioural protocols. Pertinent extracts include the following, in which I have emboldened certain vocabularies:

- **We suggest** a visit with an educator
- Visitors in groups **are required** to engage an Auschwitz Memorial guide.
- **You are required** to observe the **appropriate solemnity and respect**.
- **Before the visit please read 'the rules for visiting '.**
- The duration of a visit is determined solely by the individual interests and needs of the visitors. **As a minimum, however, at least three-and-a-half hours should be reserved.**
- Taking pictures: Material **may be used only in undertakings and projects that do not impugn or violate the good name of the Victims of Auschwitz Concentration Camp.**
- Visitors in groups **are required to engage an Auschwitz Memorial guide**; individual visitors may also engage a guide. For them we offer organized tours.
- Groups of more than 10 people **are required** to hire a headphone guiding system.
- Watch tower in Birkenau **is available only for groups accompanied by a guide**.
- **It is not recommended** that children under 14 visit the Memorial.

I have highlighted terminology that might be perceived as directive - requirements, suggestions, and recommendations – and where notions of behavioural

[11] http://auschwitz.org/en/visiting/basic-information/

appropriateness or suitability are introduced. Significantly, reference to appropriate attitudes and adherence to regulations are reiterated at the end of the list with the sentence:

*While on the grounds of the Museum, you are required to observe the appropriate solemnity and respect*

and a visual representation of required or proscribed behaviours (see Plate 2, below). While several of these relate to issues of security and/or site safeguarding (smoking, animals, baggage) others directly address individual behaviours and attitudes. Specific reference to dress, phones and music, even in open areas, emphasises expected behavioural protocols akin to those encountered in a place of worship or in clinical or funerary environments. Prohibition of food and drink is not unusual within heritage environments, but the scale and scope of the visitor experience of this site might suggest the need for caveats or distinctions rather than a unilateral proscription. Indeed, the visually aggressive icons are nowhere matched by qualifying narrative information about what *is* allowed at the site. At the top of this visualisation of unacceptable visit protocols an injunction to *KEEP SILENCE* is capitalised, punctuated by an exclamation point and illustrated.

*Plate 2: online and on-site visitor rules, visual representation (Museum website and site entrances).*

This *Basic Information* section, then, is not what we might expect from its title, as the potential visitor will find no primary information with which to begin planning the practicalities of a visit. Rather, the organisation uses this likely first point of contact to introduce and reinforce notions of its authority, its expectations and, indeed, requirements, and to associate the Museum's spatial identity with respect, solemnity and silence. The presentation and vocabulary used in this initial encounter with the potential visitor, which can be regarded as a permanent 'stimulus' within an ongoing transaction with the website visitor, can be regarded as proscriptive and imperative. Information is delivered without narrative qualification, in vocabularies expressive of authority, and without nuance; language and syntax are not indicative of welcome, creativity or flexibility, but of a formal, and potentially forbidding, organisational 'voice' and, thus, identity. The qualities of this messaging, then, are indicative of a Parent egos state, and of an address to the reader's Child. Because we cannot observe the response, at this stage we may only conjecture whether individual readers respond in a Child state, and thus experience a complementary transaction. It is important, though, to note that the Museum's remote stimulus anticipates a Parent/Child transaction. Within this section, there is no variation in tone or terminology that may address the Parent or Adult in the reader. Yet, it is likely that the potential visitor arrives at the website in Adult state: in research mode, seeking information that can be used or shared. Therefore, to achieve a complementary transaction, the reader must shift into the Child ego state during the encounter.

Following the basic information section, one may scroll down to sections that might have been expected to feature in the topline communication – booking processes, pricing and tour types. It is only on the fifth section that the visitor's needs are seemingly prioritised in the *Plan Your Visit* section. Yet, this short paragraph offers no resources or guidance for a planning process or for personalising or curating one's own visit. There is no reference to different visit modes (such as independent or unguided visit) or itineraries, arrivals and departures, and there is an absence of practical suggestions regarding refreshments, rest points or what to expect on arrival. Rather, this section reiterates notions of the appropriate and the required (emboldened text indicates this author's emphasis):

*... to take in the grounds and exhibitions* ***in a suitable way,*** *visitors* ***should set aside a minimum*** *....* ***It is essential*** *to visit both parts of the camp, Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau, in order to acquire* ***a proper sense of the place****. Some buildings are* ***not accessible to visitors*** *(including the blocks reserved for the Museum administration and its departments). Please* ***familiarize yourself with the rules for visiting.***

Here, language is directive, and emphasising what is proscribed (access to certain building) rather than that which is allowed. The reader's requirements for visit-planning resources are not met, and this section serves instead to reiterate and direct toward previously established regulations. The only additional resources in this section are a two-paragraph precis of the functioning of the former concentration and death camp, and references to crematoria, gas chambers and human ashes located at the present-day site; a link to a 37-page 'online lesson' about the camp's historical events, including exercises and bibliography; and a link to lectures and workshops offered by the

International Center for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust. Here the organisation emphasises its educative qualities but fails to make adequate provision for planning a visit to the site or managing expectations of it. The history of the site is communicated without reference to its development and function as a heritage and visitor site, privileging the organisation, as an authoritative holder of knowledge and keeper of relics, within its discourse with the silent reader.

The remaining sets of information within the Visiting section, accessed via somewhat unwieldy sidebars, include a virtual tour and information about the contents of exhibitions blocks. While these represent an interesting set of learning resources, the clear preference that visitors take part in guided tours diminishes their relevance to the average visitor experience. That preference is reiterated even in a small section relating to information plaques that feature throughout the site, with QR codes linking to oral histories:

***A vast majority of people come to understand*** *the history of the Memorial Site in the company of* ***specially trained guides*** *that present information in nearly 20 languages****. Nevertheless,*** *very wellpresented system of commemorative plaques, combined with short multilingual information available within the area of the Museum, also provide an independent sightseeing.*

The emboldened (by the researcher) text in this section highlights institutional emphasis upon a conventional (majority) experience, and upon notions of specialism and superior knowledge (including multilingualism) in the guide staff. By contrast, *an independent sightseeing* takes second place (literally) in this paragraph; its inferred inferiority *nevertheless* mitigated by *well-presented, multilingual* – but *short* – commemorative and informative interpretation. Thus, the information offered does little to encourage or inform independent or creative visiting. Rather, the organisational attitude is consistently didactic and formal, offering minimal but essential assistance to those visitors choosing to divert from the authorised protocol. The (Controlling) Parent ego state is represented throughout the online transaction.

### 7.2.2 Site interpretation

As we have seen, *Visiting* information offers the series of plaques[12] as an alternative to guided tours. These plaques are monochrome (white text on a black ground, black and white photography) and represent historic maps and plans, photographic images and text in Polish, Hebrew and English (tours are offered in 20 languages). Set too high for wheelchair users or those of small stature, the plaques use relatively small, often italic, typeface and legibility is poor. On my visits, plaques were the subject of photography, possibly because the quantity of text requires a relatively long dwell time. It is frequently difficult to gain access because of this, and because people tend to group around the plaques in certain locations – notably at Birkenau, where tour groups are likely to have some 'free time' and where some locations (the setting of particular events or processes at the former death camp) are difficult or impossible to identify. Some QR codes were not functioning on my visit and I did not observe any visitor attempting to use them during my observation periods.

The plaques (see Plate 2, below) are clearly attractive to visitors as they offer an alternative experience to the guided tour, while supporting visitor understanding of the physical relationship between the current site and its former incarnation. Furthermore, the visitor is in control of the reading experience and able to re-read, return to or set aside these interpretive systems, which offer a valid support to the visitor's understanding.

[12] http://auschwitz.org/en/visiting/information-plaques/

*Plate 3: Information plaque at Birkenau showing former camp plan and locations of Crematorium and Gas Chambers IV and V (Photo: Paweł Sawicki, Museum website)*

I overheard visitors express a desire for a guidebook or app that would offer an enhanced autonomous visit, and the attention to the current plaques supports the suggestion that alternative visit formats and resources would be appreciated by some visitors. There is little in terms of navigational signage at the Museum, which represents a further lack for the independent visitor. On arrival and registration as an independent visitor, no navigational or other resources are offered, although headsets are available. However, these audio guides require the visitor to follow set pathways and therefore do not support visitor autonomy.

It should be noted that this sequence includes memorial plaques at Birkenau, placed at historic sites of mass extermination and where the ashes of the murdered are located and inscribed:

*To the memory of the men, woman and children who fell victim to the Nazi genocide.*

*Here lie their ashes. May their souls rest in peace.*

Floral and other tributes are often seen at these plaques, at the multilingual memorials at Birkenau and at key locations across the site. Smaller tokens, such as single flowers, tend to be placed in the bunkhouses at Birkenau, possibly as an

informal response to the human aspect inherent in a sleeping-place – regardless of its shocking context.

### 7.3 Ethnographic research: environment: overview

Having defined the physical and online environments in which the case study site engages with potential visitors – that is, transactional environments – the study now sets out how those environments feature within the data collection activity phases. The objective of small-scale ethnographic research in this study is to scope vocabularies and themes to inform analysis of, and contextualise, larger-scale netnographic data. It was undertaken over a period of 3 days during which the researcher participated in organised coach trips, guided tours and independent site visitation. Within that period, observations of group and individual behaviours linked to *transactions* were noted. Here, *transaction* refers to responses, on the part of visitors, to site authorised stimulus, limited to engagement with staff (including tour guides) and with interpretive and advisory signage. The researcher was aided in understanding the experiences of visitors, including the sample group, by participation in visitor activity and the protocols attached to it (see Visit protocol). Themes and issues raised in the sample study will be applied and developed within the broader ethnographic research and analysis.

### 7.4 Ethnographic research: activity

At the case study site, a small sample group (18) received questionnaires of closed and open questions with opportunities for additional responses. Of these, 10 participants were involved in short (5 – 15 minute) follow-up discussions to expand upon their answers. Potential questionnaire participants were approached off-site at car-parking/refreshment areas at Auschwitz 1 during four 'windows' of between 45 and 120 minutes, totalling 6 hours, over a 3-day period. Basic criteria (English language proficiency, age and completed visit) were established prior to explanation and dissemination of questionnaires. To facilitate a less formal and more rapid experience, no personal details, including age, gender and nationality, were collected, although approaches were made to an approximately representative

variety of ages and genders. The broader range of netnographic data is intended to offer a more comprehensive and representative set of demographical information.

The researcher was available for follow-up discussion, in some cases (6) on the return coach journey and in others for up to one hour prior to initial contact (although in all but 1 case, visitors themselves had limited availability due to coach itineraries). The inflexible itinerary of most visitors discouraged many of those approached, several (11) of whom were literally called away having accepted, or begun to complete, the questionnaire. Other potential participants declined further involvement citing concerns about time, and indeed almost all of those approached were waiting with a coach party. Of 120 visitors approached, 49 did not want to take part; a further 42 declined due to time constraints relating to travel; 11 agreed to take part but could not continue due to travel constraints; 18 completed the questionnaire; 10 participated in follow-ups.

Introduction and explanation were undertaken in as informal a manner as possible, aided by the researcher's parallel role as a fellow-visitor. To reduce possible researcher influence or constraint upon participants, initial questionnaire completion was undertaken privately with follow-up discussion based upon a co-reading, between researcher and participant, of the written responses.

Follow-up discussion was recorded word-for-word as far as feasible by the researcher, using shorthand, and the written record approve by the participant at the end of the discussion. In all cases where a follow-up discussion took place, visitors appeared interested in the discussion and took a lively interest in the project, making good eye contact and offering thoughtful but honest replies. All participants were in a group or couple and were reminded not to discuss or confer with their fellow-travellers, which was clearly difficult for several participants (and their peers) as the experience in question had been shared. Following the discussion, half of the participants made informal comments that the opportunity to reflect upon the visitor experience was a positive and useful one. Furthermore, the activity triggered conversations during the coach journey, between participants, myself and fellow-visitors, once formal discussion was complete. A group discussion would clearly have been a useful element of research, and entirely compatible with some of the more complex tenets of TA. This kind of focus group, with careful moderation, would offer rich material for future research activity.

## 7.5 Responses to questionnaires and related discussion

It should be noted that questions have been designed to gather information about: the context of the visit; the visitor experience, including planning, expectation, feeling and behaviour; and, finally, about participants' own perception of themselves as tourists and related roles, including messaging. Questions were grouped, however, out of thematic order so that responses were less susceptible to the influence of other responses: that is, as far as possible answers would be approached as single issues rather than 'packaged' as a logical and linear narrative. Therefore, responses are presented in thematic order, and not in number sequence.

### 7.5.1 Context of visit

**Background (Q6): closed questions plus 'other' open option**

For most visitors in the sample, as with most visitors to the site, the visit was the sole or main activity of the day and was undertaken as part of a group or couple. The most common visitor experience involves taking a booked coach trip to the site and guided tour at the site, and the visit is 'nested' within a longer break in Poland/Europe. Several (8) visitors expressed a hope or intention of visiting Schindler's Museum and/or the Jewish Quarter in Krakow.

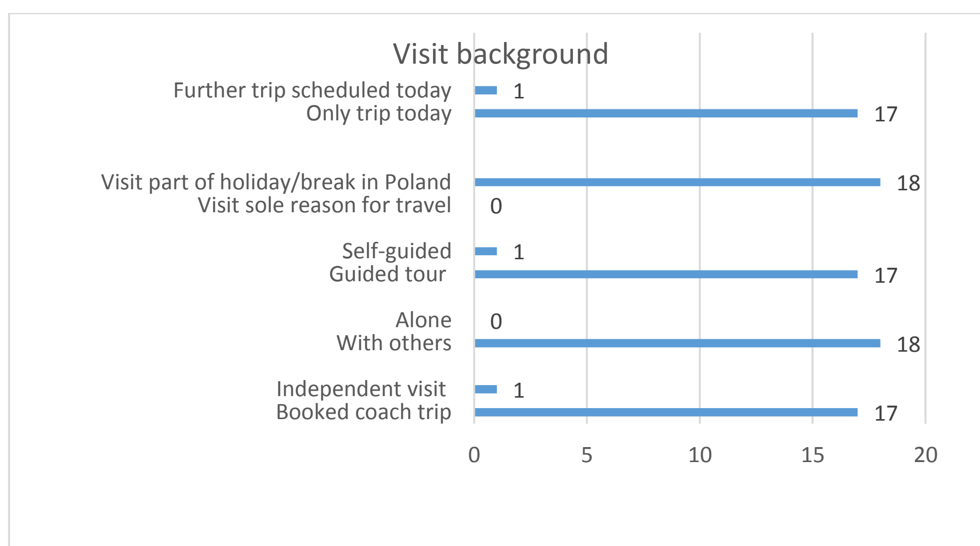



*Figure 5: Q6 Visit background*

**Stated interests (Q10): closed questions plus 'other' open option**

While all participants selected at least one of the categories listed by the researcher, few (5) opted to add to the list with their own specific interest. Of these, all (people; reading; education) might be said to connect with those provided and to the subject matter of the site.

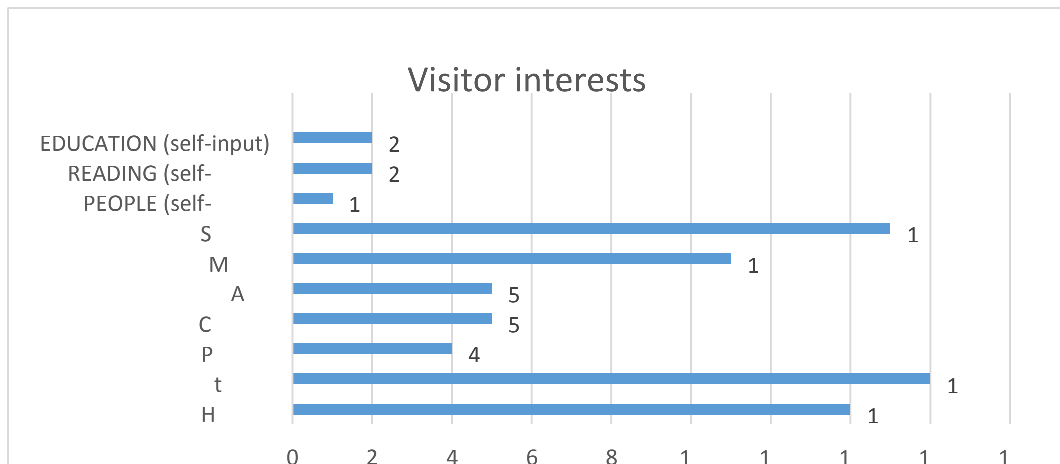



*Figure 6: Q10 Visitor interests*

Furthermore, researcher observation revealed several individuals with an interest in sport, especially football, and other subjects which were not detailed. This may reveal a lack of concern about the question and/or its perceived contextual importance. However, it is suggestive of a desire to follow the thematic steer of the research subject and, as such, it is likely that an entirely open question would have been a more useful and valid format. However, the apparent filtering of interests perceived to be irrelevant or inappropriate is a useful measure of the participants' attitude to the research activity and subject matter. Furthermore, the broader range of data obtained in the netnographic research phase will include self-selected descriptive categories generated outside the specific scope of this thesis, and, therefore, of more validity in revealing visitor interests in wider contexts.

**Reasons for visit (Q1, Q1b & Q3): closed and open questions**

Questions 1, 1b and 3 are closely connected, covering existing attitudes (level of desire) to visiting, attitude explanations and reasons for visiting, and are therefore dealt with together in this section. While the questions are distinct in meaning (desire as opposed to action), participant responses appear to blur the boundaries of the question scope and follow-up discussions were particularly relevant in

elucidating attitudes and anticipation. Visitors' attitudes to the site prior to visiting were subject to a simple question (Q1 – see Table 7, below)) relating to desire to visit yet stated pre-visit attitudes were substantially modified by 6 participants: following discussion *always wanted to visit* is qualified by *ever since (X described their visit; I saw the site on TV/film).* Similarly, those who had not considered visiting had, on deciding to visit Krakow, positively determined to visit Auschwitz from that point; in other words, they had not considered visiting until it became possible. Thus, *always wanted* and *had not thought* responses were actually very similar, in that certain events or experiences had triggered a desire to visit at one point or another in the life of the participant. These clarifications suggest that desire may be perceived and imagined as timeless ('I have always wanted to visit') when it is in fact time-bound and contingent. They also speak to issues of contingency, proximity and word-of-mouth in, and the difficulty in consciously differentiating between and identifying, perceived and actual desire and decision-making, corresponding to the 'non-motivations' discussed earlier (Chapter 4).

| Pre-visit attitude (responses to Q1) | | |
|---|---|---|
| Attitude | Number responses | % |
| Always wanted to visit | 10 | 56% |
| Did not want to visit | 0 | 0% |
| Had not thought about visiting | 7 | 39% |
| Had previously visited - return | 1 | 5% |

*Table 7: pre-visit attitudes (Q1 responses)*

In explaining the factors underlying pre-visit attitudes (Q1b), participants used common expressions of *actuality* and *regard,* and thus witnessing and authenticity. The desire to *actually see* the *reality, the things that happened*, *what it was really like* is associated with *the people that were here/that suffered/died here,* and with *paying respects, honouring, remembrance* and an associated debt or duty to participate in those behaviours. That sense of obligation is reiterated with imperatives and urgency: *you've got to, you can't miss* the *opportunity/chance of a*

*lifetime/one-off experience* and, indeed, *privilege*. Finally, the single returning visitor introduces a different but significant theme, which recurs within the broader netnographic research: a desire to revisit independently and at a different pace. This response (participant D1) offers a very different attitude, involving a wish to improve upon the previous 'very rushed' visit which in some way failed to fulfil original wishes expectations. Those expectations are now transferred to reasons for the present visit, revealed in responses to Q3 (see Figure 7, below) and in fact closely connected with other (unique visit) participant perspectives:

D1: *To find out more about the place, to do it justice. To learn about, not just the surface, what you see on TV, to really think about it. It's an incredible thing to be here*.

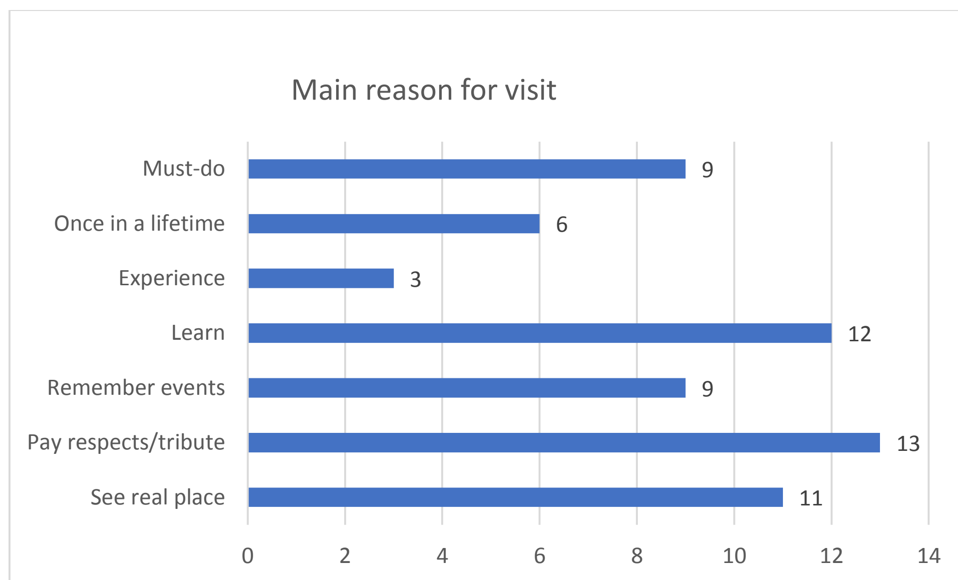



*Figure7: Q3 Main reason for visit*

With the single exception of the returning visitor (D1), responses to Q1b (reasoning behind pre-visit attitudes: why did you wish to visit) are almost indistinguishable in their vocabulary and their expressed aspirations from responses to Q3 (main reason for visiting today: why are you visiting). For ease of comparison and a clearer illustration of commonality, detailed responses to Q1b and Q3 are set out in Table 8 (below).

| | Q1b (attitude to visit)<br>Why? | Q3 Main reason for visiting today<br>Because… |
|---|---|---|
| A1 | *To actually see where terrible things took place; pay my respects* | *To witness the reality, and pay my respects in a way.* |
| A2 | *Look at the reality of it, maybe how these things can happen.* | *To remember what happened and maybe about the reality of the place, not just the films or whatever.*<br>*Out of respect* |
| A3 | *Take in the reality, what it was really like for them, just the horror.* | *Seeing the actual places where people lived, and died, and having that experience.* |
| A4 | *Remember the people that were here, and what happened* | *As a tribute really for what happened here, and the Holocaust itself.* |
| A5 | *Pay respects and remember, you know, and pass that on.* | *To try and learn about what happened here, and put myself in their shoes… that sounds awful! But to be in the same place years later and think, we're remembering you, you weren't forgotten.* |
| A6 | *To think about how people suffered and the inhumanity that goes on, and in a way, honour them.* | *Partly to pay respects. And it's once in a lifetime, this kind of thing, this, to take part in showing respect.* |
| C1 | *You've got to, if you can, haven't you? Just a one-off experience and a privilege really.* | *Just, seeing the actual place where it all happened.*<br>*And why. Because it's unbelievable really.* |
| C2 | *It's the chance of a lifetime in a way, if you came to Poland and didn't you'd regret it all your life.* | *You're not going to get the chance again, really, to see a place like this, you just feel like it's something you've got to do, especially when you're in Poland anyway.* |
| C3 | *Can't miss the opportunity… you owe it to the people who died here in a way as well.* | *Paying respects, to the people who died here, and seeing it in real life.* |
| D1 | *Visited 3 years ago but was very rushed on the bus tour, came back with my partner to do it on our own this time.* | *To find out more about the place, to do it justice. To learn about, not just the surface, what you see on TV, to really think about it. It's an incredible thing to be here.* |

*Table 8: Attitudes and reason: detail, Q1b & Q3 responses*

These two response sets are almost interchangeable, equally non-specific and rhetorical and tend to synonymous reiteration that can be grouped and described as: synonym/associated word cluster [repetition across 2 x 10 responses] and *theme* (see Table 9).

| Visitor expression/anticipation | Theme |
|---|---|
| (paying) respect/s; tribute; honour [4] | *respecting* |
| witness; (actually) see (in real life) [3] | *witnessing* |
| reality (of the place); what happened (here); real life; actual/same place (like this); where people lived and died, (people who died/who were) here, in real life; not just the films; actually; took place; what it was really like; do it justice [15] | *authenticity* |
| remember(ing), not forgotten, pass that on [5] | *memory* |
| (try and) learn (more) [2] | *understanding* |
| having that experience; put myself in their shoes; take part [3] | *experience* |
| (something) you've got to do; once in a lifetime; you're not going to get the chance again; one-off experience; you've got to… haven't you? You'd egret it all your life; can't miss the opportunity; you owe it [8] | *unique*<br>*imperative* |
| *when* you're in Poland; *if* you can [2] | *contingent* |
| unbelievable; incredible; amazing | *surprise* |
| died; terrible things; these things; the horror; what happened; suffered; inhumanity [9] | *horror* |

*Table 9: summary of attitudes and reasons to visit*

The first eight themes clearly link very closely with overarching motivational sets outlines within the literary review (Chapter 4). We may also identify two further thematic sets that are not presented as visit objectives but are nevertheless articulated within the statement of reason and thus pertain, consciously or not, to the question at hand: why the visit was desired and made. Furthermore, these themes are not located in the more considered written responses, but within less formal follow-up discussions in which participants adopt a more vernacular, a less guarded vocabulary and attitude. I have represented examples of these significant, descriptive terms at the end of the vocabulary set list (above). They relate to (a) surprise and (b) horror, together reflecting the concept of 'shock and awe' and

representing notions of the unspeakable or taboo through both overt *(unbelievable, incredible)* and euphemistic or occluded *(what happened, these things, terrible things)* vocabulary. These latter themes acknowledge a seam of darkness within reasons and desires to visit, and the shock and awe which are implicit in encountering that facet of the site.

**Preparation for visit (Q2a & Q2b - closed and open questions)**

Information-gathering activity prior to the (planned) visit is likely to link, and usefully indicate, with attitudes and expectations toward the. In this case, pre-visit research reveals a lack of specificity: there is no single aspect of the site, its environments or collections which attract particular attention. Rather, visitors look to the experience of others as filtering or categorising mechanisms**.** Background information (see Fig 11) shows that basic internet research, particularly TripAdvisor and, to a lesser extent, the Museum website, comprises much of the information sought specifically for the visit.

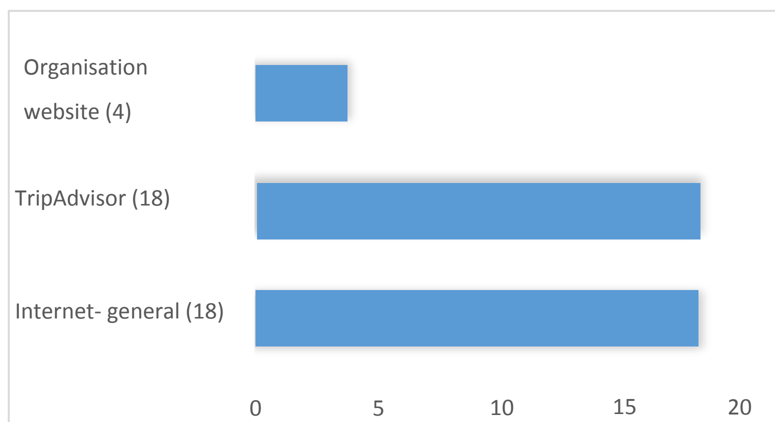



*Figure 8: pre-visit internet research*

This information-gathering relates almost entirely to practical and logistical information, sought mainly through traveller reviews, with TripAdvisor referenced by all participants as the main source of information. **In follow-up discussion,** all respondents described a basic level of practical information obtained (opening hours, cost, etc), with key findings relating to cost, guided tours, and timescales needed due to the scale of the site.

The Museum website is regarded as less useful and accessible, as a semi-specialist subject resource rather than a visitor planning aid or as a means of preparing for the emotional and sensory experience of the visit. Post-visit, the Museum site is regarded by some as a means of complementing or elucidating the visitor experience, 'backfilling' the contemporary scene with historic material:

> *A3 …the website because it's very, it's quite academic that, I mean a lot of information about the history but maybe not as much practical as TripAdvisor.*
>
> *A3 And just looking what to expect off the Auschwitz site, but there's too much information in a way, probably I'll look at it again after this though.*
>
> *A1. You can't, really, visualise it as it would have been. Obviously you can't, but as well it's just so many of us, groups, modern people you know. Coming and going. But on the website, you could go on forever. Photos and all the back story, and I'm glad we saw some of the photos and the stories about, just separate, the actual families and people.*

For the majority, the Museum visit was one element, if an important one, of an often busy or brief schedule largely located at many miles' distance. Therefore, pre-visit research was largely directed at processes of travel, and achieving some degree of reassurance about the site's amenities and 'known unknowns':

> *A4 We always check about disability, access, and it does warn you about that, you know the walking. And you think about, you want to be prepared, it is upsetting.*
>
> *A5 Just to make sure we could fit everything in, and know a bit more what to expect when we got there, and it is really confusing.*

Visitors may regard themselves as reasonably informed on the Museum's subject matter via other modes and means, and certainly expected to become more informed as a result of the visit. However, some participants describe a sense that the visitor cannot – or should not – be adequately prepared for the significant and unique experience anticipated in advance of the visit.

> *A1 I mean that's why you come isn't it partly, this is it.*
>
> *C2 We just got the basics. I mean we didn't go into the details, because that's what you come for, the experience of it. The reality.*

As much, if not more, is revealed about information lack as acquisition: participants compare expectation with experience and feel unprepared for the magnitude or scale of both site and visitor numbers. There is also an expression of frustration at a knowledge deficit, which the visit has failed to address.

> *A3 The size of it, and being in two parts, we got that off TripAdvisor… But you still don't get it, the scale of it, until you get here and it's just… you couldn't realise it. And some people mentioned the crowds. Well you can't tell from the website or photos but it is just… we didn't realise, there was even a crush in the corridor parts.*

> *A1 This is how it was, and there was even more, it's too much to take in. But in a way I wish I'd looked at the website more, or got a book or something because some of it I feel like I'm not taking it in.*

> *C3 I realised it was going to be more of an undertaking, it's not like a museum visit where you see everything in one go. But I wish I had done more, because it's too much to take in.*

Further frustration about a perceived lack of agency, or support for independence within the visit, is expressed in discussion about pre-visit information, combined with the actual experience of the site:

> *A2 You've almost, well you have got to go on a tour, you can't just come up and go in or whatever, it's all accompanied. And it's quite, we checked the guidelines and so on, it's full on. And you've got to do a full day... and it still isn't long enough you know.*

> *A1 I know we've missed out a lot here (Auschwitz 1)*

> *C3 And there isn't time for questions or going back on yourself. No chance.*

> *D1 Last time it was all kind of done for you, but we were dragged about on the day, so this has been more what we were after. I don't think they encourage it… looking at the website to plan, a kind of route, a way round, we just couldn't get it. But the blocks, buildings, the different countries and themes, we realised that off the website and that's what we missed last time. And on the guided tour you get all the... you know, to be honest, the tourist, the horror stuff. The ovens, the hair, the shooting wall. That's the plan they've all got and because we saw that last time we could avoid these*

*crowds, there was hardly anyone in some of the exhibitions. We have taken our time because we didn't have to worry about missing out.*

Responses to questions about pre-visit preparation, then, are indicative about how visitors would like to have (been) prepared for the visit in hindsight and, in the case of their interaction with the Museum website, how they feel about their initial encounter, or transaction with, the Museum. Similarly, the perceived value of tourist/traveller reviews is emphasised and described as, in many ways, a more reliable and user-friendly locus for information exchange. Furthermore, perspectives on degrees of preparedness are covert expressions of expectation, revealing those aspects which were *unexpected* and, especially regarding scale and process, unwelcome.

### 7.5.2 Visitor experience

**Anticipated and actual feeling (Q4 & Q9 - closed questions plus open 'other' option)**

Questions relating to how participants had *previously* expected to feel *during* their visit are inevitably, and irrevocably, influenced by a complex range of factors relating to multiple cultural and personal narratives and materials relating to the site and its subject matter. Furthermore, the question is encountered *after* the visitor experience: the question therefore touches upon three different but related spheres of temporal consciousness and experience. The likely blurring of boundaries evoked by this triple context is arguably unavoidable given the survey design, although questions about anticipated and actual feeling are deliberately separated within the questionnaire. Nevertheless, some useful differentiation between anticipated, and actual, feelings is revealed by comparing response to the two questions and by some of the detail offered in follow-up discussion.

All visitors who declared they had no idea how they expected to feel during the visit, also selected feelings from the questionnaire list, suggesting that there had been little conscious consideration of this issue beforehand. Arguably, all participant agreement with the options offered by the questionnaire is subject to similar retrospective guesswork, and therefore additional participant generated fields (*sorry; lucky; disgust*) are particularly interesting examples of more

considered recollection. Both participants citing **lucky** offered clarification to their responses, appending *'to live my life'* and *'to have my freedom'* within follow-up discussion.

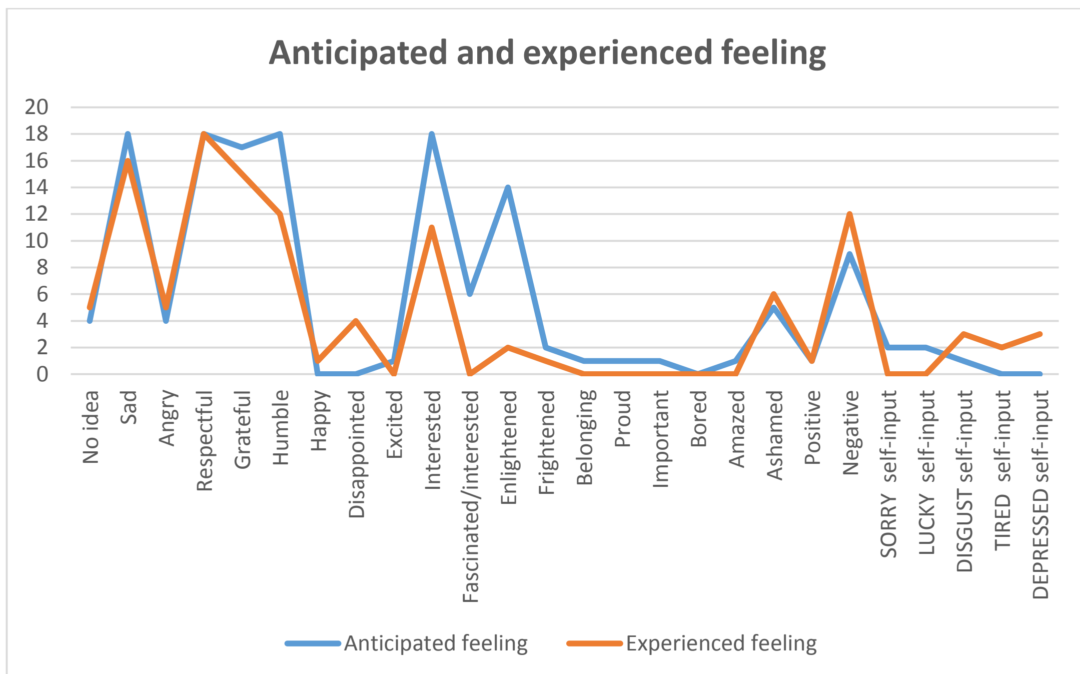



*Figure 9: Anticipated and experienced feelings – comparison*

Further explanation was offered in written responses about feeling **angry** (emphasised as *so angry) 'about what happened here';* **excited** *'in a way, because it's such a privilege';* and **important** – *'not myself, but… to be here;* **positive** *'about being here'*. It seems clear that participants are seeking to validate answers that might be (mis) interpreted as inappropriate or undesirable*:* **lucky, excited, positive** and **important** might be construed as lacking in solemnity or humility, while **anger** is validated by its direction towards tragedy. These qualifying statements are deeply significant in their usage as identity markers, clarifying not only anticipated feelings but the persona that those feelings might represent. Furthermore, their detail and qualification are clearly retrospective: the past tense of *I expected to feel x* is followed by present-tense clauses (*because it's such a privilege; to live my life; to be here).*

Responding to questions (Q9) about actual feelings during the visit, some (4) participants were still unsure about their emotional experience. However, all reported having felt various emotions including user-generated additions to the

questionnaire list that reflect a higher degree of weariness and negativity. In part this may be attributed to the proximity and strength of actual, reported feeling, as opposed to the more detached recall of pre-visit expectation. It may also reflect that at this point in the process, most participants had been involved in the questionnaire activity, including lengthy spoken discussion, for up to 15 minutes following an arduous several hours of travel to and around this deeply disturbing site: participants were noticeably physically tired, and yet more engaged and forthcoming in a discussion with which they had become perceptibly more at ease.

**Disappointed** (4), unstated as an expectation, is mitigated in the questionnaire by *somewhat/slightly* (2) and subject to written and follow-up explanations relating to *other people, missing out on some things* and not having *more time*. Feelings about the site itself, logically unanticipated in response to Q4, begin to emerge at this stage in the process. User-generated additions to the questionnaire list in Q9 included a single overlap with Q4: **disgusted** (2) is combined with expected **disgust** (1) within the comparison graph, but the past-tense variation is possibly telling, and is retained. Further additions are, understandably, **tired** (3) and, notably, **depressed** (3): *about humanity; how things don't change; how terrible it was for so many people, it's just devastating.*

Feeling **angry, disappointed, negative, ashamed** is more experienced than expected; feeling **humble, sad, amazed, lucky, proud** and **important** are less so. Post-visit, these responses imply a markedly lower experience of enlightenment and interest than visitors expected to feel. In follow-up discussion, participants expressed a perceived time lapse and/or unexpectedness in levels of feeling, touching on the functions of emotional fatigue and environmental factors, including and especially the value of reflective opportunities and spaces:

A1: *I feel somewhat numb*

A2: *I don't actually feel as much as I thought I would*

C1: *I'm still processing it...*

C2: *It hasn't really hit me yet; there were so many people you couldn't feel it as much as you expected*

D1 *I feel more angry than I thought I would as well as so so sad.*

C3: *So tired, I think I need time to recover, and I might think differently. About some of it.*

D1 *I had far more chance to think, talk about, my feelings this time round, talking to my partner and taking breaks. You can't say a word in the groups. I think I will remember, learn a lot more from this.*

### Anticipated and actual experience (Q5 & Q10)

Questions about expected, and actual experience are clearly subject to the same caveats as those outlined above in relation to anticipated/actual feelings. However, phrasing the question as 'what you expected to do' and 'what you did' offer less nebulous concepts for participants to recall and to articulate. Active 'doing' is representative of the pre-visit preparation participants have undertaken and of usual holidaymaking parlance, and as such participants appeared more confident and articulate in their written and verbal responses to these questions than to discussions of feeling. Perhaps for this reason, less variables occur in terms of user-generated additions to the questionnaire list of both anticipated and actual experience: both questions generated identical additions, to **cry** and to **walk**, in reverse ratios with expectation of walking exceeded by experience (3 – 1), while actuality of crying was exceeded by expectation (3 – 1). Full detail is represented in Figure 10.

*Figure 10: Anticipated and actual experience, comparison*

In line with the divergence in anticipated experience of enlightenment revealed in responses to Q4 & Q9, reported learning experiences were half the anticipated number. Despite this finding, discovery is experienced (10) at the same rate as it is expected, inviting questions about how the two experiences differ. Possibly, notions of learning are located in a more formal sphere, relating to information and factfinding about subject matter, whilst discovery may be directed to findings about experience and understanding of others, the self and the site itself. Indeed, some of the most overt variations illustrated in the comparative chart may represent such discoveries.

The experiences most actualised in these finding tend toward less agency and, arguably, more passivity: participants remembered, followed, walked and took photographs more often than anticipated. Less quantifiable experiences of believing, feeling emotion, seeing, listening, thinking and enjoying matched expectation in incidence, although possibly not in quality, given findings about reduced learning and enlightenment. In all other aspects, participants report an under-fulfilment of expectation, particularly in **learning** (as we have seen), **paying respects** and **witnessing** (highly significant factors in visit objectives and expectation), **regret, questioning, reflecting, making a point, changing** and **sharing**. These experiences represent intellectual activity and independence, and their under-representation is significant given concerns about lack of independence and clarity expressed in earlier questions (Q2). Furthermore, responses to Q5 are supported by several considered clarifications in discussion. Anticipated **regret** (9) is associated with *what happened* (6), *what's still happening/happening now* (3), *in the world; with war and persecution in Syria; everywhere.* These reflections upon anticipated experience of regret make connections with contemporary issues, reflecting effective learning processes and, indeed, following the ideologies of genocide memorial and of Holocaust education. Yet, experience of regret diminishes to zero within the visit. Potentially challenging, and certainly active, experiences are cited not frequently, but seriously, in terms of **questioning** (1) *myself, why I've come, why we all do*; **change** (2) – *expecting to feel different*; and **making a point** (2) *of remembering, of not forgetting.* Given the emphasis placed upon learning as an objective in theorisation of dark tourism motivation, particularly in visitation to the case study site, and the strong educational aspects of

the site's mission statement, these findings offer a (small) challenge to received wisdom about (dark) visitor experience.

### 7.5.3 Visitor recall: key locations

All but one of the survey participants took part in a guided tour, and all visited both Auschwitz I and II (Birkenau). Across this landscape, 10 specific features were offered by participants as examples of particularly memorable aspects of the visit. All were set features on the tours undertaken – that is, planned stops shared by all tour groups on the day. They are listed below with relevant additional information or comments from visitors.

- *sign over the gates; the (entrance) sign* (17) The Arbeit Macht Frei sign features heavily in Museum media and messaging, in tourist images and in social/open source media: Google image returns dozens of perspectives on the first page of results. Participants describe the famous sign as *shocking, sending a shiver down your spine*, *thinking I'm really here*, a sense of *walking in where they did.* However, the sign is both a replica and relocation of its original, giving a false sense of the original camp blueprint. At all times when I passed the sign during my observation, visit and questionnaire activity, photographs were being taken of and beneath the sign.
- *'Death Wall', shooting wall* (12): *shocking, haunting, really quiet, so sad.* A partly reconstructed courtyard in which executions took place. Signage at the yard entrance requests that respect be shown, silence is observed, and visitors refrain from photography. Floral and other tributes are placed against the wall at all times, and visitors are largely silence in the space, although I have observed visitors taking photographs on several occasions.
- *Crematoria/gas chamber* (17): *shocking, unbelievable, sickening- people took photo; can't believe what happened, unbelievable, inhumanity, I felt ill.* These terms were used interchangeably, not always accurately, to refer to different locations, variously reconstructed or not, in both Birkenau and Auschwitz I. It became clear that some participants were confused about the original function of the structure they had seen. All structures in which execution or destruction of human bodies took place are subject to signage

prohibiting photography, and at each of these locations I observed multiple incidents of photography.

- *Gallows, where they hanged the commander: justice.* The replica scaffold marks the location of the post-war execution of the last camp commandant. In discussion, several visitors revealed that they had not realised it was a replica, although the tour guide had in fact stated this.
- *Bunkhouse* (9) *You could imagine the people lying there, so sad, so human* Discussion revealed that this referred either to a reconstructed building in Birkenau, or to a reconstructed set of beds within an exhibition block at Auschwitz I. In both cases the visualisation of inhabitants was mentioned.
- *Boxcar, train carriage* (8) *harrowing, depressing, made it feel real, imagining the poor people, someone climbing on it – disgraceful*. The vintage carriage at Birkenau was not in fact utilised at the concentration/death camp, but is installed upon the original rail spur. A very popular photography subject/backdrop, often with seated visitors.
- *The Watchtower (8) eerie, upsetting, uncomfortable, creepy, sad.* The watchtower at the public entrance to Birkenau is accessible on some, but not all, tours and offers a remarkable vista across the landscape. The fact that this is a ‘guards-eye’ perspective was distressing for some participants.
- *National exhibition houses hidden gems – all different perspectives or versions* National and themed exhibition blocks – generally, only one or two are encountered on guided tours and it is unlikely that visitors will be aware or able to select which building is used. This comment was, notably, from a visitor who had visited independently and not on this occasion attended a tour.
- *The priest place/the standing cell you could just imagine the priest, it made it seem real*. The standing cell, a particular mode of punishment, is identified with a specific individual and the story is related on most guided tours. Visitors described the poignancy of personal stories in proximity with authentic space, although its location and dimensions problematised visibility/access for several visitors.

### 7.5.4 Visitor perspectives

**Tourism and messages**

The negative (self) image of the tourist may be complicated by contemporary redefinitions, but it is hardly diminished. In this limited survey (18), a significant proportion of participants (7) declined to describe themselves as tourists, with either *no* (3) or *don't know* (4) responses.

Across all three response options (Q8), explanatory comments revealed 'tourist shame' or 'othering' of, and dissociation from, the 'typical', despoiling tourist. Use of upper-case lettering, exclamation marks and notably defiant, humorous and apologetic overtones suggest that this issue is taken quite seriously, and personally, by participants:

> *But not like some of the ones today.*
>
> *But I am RESPECTFUL!*
>
> *Sorry!*
>
> A3: *It depends what you mean by tourist. I want to see the real places, not just take photos.*
>
> C2: *Even though I suppose I am, I hope I'm not like some of the typical tourists who can just spoil it for everyone.*
>
> A2: *We're not all the same though. Some of the people here today, just not respectful, were they? Pushing in to take photos and all the rest. That's typical tourist and it tars us all with that brush.*
>
> A1: *But it doesn't mean I am not very serious about today.*

These perspectives are countered by only one positive reaction to the definition:

> A4 *I'm very lucky to be a tourist. To see the world, it's a privilege.*

Nuanced supplementary statements were made as caveats to both rejections and acceptance of the 'tourist' identification, offering remarkable acknowledgment of the flexibility of the tourist role and interesting inversions of theorisation that 'we are all tourists':

> A1: *I wouldn't today, no, I am visiting to pay tribute.*

A6: I am this week but when you visit somewhere like this it's a different thing altogether.

D1 *I am, but don't feel that's what I'm being today. I feel more like a visitor if that makes sense?*

For these visitors, it may be true to state that they are engaged in tourism in the broader context of their vacation. However, that identity marker is regarded as being switched off within the time and space of the site visit.

With regard to questions (Q11a, Q12a, Q14) on the role of the tourist and/or visitor in sharing important site messages, and intention to share their own experience, all participants offered uniformly affirmative responses. These questions, at a remove from the contentious issue of tourist identity raised by Q8, were answered without caveat or clarification (see Figure 11).

*Figure11*

It is notable that responses to (open) questions (Q11b & Q12b) about site messaging, and the potential tourist role in sharing that message, were minimal, simple and lacking in detail or variation. The site's important message to visitors is represented in permutations of *the never forget/always remember* (12) and *never again/do not repeat history* motifs (10), and the related, rhetorical quote: *Man's inhumanity to man* (1). There is no specific reference to the Nazi Holocaust, genocide, political or social intolerance, or to many of the objectives and behaviours discussed within the questionnaire. Similarly, the visitor/tourist role in sharing that very simple message set is limited in responses that suggest *talking to/telling others*

(18), without discussion of how that might take place, or by what medium/mode; *remembering/keeping the memory alive (12), making a pilgrimage* (1) and, again, a related rhetorical quote: *Do unto others…* (1).

At this point in the follow-up work, visitors seemed to be at a loss for words about their role in site messaging and, indeed, the nature of the message. However, all participants do intend to share their visit experience and, indeed, some have already done so: at the time of discussion, most participants had either shared part of their experience already (3) via social media imaging and messages; intended to do the same later the same day (5); and/or or over the next few days (12). Only one participant offered a variant response: *when I get home, with friends and family.* Reasons for sharing the experience were also relatively limited. A significant number of responses (11) cited other people's *fascination and interest,* yet only 2 participants gave *spreading the* word – the site's important message – as a reason for discussing their visit. While there were some (3) caveats about visitors of a young age, with easily upset dispositions and/or mobility issues, most participants would advise others to visit the site. Here (Q15a, Q15b), responses echo their own earlier objectives (12) relating to uniqueness and imperative (12): *once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, you have got to take it, it is a must-see, unique experience)* and an obligation to *pay respect/*honour victims (6). Thus, across questions regarding key messages and tourist roles in disseminating them, participants perpetuate their own nebulous objectives and the fuzzy expectations which do not seem to have been fulfilled by this visit. Conversely, the dissemination of practical information which has been of use and value in their own preparations to visit, are not mentioned within the scope of these questions.

**Site management**

In the final element of the questionnaire, participants were invited to outline their own messages to site management and potential changes to improve the visitor experience. In responses to Q16 and Q13, participants became particularly animated and precise in their written and verbal responses, which were reasonably consistent in their focus. Issues of visitor numbers and crowd control, and related points about guided route modification/flexibility to relieve congestion, were common to most participant responses (12). Furthermore, the pace, patience and lack of rest periods

within guided tours were highlighted as problematic (4). These points, together with requests for navigational support such as improved signage and rest areas (6), reflect a desire for improved, independent pathfinding and reflection opportunities. Indeed, one participant notes that *'guided tours aren't for everyone',* and consideration for those with disabilities and mobility problems is requested (2). Feelings of frustration about potentially confusing, impersonal visitor experience, are revealed not only in concerns about overcrowding and haste but in diverse remarks relating to staff training, support and identification (6) and frustrated attest to offer donations (1) and locate particular aspects of interpretation, such as LGBT experience. In follow-up discussion, participants revealed disappointment that opportunities to ask questions or request specific support or information were minimal or lacking. Conversely, a desire to thank management (5) was unfulfilled, with participants noting the lack of feedback facilities such as visitor books or comment cards, which form an expected element of most visitor centres.

There are notable parallels between the perspectives outlined above and the changes participants would welcome in the visitor experience. Problems with crowds/tourist numbers (9) feature strongly, with supplementary comments that these *spoil the experience, seem disrespectful* and *change the atmosphere*; resulting inability *to reflect* or *see properly* or *pause to take things* in is *stressful*. Preferences for slower or flexible *timing* (11), and for *free time or rest breaks* (9) echoed concerns that it *seemed disrespectful to rush through* without being able to *process what's being shown, to appreciate it more, deal with feelings* and *feel more human.* Recurrent concerns about unseemly haste, crowded and confused exhibition spaces and lack of opportunity to reflect and consider, unsurprisingly lead participants to express resentment at *people being left behind, not treated as individuals, with respect* or *with manners*. Aspects of visit protocol, it is suggested, are *unwelcoming, not fair on older visitors* and, tellingly, lead visitors to fell they have *no control* over their own visitor experience. This revealing commentary upon the, partly inevitable, negative aspects of a huge and crowded heritage site, which includes both vast tracts of open land and narrow, historic interiors is of interest not only because of its perspective on site management per se. Rather, it signifies a frustration, disappointment, even resentment that expectations of uniqueness, emotion, spirituality, witnessing and engagement, expressed within earlier sections of the questionnaire, are unfulfilled. Referring back to anticipated experience, the once-

in-a-lifetime opportunity is shared with thousands; the act of paying respect or tribute is foiled by the haste and mass of crowds; the hoped-for encounter with authenticity – how it really was, where it actually happened – is diminished by obstructed views, confusing signage and the feeling that one is at risk of being lost or forgotten, in landscape (over) populated by fellow-tourists.

From this small sample group's responses, we obtain useful and specific information about experience and its relation to expectations, and a set of vocabularies/concerns that can now inform analysis of the larger body of netnographic material. For this group, encounters with the (present-day) Museum are represented by its website, its staff, tour guides and protocols; perception of events and places, and emotional responses, are associated with the site's historic incarnation. Visitor transactions with the modern Museum impact upon their capacity to fully engage with the subject matter and to fulfil expectations about experience and emotions. It should be noted than in discussions with myself, visitors were engaged in a personal transaction with me and therefore their verbal responses cannot be regarded as transactional responses to Museum-originated stimuli. Rather, they are valid indicators of mood and emotion resulting from Museum-related transactions, and of visitors' perceptions of Museum attitudes, protocols and messaging. In that sense, they may serve to describe the perceived ego state, from visitor perspectives, of the Museum itself within the transactions they have experience prior to the visit, via Museum messaging, and during the visit itself.

Response relating to tourist roles and to emotions are notably less specific than those relating to questions about site management and areas of potential improvement. A separation between perceptions of the site as a historic site, of presence in it and of the events and emotions it evokes, and the experience of the present-day Museum's functioning and management, is clearly made across responses which shift from the conceptual and intangible to the specific and actual. Recurrent concerns include the number of visitors, tour pathways and (in)flexibility, and the somewhat relentless pace and pressure of tour processes. A shared perception that the Museum might offer improved facilities for intellectual and physical independence in pathfinding and pace is associated with the frustration of anticipated experience, and articulate comments about impersonal and inflexible attitudes of staff. For these visitors, the Museum is perceived as prescriptive and

proscriptive, authoritarian and detached. Concerns about the user-friendliness of the website, and its notably Parent characteristics, are less important to participants than their experience at the site itself; yet, this primary transactional environment is revealed to be indicative of the site-based experience. Visitor capacity for independent thought and action, self-actualisation and even behavioural control are underestimated and diminished across transactions with the Museum: questioning, ambiguity, adaptiveness, individuality and reflection are all perceived to be discouraged and undermined within visitor recollection. Where feeling and learning are most anticipated, walking and listening are more experienced. Thus, control measures undertaken by the Museum to ensure order, appropriateness and appreciation at the historic site, along with the dichotomous aim of enabling maximum visitor access, achieve contradictory outcomes: inflexible processing or large visitor numbers is perceived as disrespectful, inappropriate and detrimental to the processes of learning and actualisation. The Museum's (controlling) Parent offers no nurturing or comforting characteristics to which the visitor may respond via the Child and its facility for creativity, learning and play. Where a visitor response in Child ego state is suggested, it is through articulation of resentment, repression, frustration and limitation. The transaction may be complementary, as Child responds to Parent; but it is unlikely to be constructive. However, as we have seen, the complementary transaction enables some kind of ongoing communication between the ego states involved; Museum Parent and visitor Child may continue with a dialogue in which Controlling Parent and Adapted Child maintain a belligerent balance. However, all ego states are present at all times within the psyche and the balance between them is crucial to wellbeing. The visitor's Parent ego state is neglected, lacking authority or opportunity to instruct, nurture or support within the visitor peer group. Arguably, critical attitudes toward fellow-visitors and staff are a means of release for the repressed Parent. Furthermore, the Adult ego state of the visitor receives no appropriate stimulus: there is no capacity for informational exchange or independent action; free mediation with Adult and Child ego states, and consequent application and representation of their specific qualities and needs, is disallowed within the standard visitor experience. Perhaps the strongest representations of the Parent state, on the Museum's part, are its insistence on the guided tour that restricts visitor freedom and necessitates rigid routines, and on the assumption that visitors must receive persistent instruction regarding

appropriateness: the Museum 'knows best'. Yet across the research material, visitors show a high regard for the iconic nature of the site and the solemnity it is likely to invoke, and an expressed anticipation of engaging in memorial, witnessing and educational behaviours. These expectations are frustrated by Museum protocols and, indeed, the haste and confusion experienced by many visitors may erode their own sensibilities: without opportunity to pause, return or reflect, the tendency towards indiscriminate photography in lieu of thoughtful regard, and towards mindlessness in the reception and processing of information, is heightened. While the inappropriateness of beachwear, music and noise, as crassly illustrated on the website and at the Museum in visual and text injunctions, may be avoided by these mechanisms, the systems of visitor control risk different kinds of grotesquery as visitors jostle, yawn and film their way through the Museum. Meanwhile, where the Museum persists in over-representation of the Parent ego state in its transactions, Child and Adult characteristics are necessarily diminished: the adaptability, creativity and imagination of the former, and the capacity for rational thought, information management and mediation of the latter, are absented from both stimulus and response. Such a lack is represented by over-attention to didactic and directive communications, and a perceived lack of consideration, acknowledgment and representation of visitor needs and concerns.

### 7.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have set out the historical background, main pre-visit messaging mode (Museum website) and the physical locations of visitor/Museum transactions (the case study site). In those contexts, I outlined the ethnographic research activity undertaken and offered a narrative analysis of this material for scoping purposes. From this data review I identified key themes that will inform interpretation of the larger body of data, collected via netnographic processes. In so doing I ensure that primary expressions of visitor experience underpin the management and contextualisation of data in the next stages. In the following chapter, I set out a brief overview of the online data source, the TripAdvisor website, its protocols, and relevant factors in its development, usage and validity as a data source. Statistical, frequency, narrative and transactional analysis techniques are applied to the empirical findings.

# CHAPTER 8 Netnographic contexts, findings and analysis

## 8.0 Introduction

This chapter describes and discusses the online data source, in order to contextualise the resulting ethnographic material. This data is discussed as it relates to key issues arising from ethnographic research, which contextualises the second-stage research findings and sets certain parameters and priorities in terms of key aspects of the visitor experience. Further discussion attends to positive and negative perceptions of the case study site, to expression of the TA ego states and related types of transaction.

Whole data is used in demographic representations and word frequency analysis. Review headings and key review exemplar across the rating spectrum are subjected to a narrative analysis, in which reviews receiving significant ‘thank’ votes are privileged in order to represent the user community and ongoing transactions within it.

## 8.1 Netnographic environment: TripAdvisor

Founded in February 2000 (Livingston, 2007, p.361) TripAdvisor now operates in twenty-seven countries and claims to be the world’s largest travel site. While this definition is too broad to validate the claim, the site is of tremendous significance in understanding the shifts in tourist/traveller behaviours, systems and services (Jeacle & Carter, 2011; O’Connor, 2008; Litvin et al, 2008). The TripAdvisor website, in the simplest interpretation, offers travel advice to its users through reviews, commentary and rankings for hotels, restaurants, visitor attractions, destinations and activities. These resources are created by TripAdvisor’s ‘community’ of users and as such is regarded, intuitively, as ‘authentic’ – that is created to inform rather than persuade, an electronic word-of-mouth and not a marketing tool. Indeed, the development of questioning facilities and themed fora enable discussion activity and information exchange, in modes far more dynamic than ‘read, rate & review’. Current facilities include capacity to upload reviews, photos and videos, with the latter serving not only to illustrate but visually validate the written content; to rate attractions or services as excellent/very

good/average/poor/terrible; and to participate in discussion fora and create blogs, representing a particularly complex and creative portfolio of engagement and agency. All material is open to its own rating and review: users can ‘thank’, ‘like’, award ‘helpful’ ratings to, and respond to/ comment on content, or report it to site administrators if it’s offensive or abusive. In addition to sharing information about destinations, services and experiences, users may create a personal profile with varying degrees of detail. This may include any or all of the following: nationality; location of residence; gender; age ranges (16-24; 25-34; 35-49; 50-64; 64+); and identification with the following categorisations:

Nature Lover

Vegetarian

Shopping Fanatic

60+ Traveller

Eco-tourist

Nightlife Seeker

Urban Explorer

Beach Goer

Peace and Quiet Seeker

Luxury Traveller

History Buff

Like a Local

Thrifty Traveller

Trendsetter

Thrill Seeker

Family Holiday Maker

Art and Architecture Lover

Backpacker

Foodie

From this profile, fellow-users may identify shared interest, authority or other means of qualifying their fellow-users' trustworthiness, capacity, personality and experience. In this way, members of the TripAdvisor 'community' make connections, communicate, share, advise and otherwise engage with one another. Furthermore, the protocols of the site allow for rich data collection within open-source, real-world environments.

The TripAdvisor community has considerable power, agency and influence not only as and within a peer group, but in its leverage and reach across travel and leisure services. The site generates revenue through advertising and links to bookings sites such as Expedia and hotels.com, representing TripAdvisor's parallel function as a sales environment through which over 40 million monthly visitors (and hence potential customers) pass and which hosts 570 million reviews and opinions covering 7.3 million accommodations, travel services, attractions and restaurants. As such, service providers regard the site as a vital means of promoting offers and experiences, of understanding user behaviours and requirements, and potentially improving profile and reputation. TripAdvisor collates user ratings (excellent/very good/average/poor/terrible) of attractions and services, calculates their quantity, quality and contemporaneity and awards an overall 'Traveller Rating' (on a scale of 1-5). Traveller Ratings, represented by a widely-recognised owl icon (often prominently displayed on business premises and communications) offer an easily-grasped signal of an establishment's popularity (for example, in 2017 the Museum received a Travellers' Choice award in the Museums category – the site's highest recognition, awarded annually to 1% of agencies within given categories. In this way TripAdvisor's promotion and familiarity is constantly increasing, as is the representation and validation – of its community, within focal environments.

The notions of community and trust are highly significant to the contemporary tourist and traveller and in the context of their autonomy and agency in shaping travel experiences. The advent of 'no frills' airlines and subsequent transformation of traditional airline service (Jones, 2005; Creaton, 2005), the role of the internet (Bray & Raitz, 2001) in enabling cheap, fast sales direct to customers (Doganis, 2001) and the development of smaller, independent accommodation under umbrella sites such as AirBNB and OwnersDirect, combine so that the 21st century traveller books their holiday in radically different ways to their 20th century counterpart. (Mintel, 2007). They are more likely to undertake their own research and

arrangements utilising online reviews and sales mechanisms than to delegate holiday plans to local travel agents (Jeacle and Carter, 2011) – once important intermediaries in a market characterised by asymmetric information (Akerlof, 1970; Clerides, Nearchou, & Pashardes, 2005). Yet, as the do-it-yourself tourist moves away from traditional booking protocols and marketing materials, instead constructing their own, modular, holiday plans with multiple agencies, the (human) trust once invested in face-to-face interaction with, and perceived expertise of, travel agents' systems, must be replicated (Giddens, 1990). The well-established (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1974; Dearden & Harron, 1992; Morgan, Pritchard & Piggott, 2003; O'Neill, Palmer & Charters, 2002) importance of personal recommendations in tourism decision-making, and the outcomes of research into trust relations within internet virtual communities (Mayer et al, 1995; Jarvenpaa, Knoll, & Leidner, 1998; Ridings, Gefen & Arinze, 2002), elucidate the emergence and use of travel forums (Chai and Kim, 2010; Chiu, Hsu, & Wang, 2006; Hsu, Ju, Yen & Changa, 2007; Wasko & Faraj, 2000 and underpin the success and popularity of the TripAdvisor brand and community.

A recent development to the TripAdvisor site connects it with the social networking website Facebook, further emphasising the notion of a likeminded community. Thus, the site seeks to make immediate connections and associations with its users, reinforcing a sense of intimacy, community and real-world connectivity. Various 'badges', awarded to reviewers for quantity of reviews, 'helpful' responses and other criteria, reward and identify reviewers as experienced, competent and conscientious and give a sense of development, movement, individuality and variation that enliven and enrich the community. While trustworthiness cannot be guaranteed across the review body, the community's sense of ownership and belonging may encourage the propensity to communal self-discipline (Foucault, 1979). Cross-referencing of and reaction to fellow-reviewers may ensure a degree of content credibility, while personal photographs lend validity to the narrative commentaries: while the photograph may not be a 'form of neutral evidence' (Parker, 2009:1115), the power of visual verification is compelling (Becker, 1974; Warren, 2005).

## 8.2 Netnographic research

This study's netnographic data is drawn from TripAdvisor reviews that, I suggest, represent visitor responses to interactions with and at the site. They may serve as deferred responses to transactional stimuli, where a real-time response was impeded; or as documentation/description of the transactional experience and the ego states which it may have evoked. In addition to their interpretation as transactional responses, they also constitute transactional stimuli as they initiate new transactions with the TripAdvisor community and, potentially, the museum itself: all organisations have the facility of response to TripAdvisor reviews. Indeed, within each online review we may observe more than one, or all, of the ego states at play in response to Museum transactions, or as a stimulus to the reader.

Because of the scale of the online material various levels of attention and analysis will be undertaken. In addition to narrative data, including review headings and review ratings, demographic detail is drawn from the personal profiles of reviewers and, where, relevant, discussed with regard to significance and/or ambiguity. The body of data is subject to word frequency analysis in order to highlight significant themes, emotions and subjects. These are mapped against earlier ethnographic findings so that visit aspects and incidents are identified as transactional exemplar. Selected research data, including and especially review headings, provides data blocks that may be interpreted via TA precepts. Narrative segments represent either responses to or examples of stimuli, and the relevant transaction is subject to analysis in order to identify associated ego states. Organisational responses to reviews, if any, are documented and reviewed as a new transactional event.

### 8.2.1 Demographic information

**Traveller type** Reviewers self-select a 'traveller type' category with which to identify, and results are shown in Figure 12. NB: categories reflect the ongoing personal profile of the reviewer, and do not represent attitudes specific to the case study site. Of 241 reviewers, 79 selected no 'traveller type' category with which to identify. The most popular categories (more than 10% of potential reviewers) include Like a Local, Urban Explorer and Thrifty Traveller, suggesting an interest in independent travel or less traditional leisure pursuits. However, Peace and Quiet Seeker and Beach Goer, conversely, represent more traditional holiday or travel

behaviours. Specific interests in food, urban environments, history and nature also feature in the 8 most-selected categories.

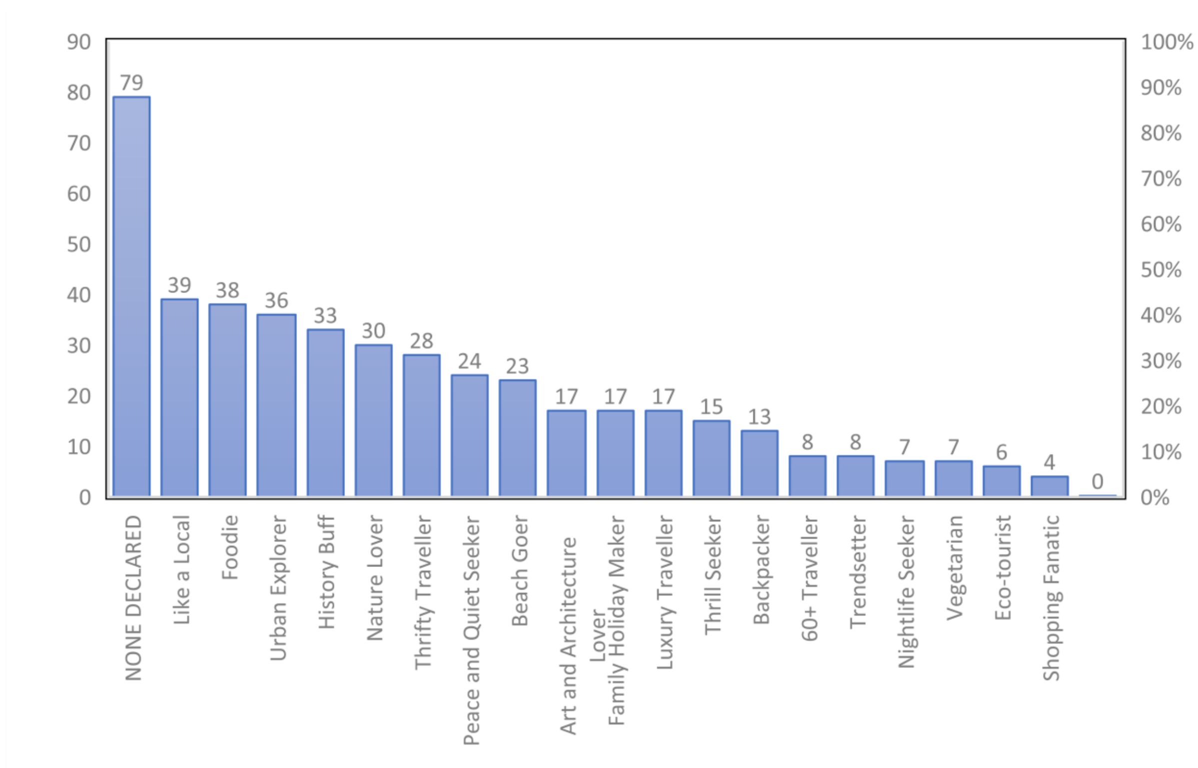



*Figure 12: Traveller type, self-selected*

**Reviewer gender, age ranges, nationality.** Of 241 reviewers:

- 135 include gender information, with 61 women and 74 men.
- 129 selected an age range (Fig 16); the majority (41) were aged between 35 and 49, with their neighbouring brackets, 50-64 and 25-34, numbering 37 and 30 respectively. Over 65, at 13 stated, and 18-24, at 8, are the least selected ranges. 112 reviewers did not include an age range.
- 233 reviewers gave their nationality (Fig 17), with a large majority of UK visitors. The figures do not match the national demographics given earlier in the chapter, as collected by the Museum, which are likely to be highly accurate. This is undoubtedly the result of excluding non-English reviews. However, it should be noted that (largely English-speaking) US visitors are less represented in this survey, in comparison to the UK, than the Museum's information would suggest. This may be attributable to a larger proportion

of US visitors declaring a personal or familial interest, given the far higher number of Jewish citizens in the US.

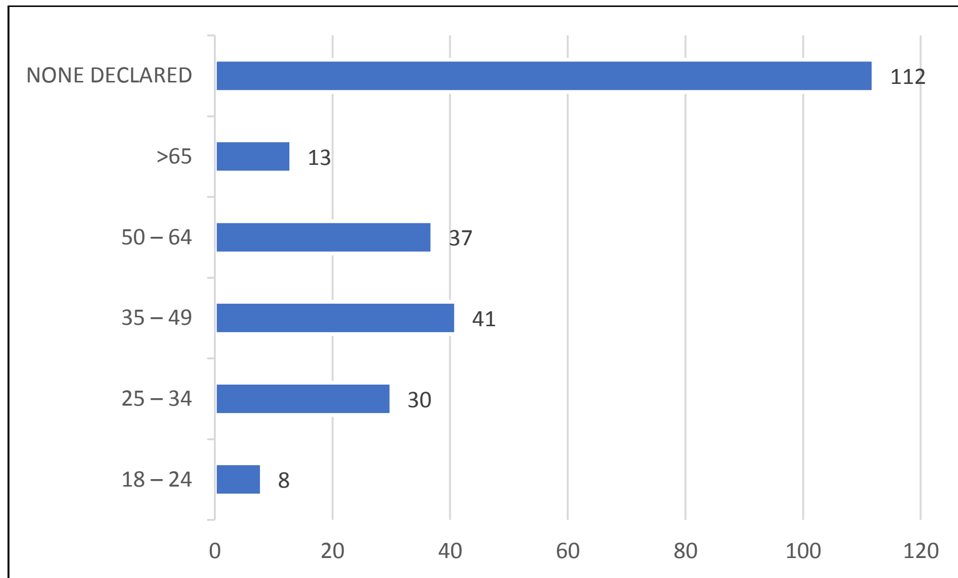



*Figure 13: age ranges, self-declared*

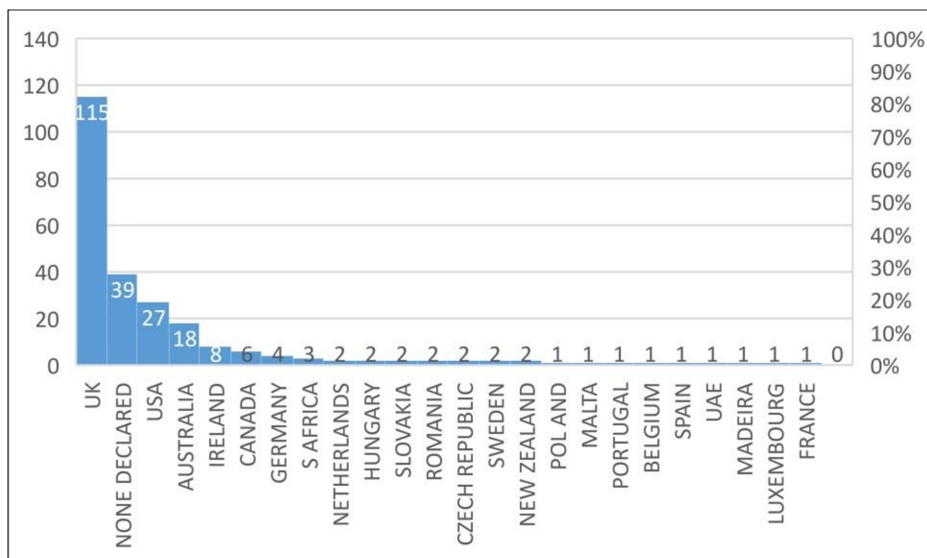



*Figure 14: Nationalities*

### 8.2. 2 Reviews

**Ratings** (see Figure 15). The ratings given most frequently are *average* and *excellent* (88 and 82, respectively, of 241 reviews). Very good is the least frequent rating, with 21 reviews. Combining totals to illustrate positive/average/negative experience gives the following breakdown: *[excellent/very good]:* 103; *[average]:*

87; *[poor/terrible]:* 51. Given the Traveller's Award of Excellence and the ambiguity inherent in 'rating' a site of this kind (discussed within the reviews) this is perhaps surprising: more than 20% of reviews give a below average rating to this iconic site. This does match the overall review rating across TripAdvisor's 11,000+ reviews of the site, which at the time of the survey gave *excellent/very good/average/poor/terrible* as 84%, 12%, 2%, 1% and 1% respectively. The survey seemingly increases the amount of negative reviews tenfold. The exclusions of this survey are likely to explain this discrepancy, as the views of those with a declared, expressed or potential, personal/familial or specialist interest/experience in or of the site and its associated events have not been included in the research content. In Chapter 4, we discussed the enhanced likelihood of mindfulness and associated positive perception of a heritage site, where a sense of personal resonance exists. Furthermore, those with specialist knowledge or interest, including those who have visited the Museum for specific educational or other nonstandard visits, are likely to have different perceptions from those whose interest is general/non-specialist. Finally, the survey included only those reviews written in English and, while a range of nationalities are represented within the sample, a preference for or use of English may have some bearing on some visitor experience of the Polish site: while all information is offered in English, some things are literally lost in translation.

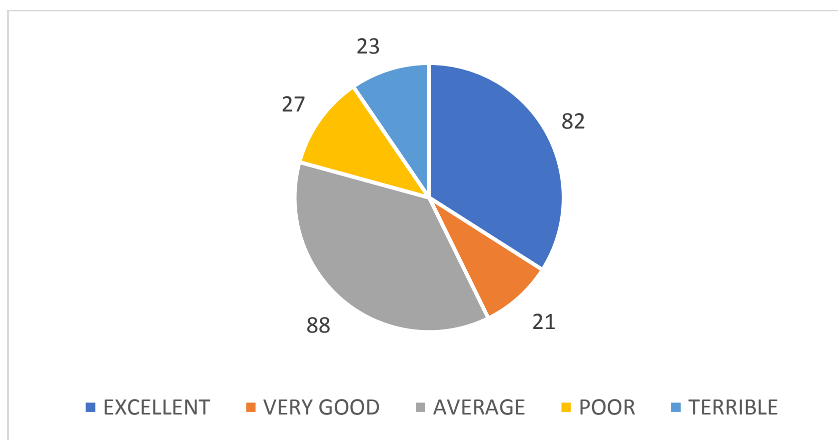



*Figure 15: Review ratings*

**'Thank' votes (Fig 16)** Readers may give 'thank' votes to reflect appreciation of a useful, eloquent or otherwise noteworthy review. The amount of thank' votes across

the data collected is set out according to review rating. It is notable that the ratio of thanks to review number is inconsistent across the categories: reviews awarding a lower (poor/terrible) rating – that is, reflecting the less and least satisfactory experiences – garner significantly more thanks (an average of 7.5 per review with terrible rating) than those rating the experience as excellent/very good (excellent rated reviews averaging 1.10 thanks each). If critical reviews are most appreciated, we may infer that they offer more useful, practical, information – complaints are generally accompanied by detail; or, a perspective that is in some way particularly appreciated by readers. The figures are set out below, and the headings across the five ratings will be analysed at a later stage to identify whether greater detail or other factors may be influential in the spike in positive responses to negative reviews. Those reviews garnering most 'thanks' will be used as exemplar in analysis processes.

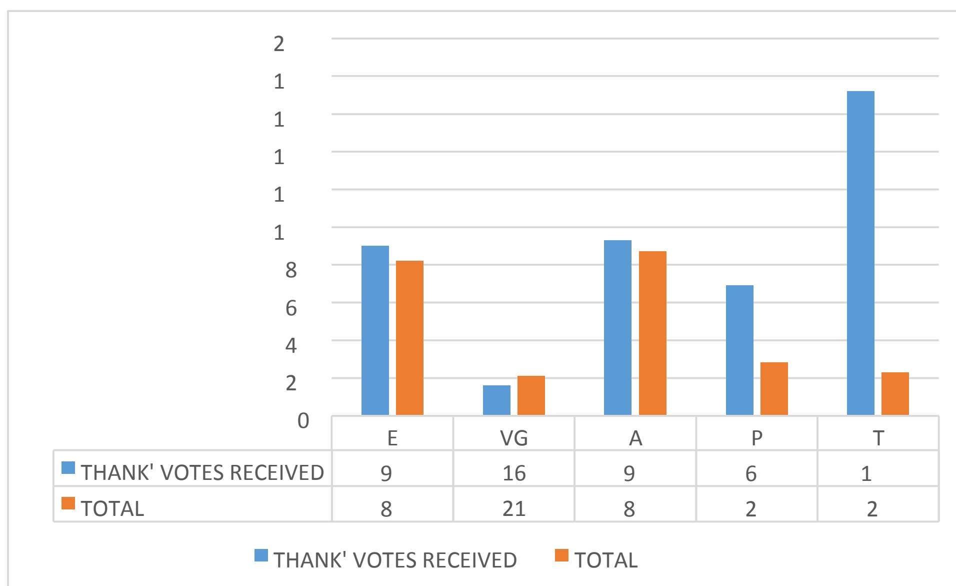



*Figure 16: 'Thank' votes according to review rating score*

### 8.2.3 Analysis of netnographic research findings: overview

241 TripAdvisor reviews (an initial batch of 300, reduced through exclusion processes) are the product of this survey's netnographic activity. They comprise profile information in addition to a review heading (a precis, key aspect or main response, created by the reviewer) and reviews with word counts varying between

30 and 850, with an average of 77.5 words per review (including header). Narrative form is equally variable, with some reviews comprising one or two lines, others quite complex narrative structures; tone ranges from highly personal or emotional rhetoric to detailed exposition of logistical, experiential and other aspects of the site. In order to manage the quantity of data in this section, full transcripts are included in the Appendices. Short quotes, including headings, and a selected set of exemplars will form the focus of analytical activity in this section. Sets of reviews will be grouped as [excellent/very good], average and [poor/terrible] so that characteristics of positive and negative transactions are more easily differentiated. Exemplar are selected according to the amount of 'thank' votes, so that members of the TripAdvisor community direct the study's focus. As previously discussed, material from ethnographic surveys further informs the interpretation and selection of exemplary themes or transactions. Therefore, discussions relating to expectation/experience, emotions, management/institution/staffing, guided tours and other tourists are of particular interest.

### 8.2.4 Expectation and experience

From the scoping activity at the Museum site, this study identified dissonance between anticipation and experience of *enlightenment, emotion, seeing, thinking and learning*. These aspects were less actualised than more passive, less progressive, activity (*following, listening, photographing*). Under-fulfilment of expectation is particularly noted when less tangible processes - *learning, paying respects, witnessing, questioning, reflecting, making a point, changing, sharing* – are at issue. In terms of emotion, feelings of *anger, disappointment and shame* surpass expectation; *humility, sadness, pride* and *importance* are felt less than expected.

These diversions from expectation within the visitor experience are not necessarily negative factors: expectation may be based on error or misconception about the self or about the site, and contrasting anticipated with actual experience may offer a profound opportunity for development of the self. The overall negativity or positivity of individual reviews can be analysed, not as error on the part of the Museum or the reviewer, but as an expression of the transaction in which they, or specific ego states, have participated.

Within an overview of the Museum, its website was identified as a primary pre-visit mechanism for messaging and engagement. Thus, it represents a set of stimuli and initiates a transaction (if not physical one). However, the site offers no capacity to respond via a site administrator or recognised 'Contact us' pro forma. Contact with Museum personnel is represented by a diverse list of departments and personnel, and there is no narrative voice with which a dialogue might be imagined. While we are unable to observe reader responses to the website's messaging, it is likely that internal responses to that messaging take place and that this constitutes a transaction. When participants in the ethnographic survey discuss their experience of engaging with the site, however, they do not reflect on a transaction but on a mode of accessing information, images and other resources.

> *A3 the website because it's very, it's quite academic that, I mean a lot of information about the history but maybe not as much practical as TripAdvisor.*

This perception of the encounter may reveal a crossed transaction: a close reading of the site's visitor information reveals Parent-characteristics in tone, vocabulary and structure. This address to the potential visitor is directed to the Child ego state, yet as previously discussed, the pre-visit research stage is likely to engage the visitor's Adult ego state. In this interpretation of the ego states at play, the intended and actual recipient ego state differ, and the transaction can go no further.

This posited Parent ego state on the Museum's part is suggested within the ethnographic survey responses, in references to inflexibility, lack of respect/consideration for the individual and a frustrating lack of autonomy. In transactions with the Museum, these visitors reflect a potential range of ego states across the interview set and within individual responses, as do TripAdvisor reviews.

In terms of online reviews, little reference is made to the website: (19) describes being misled about the possibility of visiting outside a tour group, while (234) suggests booking through secondary service providers to avoid disappointment. However, expression of disappointment or a mismatch between expectation and experience recurred. Indeed, word frequency analysis of the review headings gives 'but' as the most common term. Generally excluded from word frequency analyses, in this instance it was included as a potential indicator of dichotomy or dissonance.

Indeed, in the majority of the word's occurrence in 32 headings, this was the case as visitors constructed phrases that expressed juxtaposition of differing, even oppositional, aspects. The first set express difficult emotions evoked by the visit but qualify these with an equivalent clause relating to experiential or other kinds of value. Both aspects validate the visit and the visitor:

*Sad but worth a look at history; (5) very sad place but a must for everyone; (17) Sad but important to see; (33) Very sombre but glad I went; (41) a tough but worthwhile visit; (60) Hard to 'rate' but worth seeing; (62) An upsetting but not to be missed experience; (67) A Sad Place but a Must Visit; (75) sobering place but amazing; (77) Harrowing, but a very worthwhile experience; (79) A Harrowing Experience but we're glad we went; (160) Hard work, but worth it.*

In these extracts, expression of the distressing/harrowing/sombre experience is modified by the addition of a second, positive clause. This ensures that the receiver understands that the first clause is not a negative (critical) comment; it furthermore endows the reviewer with qualities of valour and endurance as well as empathy and emotion, and the visit takes on aspects of work/duty. Here, reviewers are repeating a key Museum message about the *harrowing, sobering, sombre* aspects of the site, reinforcing a perceived need for seriousness and respect. At the same time, the review reassures potential visitors that their expectations of a highly emotive experience will be met and that the experience will be a positive one. Indeed, all the examples in this set belong to *[excellent/good]* reviews, with the single exception of (160) – an *average* review. Furthermore, the 'must-see' uniqueness of the experience is emphasised so that Museum messaging around required behaviours and the iconic qualities of the site is transmitted. With this repetition of prescriptive phrasing, the reviewer demonstrates the transmission of Parent 'recordings', and in the reviewer-to-reader transaction thus inhabits the Parent ego state. Further evidence of the

Parent can be seen in the value judgments of 'worth', but also in the reassurance implicit in the second clauses that all will be well, characterising the nurturing Parent.

The second set of dual-clause headings are slightly different. They validate the site, but pair that validation with a qualifying, critical clause:

*(122) Chilling but not as suspected; (124) Harrowing place but disappointing tour; (143) Informative, emotional but something was missing; (92) Very good but very messy; (113) It's a must visit but the crowds and security spoil it; (134) An emotional experience ruined by the organised tours; (149) a Must See but an honest critique; (163) Must see but no emotion; (175) Worth visiting but I felt like something was missing; (211) A must see, but the support facilities need attention.*

Here, 'but' functions as a caveat of a different sort: here, the opening remark is punctuated by the disappointing element of the visit and so the messaging is, overall, negative (although the extracts cover all review ratings). Within these dual headings we can identify a recognition of multiplicity, as reviewers articulate a sense of 'good but bad'. There is also a distinction between the emotive and imperative (intangible) aspects of site visitation, and the logistical (physical) issues that are clearly directed toward staff and management. The critical Parent may be observable in these extracts, alongside the matter-of-factness of the Adult exemplified in (149). Yet, in the phrasing of (113), in which others 'spoil' that visit, the sulky Child may be inferred.

A final set of dual clauses is represented by the following headings:

(51) *Very moving – please show respect;* (181) *Horrific – but remember your manners.* Here, the reviewer expresses their emotional perception of the site, validating their own humanity and capacity for empathy before adding somewhat stiff instructions to fellow-visitors. These expressions represent a kind of mimicry of Museum messages; a stored Parent message, played out as an open stimulus to initiate a new (virtual) interaction with community members. Unfulfilled expectation is expressed more overtly, as disappointment, in the following headings:

(132) *Somewhat disappointing* (and see 165, 167, 195, 200, 209, 217, 228 – repetition of *disappoint*); (140) *Not what we were expecting*; (194) *Didn't get what I wanted from the experience;* (214) *not what I expected.*

These overt expressions of disappointment are frequently match with specific complaints about logistical issues. Within the dual headings and the caveats they contain, the division between the historic site and Museum functioning, and the tendency to direct criticism toward the latter – even when the sense of disappointment is not articulated and seems to refer to intangible as much as

tangible aspects – is notable. Where visitors juxtapose praise for the site with criticism of management/staff, they are revealing a perception of the historic site as distinct from its organisational flaws and a desire to emphasise that criticism is not intended as a comment on the physical site, its contents and the events it represents:

This division, and allocation of negative commentary to the present-day personnel, protocols and functions of the Museum, recurs throughout reviews and reflects a similar tendency in the ethnographic survey participants.

Staff and guides, as revealed within the research (exemplified by (185) *A lot depends on the guide*), are perceived as highly significant elements in the visitor experience: transactions with staff are potentially highly emotive and their roles and deployment indicators of the Museum's attitudes and conceptual ego state. Throughout the research material, these transactions are described within visitor narratives as discrete elements of the visit, distinguished from other aspects of the Museum. Furthermore, references to 'management' within narratives suggest that site interpretation, function and facilities are readily separated by the visitor from exhibition content. Within TripAdvisor review headings, reference to staff/management and related issues including crowd control or poor customer service are limited to *average, poor* and *terrible ratings:*

*(108) Too many people – the number ought to be limited*

*(115) shocking site, shockingly managed*

*(134) An emotional experience ruined by the tours*

*(155) Horrible lack of signage*

*(157) Average just for the organisation – the place and its museum are excellent*

*(169) Rushed… not given time to explore*

*(173) Figure out a way to avoid the crowds and the poor Operations!!!*

*(181) A lesson on humanity but avoid the guided tours*

*(183) Polish 'English speaking' tour guides need to improve their English and be more sensitive to their audiences*

*(196) Magnitude of the horror lost by the way the site is run*

*(233) A rather insensitive, poorly organized, hastened tour*

*(235) STAFF IS EXTREMELY RUDE AND UNHELPFUL*

*(237) Rude objectionable and obstructive staff spoiled our day*

*(239) Rushed, muddy, dated, confusing and just unorganised!*

It's clear from the language, punctuation and capitalisation of these extracts that strong feelings are at play, manifesting as disapproval and even anger. In their transactions with Museum staff and perceived management issues, these reviewers are *shocked, rushed,* and outraged by *horrible, insensitive, hastened, confusing, objectionable* interpretive systems. While it has been suggested that Museum-generated static stimuli (web and printed text, for example) embody a Parent ego state, transactions involving Museum personnel are more variable. Within the observation/familiarisation stages of the research I observed that the initial processing of visitors, including security checks, ticket allocation and luggage storage, was confusing and inconsistent, as was language facility. The absence of navigational or informative signage prevents visitors from undertaking threshold preparation or gaining an understanding of the stages and requirements of the entry process. Once pathfinding has been delegated to the guide, it is very difficult to understand location and the visitor is made vulnerable by an absence of contextual or navigational aids. During my time at the site, I encountered several tour guides: while content and tour 'stations' were relatively consistent, delivery was not. Depending on the number of tour groups on site, movement around Auschwitz I was potentially extremely uncomfortable and disorienting. Short pauses to view exhibits or photographs, or even to take comfort breaks or adjust (sometimes faulty) headsets, may result in separation from the tour group. In managing groups, and especially moving them forward as another group visibly and audibly approaches in order to avoid collision, gridlock and potential safety issues, I observed guides demonstrating brusque behaviour. It is also true that language facility varied across the guides, and that voice projection/variation may be regarded as detracting from the 'appropriate solemnity' of the site. Visitor behaviour modified rapidly in response to these challenges: questioning quickly diminished as it required close proximity to the guide – in larger groups this required the raised voices that are discouraged at the site. The tendency to pause, to exchange looks or conversation with companions, was reduced as keeping pace, and place, became the main

priority. Rapid movement from one zone to another, with little sense of how or where the tour was progressing, made some tour participants observably uncomfortable, and at times visibly irritated. These levels of emotion, especially rage and disappointment, are indicative of an angry Parent or petulant Child within the reviewer. It is likely that the dichotomous controlling/neglecting Parent perceived with Museum transactions has either invoked an Adapted Child response; or, that, in Adult or Parent state, the reviewer has abandoned the crossed transaction and initiated a new one. These irate/emotional, potentially controversial and certainly critical remarks provide stimuli for new online transactions and are likely to be transmitted from Parent or Adapted Child to Child.

It should be noted that, as many visitors arrive following a long coach journey, a rest break is often needed on arrival and I have observed visitors being rushed past facilities in order to achieve a timely tour start. Furthermore, and as several visitors audibly commented, the process was suggestive of a school excursion; or, more distressingly, the badged ranks of tourists hastening through the walkways resembled a grotesque echo of the processing of inmates of the historic camp. It is understandable that, as visit expectation of this iconic memorial site is met with a more disordered and less spiritual actuality, perceptions of the site protocols and subsequent experience as (222/232) *horrible and disrespectful,* (95) *Rugby scrum;* (220) *a let-down;* (208) *Piccadilly circus in Poland, not a fitting way to remember; (207) rushed and ripped off;* Where aspects of the visit are perceived as being somehow inappropriate or offensive, there is a tendency towards negative perceptions of oneself, one's fellow-visitors and the concept of visitation itself. The following headings reveal significant insights into visitor engagement with aesthetic and ethical dilemmas regarding mass visitation:

(84*) Conveyor-belt' tourism and 'assembly-line' processing of visitors;* (86) *A bit too Hollywood for me;* (137) *Sanitised;* (159) *Over commericalised;* (162) *spoiled by disrespectful Neanderthals*; (174) *Like Disneyland, far too busy to appreciate*; (202*) Commercialisation has resulted in the loss of atmosphere;* (204) *an overcommercialised conveyor belt around a sanitised memorial; (216) tacky and like a tourist trap; (219) Voyeurism at its worst!*

Notions of tourist shame, and the ambiguous morality of dark tourism, are clearly at play here as reviewers seek to detach themselves from what may be perceived as

crass or distasteful behaviours. There is notable irritation at being placed in a position of powerlessness, ignorance and ignominy and this is directed toward site management and to fellow tourists in expressions of the angry Parent and the injured and embarrassed Child. We see that crossed transactions involving tourist and site impeded Adult communication, resulting in a ripple of effect of outraged Parent stimuli in new transactions within the touristic community. Frequency analysis reveals reiteration of command language and, indeed, highly emotive vocabularies reflecting these emotions which are frequently absent in received motivational conceptual frameworks.

### 8.3 Exemplar: User-valued reviews and the ego states they express (See Appendix 4: User valued reviews – most 'thanks' votes)

As outlined above, reviews are subject to 'thanks' from readers in acknowledgment of useful or particularly engaging. Appendix 4 highlights reviews receiving the highest amount of thanks in the review rating category from which they are drawn and includes two additional reviews, which received the second and third greatest number of thanks across the whole set but share a review category with other *poor/terrible* reviews. (Thus, reviews with lowest ratings garnered the highest amount of 'thanks' from the community).

Within the *excellent/very good* rating category, no reviews received above average 'thanks'. The two featured in Appendix 4 represent the most 'thanks' received in their categories and comprise:

(53) a detailed and thoughtful reflection of an independent (non-guided) visit. The level tone, care and attention to syntax and narrative construction suggest the Adult ego state. The reviewer's positive attitude and personalised narrative style reflect a seemingly positive transaction. Indeed, it is possible that the independent nature of the visit allowed this visitor to avoid those aspects of the site that may be experienced as crossed transaction, as the Adult in question seeks out and locates Adult-appropriate resources to support a less disruptive transaction with the physical site and its interpretive materials.

(98) This reviewer offers practical advice in an Adult mode, and critical appraisal of the guided tour is measured yet direct. As with (53) there is far less emotive

language at play in this communication and both reviewers evidence a level of confidence in the visit scenario that may stabilise their hold upon the Adult ego state.

The most-thanked *average* review (188) relates little of the visitor experience, focusing on (clearly) strongly held perspectives upon the historic and political aspects of the site. A combative tone is suggestive of the Adapted Child, responding to Parent stimuli that seem rigid and unfair. Overt expression of subject knowledge, however, reveal the didactic Parent seeking to educate and chastise. This is a relatively niche review, and its significant thanks may reflect a shared political attitude within the community.

The *poor* review in this set (211) offers the familiar dual-clause heading to reiterate a Parent narrative of requirement and imperative, and simultaneously to berate the site management for poor performance and lack of attention to practical concerns. The final line of this review is entirely Parent*: It really is too important to let decay and disrespectful not to provide world class visitor facilities.* Thanks are likely to come from fellow-Parents.

In the three *terrible* reviews, (229) is a useful montage of Parent and Child ego states expressing familiar tropes within critical review content: outrage at disrespectful behaviour with particular reference to playful behaviours and younger visitors and repetition of notions of shame and desecration clearly identifying the Parent state. Yet, disappointment at unfulfilled expectation and an over-emotive narrative style are suggestive of the Adapted Child. This review lacks the considered tone, practical information and mindfulness of the Parent ego state, which has not been involved in this reviewer's transactions. The remarkable quantity of 'thanks' for this review (it receives 32) suggests readers responding to both outraged Parent and offended, excluded Child in a complementary fashion.

(236) is an anomalous review, with the low rating likely reflecting the emotional experience of the site (other reviewers articulate the quandary of 'rating' this site, and the behaviour is understandably somewhat awkward). This fascinating review is highly rhetorical, responding entirely to an imagined historical landscape and associated events. This popular review is perhaps the most difficult to identify in terms of the ego state, but the imaginative attitude, creative prose and slight naivety of the syntax suggest a Child state, mimicking an admired Adult or Parent.

The final review of this set (239) is an angry Child response to an encounter with the controlling Parent. Irritated by a lack of independence and access to facilities, annoyed by the presence of others and the imperfect customer service, this reviewer regards the Museum staff with extreme suspicion, and photography restrictions as a deliberate limitation on freedom and enjoyment. This reviewer is likely to be thanked by readers also in the Child State; however, there is coherent practical and factual information that is of use to fellow-visitors, and here the Adult may be mediating with the dominant Child.

**8.4 Summary**

In this chapter I have built upon the insights offered by ethnographic research to support my understanding of the online review material treated here. While analysis software has enabled swift recognition of the common vocabularies and narrative features in the reviews, narrative analysis has been a largely human process. Through repeated reading of the reviews a degree of familiarity and comfort with their content has allowed for a respectful but intimate analysis of text that deploys varying styles, linguistic tics and unique vocabularies to describe transactions and encounters of similar diversity. Across these reviews I identify common factors, shared with the on-site visitors involved in the ethnographic phase, relating to a desire for greater independence in the visit experience and a recognition of the positive drives which largely bring visitors to the case study site: indeed, a mutual respect. Desire for a spiritual and/or emotional experience and for enhanced understanding is expressed most strongly when it has been frustrated through a series of crossed transactions. As we have seen, the Museum presents its stimuli in a Parent ego state and this is inappropriate for many contemporary visitors. Nuanced perceptions of the site not only evoke but arguably require the fluidity and plurality represented by the three ego states, their particular capacities and attributes. Yet in the majority of transactions the potential range of visitor ego states, and the ways in which they might be acknowledged or evoked, is not utilised as a positive attribute of the huge diversity of humanity that form the visitor body at the Museum. Yet, visitors display a greater intuition regarding plurality and mobility, adapting their ego state to engage in a variety of transactions and recognising and articulating the dichotomous identity of the Museum. Utilising complex narrative

devices and expressing shifting ego states across single narratives, these reviewers enable a greater variety of effective transactions within the online community than might be anticipated. Within the unique context of TripAdvisor, moreover, visitors may receive interest in and thanks for their perspectives, shoring up a sense of identity and belonging within a diverse community that nonetheless share complex attitudes to and interest in the Museum. The robust, descriptive, emotive and emotional, even dramatic discourse within this environment are utter contrast to the imposed silences and physical confines of the Museum; which, in fact, appear to impede mindfulness, communitas and the sharing of core human values whilst insisting on their value within formal messaging. Thus, TripAdvisor offers a reflective, discursive and social space that the Museum evidently fails to provide.

As a result, reviews reveal a persistent repetition of Parent messages that, on close inspection, lack meaning or depth. It is in the challenges to the controlling Parent in the Museum that the tourist's thoughtful Adult, lively Child and outraged Parent that processes of debate and expressions of emotion, humility and human confusion arise.

# CHAPTER NINE Summary and Conclusions

## 9.0 Introduction

In conclusion, this chapter will review the thesis content, appraising its findings and outcomes especially in regard to the research aims and objectives, in contexts of its contribution to and interpretations of the dark tourism debate.

Following an introduction to its research contexts and intentions (Chapter 1), this thesis presented a wide-ranging transdisciplinary literature review (Chapters 2 – 5), from which complementary themes and conceptualisations were drawn to support the overarching philosophy of the research project and underpin the methodologies and approaches of the empirical study. These chapters addressed the thesis' research objective (1) *to critically review dark tourism conceptualisations in synthesis with cross-disciplinary theoretical, and sociocultural, concerns, in contexts of contemporary heritage and tourism.*

Subsequently, the thesis presented specific research activity (Chapters 6 – 8) that explored visitation to a primary site of dark tourism (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and Memorial) through its touristic expression in physical and online environments. Chapter 6 set out a research rationale and associated ethnographic/netnographic approaches, appraising these with regard to their relevance and relationship to the objectives, and overarching holistic approach, of the thesis and addressing this study's objective (2) *to evaluate online and social media contexts as a facility for expressive, reflective and constructive touristic modes* (this objective was further approached in Chapter 8). Later chapters (Chapters 7 and 8) described and discussed 'frontline' research activity around the thesis' empirical single case study of Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum, comprising on-site ethnological research and online visitor reviews. These chapters included the representation, and qualitative and quantitative analysis, of visitor attitudes and experience and applied precepts of TA in the interpretation of the research material.

In this concluding chapter, a review of the thesis' processes, progression and findings relates the thesis' outcomes to its research question, aim and objectives. Firstly, (9.1) the chapter summarises key themes of the literature review and related conceptualisations, reiterating the thesis' original approaches to these transdisciplinary themes and theorisations and suggesting research directions indicated within each section (9.1.1. – 9.1.5). Outlining the convergences of key themes with the research matter and methodology, the chapter explores those aspects of the thesis that represent particular originality in terms of its treatment of existing conceptualisation, suggestion of new interpretations and interrogation of dark tourism's theoretical touchstones. Furthermore, the chapter highlights the validity and originality of the application of Transactional Analysis concepts and techniques in framing and analysing research activity (9.2), and the study's ethnographic/netnographic exploration of an online forum (9.3) as a research source and forum

In its summary of research findings (9.4), the chapter offers a narrative précis in order to address its research aim *to critically appraise interactions at, and relational representations of, a dark tourism site within the context of Transactional Analysis (TA) and ego states.* Subsequently, (9.4.3) this chapter sets out some implications for site management and future research, arising from the research findings. These implications, specific to the case study site, may have relevant application to broader contexts of dark tourism praxis and the academic and media discourse surrounding it. It should be noted that chapter has presented identified limitations, and paid attention to particular research directions, balance and/or lacunae, concurrently as they have arisen in each section.

Finally, (9.5) the chapter summarise the progress and achievements of this thesis in the context of dark tourism debated.

## 9.1 Summary of the Literature Review

Within Chapters 2 – 5, this thesis discussed a range of conceptual frameworks drawn from the academic discourses of death and mortality, tourism, heritage and memory, human geography and psychology in juxtaposition with specific tropes and concerns of dark tourism debate, in order to address a key objective: *to critically review dark tourism conceptualisations in synthesis with cross-disciplinary*

*theoretical, and sociocultural, concerns, in contexts of contemporary heritage and tourism.*

### 9.1.1 Chapter 2 and dark heritage

In Chapter 2, dark tourism was examined in contexts of death and heritage as a means of social rendition and/or representation not only of death, but processes of death, decay and destruction in human contexts. Such social treatment of mortality, manifested in a range of sociocultural devices including funerary and memorial practices, is seen – within the literature of death studies, psychoanalysis and a range of social sciences - to involve and to manage emotional response through complex systems of categorisation and evaluation of death and dying. These systems involve and transform archetypal fears and fascinations around death and related symbolism: dichotomous attraction/compulsion drives are encoded in ritual behaviours and formulaic language and (re)located within defined yet metamorphic space. Thus, one way in which dark tourism may be understood is as a social behaviour dealing with death and mortality, comprising psychological, not necessarily linear or logical, processes set within variable sociocultural and spatial contexts. Such an understanding emphasises the collective meanings that attach to dark tourism's undertakings, environments and focal points and sets dark tourism itself alongside sociocultural mediating devices, including myth, media, faith, philosophy, ritual and memorial systems, that curate, represent and enact archetypal material in order to achieve a collective imagining and articulation of 'life-in-death' and 'death-in-life' conceptualisations. In these ways, this thesis noted, humankind constructs performative and philosophical frameworks to manage its mortality. These frameworks serve to articulate attitudes towards death, and academic analysis of these frameworks reveals attitudinal evolution and its sociocultural contexts and influences.

In Chapter 2, the place and presence of death in society – that is, its visibility, accessibility and presentation – is identified as a fundamental factor in social attitudes to death, and in understanding their representation. The death-denial hypothesis, and the dichotomy of publicly absent/privately present death, particularly in twentieth-century society (as discussed by, for example, Giddens 1991; Mellor 1993; Mellor and Shilling 1993 and specifically in terms of

visibility/sequestration by Aiken, 2000; Seale, 1998; Zimmerman, 2007) is problematised by notable increases in public (re)presentations of death within societal domains as that century ends (see Kellehear, 2010; Howarth, 2007). Seismic shifts in visual and media cultures, perhaps most significantly in the previously unimaginable reach and accessibility of online environments, capture, host and deliver the imagery of death, conflict and destruction on an unprecedented scale. The worldwide reach of mass and online media aligns with an expansion of social mobility and range that extends human interest from the local to the global and expands human relationship frames from close/familial/domestic kinship to remote/irrelative association (that is, a perceived familiarity with virtual, avatar and/or 'celebrity' personalities and worlds). Thus, increased representation of death is matched by increased access to, interest in and implication within that representation. Dark tourism's inherent acknowledgement of public and visible death represents a fundamental challenge to the concept of sequestration and is reflected in new models of present/absent death within the literature (see, for example, Stone and Sharpley, 2008) that describe a juxtaposition of death's occlusion and revelation across private and public contexts.

The thesis notes this shift from hypothetical death sequestration to partial revelation, marked by such contemporary phenomena as 'roadside' and virtual/online memorialisation and 'internet grief': related studies (Mitchell et al, 2012; Walter et al, 2012) offer useful directions for enquiry into death's social presence in 21st century cultural contexts. However, complementary, holistic research seeking to describe and delineate the (shifting) borders of personal and social attitudes to death, both correlating and differentiating private grief and public mourning, is presently underrepresented. Where precise analysis of private/public memorialisation is undertaken, it offers rich material and suggests relevant lines of enquiry to dark tourism research: Damousi's (1999) specific, exemplary study of maternal bereavement and its alignment with war memorial projects ably analyses juxtapositions of private and public mourning; Hockey et al's (2010) portfolio of research into materiality and death, and recent studies of grief in contexts of virtual technologies (see Gibson, 2007; Botella et al, 2008) further develop and define conceptualisations of death's absence and/or presence in contemporary contexts. It is imperative that dark tourism research engages with such transdisciplinary

discourse in order to effectively scrutinise dark tourism praxis as a means by which social relationships with death are mediated.

Human relationships with mortality, and the collective (compulsive) behaviours and metanarratives by which they are brokered, involve complex expressions and impressions of human significance and of time (especially past and finite time). Through the literature review, concepts of memory and identity are revealed as fundamentally connected to, and by, those expressions and impressions. Yet the shared overarching human fear of, and fascination with, death is juxtaposed with experiential and cultural variety. Such variety may arise from fundamental cultural difference, and its equitable representation is the crux of disputation of certain late-twentieth century death-hypotheses (Chamez et al, 1997 in a critique of Aries, 1981; Kellehear, 2015 and Corr, 2014 in response to Kastenbaum, 1979). There is no question that further and comparative enquiry into the broadest range of human cultural traditions and attitudes around death are required to support fuller understanding of human philosophies of mortality, and that such enquiry is intrinsic to associated conceptualisations of dark tourism. Equally, aspects of dark tourism, especially its (historic and contemporary) public expression may significantly inform conceptualisations of social attitudes to death: thanatoptic/dark touristic journeys, their nature, prevalence and communication represent and contextualise death encounters in social contexts. Thus, as developments in travel and transport expand and enrich the project of tourism, new and social media systems further democratise that project through the potential production of social narratives: such narratives may radicalise, even revolutionise, existing frames of cultural reference around death and mortality. Chapter 2 offered specific examples in which the concerns and concepts of both death studies and dark tourism research converge: faith pilgrimages (whether to Mecca, Lourdes, or Jerusalem); the social functions and characteristics of Commonwealth War Graves and battlefield sites, and their expression of various cultural attitudes to death and memory in Belgian, Indian, Australian and other locations, by local, national and international visitors. Documentation and representation of these journeys and the people who undertake them is prolific, especially in online environments, and represents an untapped resource for fuller understanding of diverse, global attitudes toward death.

However, perspectival difference where death and its representation and remembrance are in question are not necessarily or always related to cultural

difference in attitudes to death. European and African expression and remembrance of, for example, eighteenth and nineteenth century slavery differs in reflection of and proportion to experiential and political, and not traditional/philosophical factors. Furthermore, common ethnicity or cultural tradition does not preclude difference in the memorial attitude. The emotional and experiential enormity of, for example, global warfare is a shared human concern: ongoing finessing of its remembering (re-remembering) reflects that collective concern and a drive to resolve, repent or reclaim historic death. Yet, European memorialisation of World Wars is subject to variation depending on the role of a given nation state in that conflict. Representation and remembering of death in contexts of socio-political violence and conflict are contingent upon perceived identities of perpetrator/victim/bystander and lead in turn to notions of innocence/guilt and the deserving or undeserving dead. The qualification of death, in human memory, involves such identity markers and supports a tendency for collective human attention to cluster about 'certain kinds and incidences of death' (Stone, 2009a).

The notion of 'certain kinds' of death, discussed at length in Chapter 2, with its subjective qualitative connotation, gives rise to the disturbing but equivalent notion of 'certain kinds' of *life*, and the variable values attached to 'other' lives. In a thesis dealing with issues of the Second World War Nazi Holocaust, this is a germane and difficult line of enquiry, and one to which dark tourism research may make significant contribution. 'Certain kinds' of life and death, that is, the categorisation human experience by means of specific socioculturally-oriented scrutiny and evaluation (and thus subject to shifting social and political mores and values), might reasonably be regarded as 'uncertain'. It is likely that further and specialised research into the sociocultural qualification of death will shed light not only on social attitudes to death (and, thus, aspects of dark touristic interest, anticipation and identity) but on prevailing, yet ever-shifting, social attitudes to life and lifestyle. Specific research might find valid focus where fatal causality is significantly contested, ambiguous, accidental or suicidal and notions of innocence/guilt consequently rendered ambiguous; or, where particular communities (of ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age or other identifiable sociocultural group) pay marked attention to death, and how they do so. Such approaches would deconstruct notions of universality in the subject, modes and methodologies of public memorialisation and dark tourism.

It is, however, reasonable to state that iconic dark tourism sites are fundamentally and inevitably associated with socially significant events of remarkable scale, the remembrance of which summons shared (yet potentially dissonant) emotions of anxiety, grief, regret and rage. Where their management is formalised, in public contexts, such sites are fundamentally challenged by their capacity to simultaneously contain, express and resolve these emotional responses. Chapter 2 emphasises that remembering processes are shaped not only by subconscious instincts to revisit (re-enactment) and repair (repentance or reparation). Contemporary heritage praxis, including (dark) heritage tourism, works with a strategic socio-historic awareness to interpret and curate memory. Where the agenda is shaped by ongoing cultural conflict, a desire to conceal or reveal challenging aspects of history may result in partial and propagandist interpretation. Such agendas, it should be said, do not necessarily arise from a desire to perpetuate conflict or mitigate responsibility: concerns about inclusion, sensitivity and reparation may equally influence the focus and balance of heritage representation. The 'knowingness' – and power - of contemporary heritage praxis, particularly in contexts of human disaster and conflict, speaks to certain perceived responsibilities to engage with social/moral concerns and efforts to address or mitigate them: conflict resolution processes, pedagogic and interpretation activity and ethical economic redevelopment are key features of the contemporary heritage industry agenda. These activities are formalised, strategized and ratified by globalised institutions (such as UNESCO) and underpinned by regulatory and funding bodies. In turn, they inform public perceptions of tourist sites and their management and, indeed, self-perception in terms of touristic identity and self-actualisation.

Chapter 2 evaluated the many and varied means by which dark heritage/tourism sites and their visitors represent and interpret social attitudes to death and the roles, narratives and transactions involved in these complex processes. Furthermore, the chapter located the convergent material of death studies and dark tourism in psychoanalytical contexts. Responses to and representations of death express archetypal and seemingly oppositional attributes: consciousness and subconsciousness, fear and fascination, repulsion and compulsion, remembering and forgetting, public and private, physical and metaphysical. Yet on further analysis, this study finds these qualitative sets comprise ambiguous and fluid, rather than discrete and dual, attributes. They form a continuum by which social attitudes

toward death are made mutable: thus, they may respond to shifts in social, cultural and environmental circumstance, allow for a range of emotional experiences and acknowledge varied aspects of social identity.

### 9.1.2 Chapter 3 and tourism theory

Chapter 3 comprised an overview of tourism studies, further addressing the thesis' objective *to critically review dark tourism conceptualisations in synthesis with cross-disciplinary theoretical, and sociocultural, concerns, in contexts of contemporary heritage and tourism.* The chapter parallels Chapter 2's attention to psychoanalytical matter, representing dark tourism phenomena as symbolic or ritual behaviours by which archetypal narratives (mythologies) of migration and mortality are enmeshed, expressed and enacted in postmodern settings of mobility, cultural diversity and ceaseless change. Thus, contemporary dark tourism continues a tradition in which tourism, as a flexible and evolving mode, supports societal transformation of death.

In its overview of tourism studies, Chapter 3 juxtaposed the intrinsic fluidity and plurality of dark tourism, as both a behavioural phenomenon and as research realm, with some of the rigidities of tourism studies theory. The discipline of tourism studies, fundamentally problematised by the 'indiscipline of tourism' (Tribe 1997), comprises the dissonant discourses of business management and social science realms. Its schismatic tendency is reflected within and reiterated by teaching and research practises that preclude easy movement across its disciplinary poles and their associated research materials. Thus, tourism studies presents as a discipline in two parts, with the whole not necessarily greater than the sum of its parts, in which significant research energy is expended in speculation as to its core identity and function. This chapter described the unrealised potential benefits of greater fluidity both within the disciple (that is, across its divided landscape of business and social science approaches) and without, in terms of transdisciplinary relationships and influences.

The literature of dark tourism, too, expresses existential anxieties, arguably inherited from its 'parent' discipline and exacerbated by the incompatibility of its unique and challenging attributes – especially the negative connotations of its subject matter – and significant theorisation deriving from, sociological approaches

to tourism studies. Notions of authenticity and motivation are particularly problematised by certain, arguably aesthetic or intuitive, aspects of dark tourism with which there is a poor conceptual 'fit'. In Chapter 3, conceptual paradigms of motivational theory in tourism studies were evaluated with regard to their usefulness in underpinning a lucid conceptual framework of dark tourism and describing its diversity and ambiguity. This analysis found that notions of a binary supply/demand model of tourism failed to support a comprehensive conceptual scaffold for dark tourism's social function and development. Furthermore, entrenched notions of hedonic tourism and the passive tourist are shaken, and theorisation of dedifferentiation evidenced, by the actuality of dark tourism and other contemporary tourism motifs whereby tourism is no longer as simple as a holiday – and a holiday is not simple at all.

Yet, important and meaningful questions about the quintessence of dark tourism derive from these theoretical disjunctures. Acknowledgement and constructive examination of the non-synchronicity between entrenched tourism tropes of authenticity and motivation and the substance and specialism of dark tourism behaviours redirects research attention toward non-static conceptualisations and evolving theorisations with which dark tourism expresses affinity. Such conceptualisations, linked to broader paradigmatic shifts, emphasise qualities of mediatisation, migration, mobility and mutability in cultures and their key social behaviours. In a mobilities paradigm, tourism is recontextualised and represented as involving and being involved within fluid, overlapping mobile behaviours, that allow for the expression, enactment and development of multiple and/or simultaneous roles, relationships and influences. From this perspective, dark tourism research is enabled to challenge static conceptualisations of passive tourism and make fuller examination of the various and varying tourist roles, responsibilities and attitudes posited within existing discourse and, crucially, reflected in primary expression of visitor experience.

The chapter, then, posited positive outcomes obtaining from a theoretical dissonance that potentially enriches and enlivens the discourse of tourism studies on macro and micro levels. Furthermore, they revealed a potential affinity and alignment between dark tourism behaviours and research attitudes and approaches to it. Qualities of non-universality in terms of research metaphor (Dann, 2002) and interpretation – that is, non-paradigmatic approaches - speak to and validate the

‘camps and coalitions’ of tourism research (Tribe, 2007), and suggest the co-existence of complementary ‘traditions’ (MacIntyre, 1985) and related protocols offers the most intuitive and constructive framework within which to construct conceptual hypotheses.

### 9.1.3 Chapter 4, dark sites and their visitors

In its discussion of dark tourism locations and their visitors, Chapter 4 further challenged binary modes of expressing dark tourism in its representation of the component parts of dark tourism experience as multiple, overlapping and mutually contingent upon diverse influencing and qualifying factors. The initial contradiction of this chapter’s handling discussions about site and visitor in separate sections is refuted, by the convergence of these two factors in a conceptualisation of dark tourism as interplay between and about the tourist, their destination and the range of characteristics and potential identities they comprise and create. This interplay, involving multiple transactional encounters, is influenced by and influences internal and external meanings systems including cultural representations, introduced within preceding chapters, of death and dying, heritage and tourism.

Chapter 4 deconstructs the collaborative project of tourism in order to appraise the ways by which public perception of, and presence within, certain kinds of space construct place identity, and to scrutinise relevant theorisations arising from studies of both place identity and tourist experience in terms of their relationship with philosophical directions indicated thus far in the thesis. Preeminent conceptualisations of heterotopic, Thirdspace, and other triadic representations of space, were therefore discussed in terms of their convergence with conceptual keynotes (discussed in earlier chapters) of mobility, hybridity and the juxtaposition of apparent binaries with 'other' aspects or entities. Those conceptualisations support the representation of dark tourism as expressing symbiotic transactions between sites, seers and interpretive agents. ‘Dark’ sites acquire further dimensions when discussed in terms of their alchemic interaction with visitors by which cognitive, emotional and potentially transformative processes and experience (Bitner, 1992; Magee & Gilmore, 2015) are invoked. Such transformation may work upon any and all of the interacting constituents, that is, the visitor, the site, and/or the symbolic/narrative attributes and materials attaching to either/both,

supporting dark tourism's representation as a mediating sociocultural institution that encompasses, and yet transcends, all of its constituent elements. Challenging dark tourism supply/demand models of motivation and experience and their reductive appropriation of dark/light continuums, expressed by either/or vernacular of sacred/secular and devotion/deviance, Chapter 4 discussed the models of plural possibility, in which interpretation is not necessarily exclusive, offered by cross-disciplinary contemporary conceptualisations. Indeed, dark tourism is expressed, in this chapter and as a reiteration of its containment and transcendence of multiple and possible experiences, as a potential 'thirdspace'; arguably, this potential may be expressed not only as a socio-behavioural realm, but within a fluid, transdisciplinary yet specialised academic zone.

Thus, the chapter discussed (dark) touristic experience and agency in terms of meaning-making and identity construction in personal, social and spatial contexts. Dark tourism's anticipated and performative engagements may incur sought benefits of cognition, emotion and identity across stakeholders; their ascribed motivations may be re-evaluated as anticipated outcomes whose commonality may represent parsing, contention, construction, deconstruction and associated enactment/s of social (agreed) narratives. Here, touristic experience is framed as an organic, metamorphic entity and undertaking, and the tourist as an essential agent in its actualisation.

Therefore, this thesis calls for far greater inclusion of the visitor experience, and the tourist's own reflections, interpretations and philosophies relating to it, within future research.

Finally, Chapter 4 emphasises the significance of social space and how we may understand such space in contemporary contexts as, for example, gateways and landmarks of social institutions, movements and behaviours. Conceptualisations of space as socialised and/or psychologised herald further discussion relating to these processes in subsequent chapters. Furthermore, and significantly, this chapter discusses online place and presence – that is, virtual environments and their communities – as, not only an adjunct to discussion of tourism's modes (touched upon in Chapter 3), but as a significant, developing experiential and influential social realm. The location of virtual zones and identities, in this chapter, within significant theoretical treatment of people and place reflects their importance as a

research subject, mode and environment and as such a vital direction for developing understanding of dark tourism as a contemporary and evolving sociological phenomenon.

### 9.1.4 Chapter 5, social institutions and psychoanalytical approaches.

Within this thesis dark tourism is represented as an essentially social phenomenon, in which individual experience is located within and contributes to collective behaviours and narratives.

Chapter 5 reiterated these social qualities and contexts to posit a social institution of dark tourism, following Sharpley and Stone's (2009) theorisation and aligning relevant commentary from transdisciplinary and dark tourism discourse (Poon, 1993; Rojek and Urry, 1997; Craik, 1997) with preeminent commentary upon social institutions (Turner, 1997; Giddens, 1984; Handa, 1986; above all, Searle, 1995 and 2012) to support it. This correlation of principal tropes and themes arising from the literary review with the essential attributes of social institutions, as set out within the relevant referenced literature, supports the representation of dark tourism as a social institution. In this chapter, I developed upon this line of reasoning to represent the case study site and its tourist body as a social institution, by which a concomitant, complex community undertake (social) narrative and cultural functions. Such functions are underpinned by substantial symbolic material which, as previously discussed (in Chapters 2 and 3) with regard to dark tourism's particular location as a juncture of death, heritage and tourism, and to conceptualisation of drive rather than motivation (Chapter 4), indicates the value of psychoanalytical approaches in appraising dark tourism experience

In Chapter 5, I appraised relevant research relating to the 'psychoanalytical turn' within the discourse of social science (Callard, 2003; Kingsbury and Brunn, 2003) and cited specific exemplar of psychoanalytically informed approaches to tourism studies theorisation. While the vocabulary and theory of psychoanalysis is reasonably well-represented within the latter (see Pizam and Chandraseker's (1979) catalogue, and Chapter 5's referenced works), fully-developed psychoanalytical treatments of tourism are less so. This chapter's review of relevant psychoanalytical approaches to dark tourism within the extant, specific discourse identified profound and highly relevant insights and conceptual developments and auspicious research

directions within this (limited) research sphere. The validity of this thesis' research approach is supported by these (referenced) works and by Chapter 5's review of key themes within dark tourism as they resonate with psychoanalytical readings, while its contribution to dark tourism debate includes its attention to and development of an underused set of conceptualisations, touched upon throughout the literature but unapproached as a potential analytical and conceptual framework.

In qualifying this thesis' research approach, I maintained that structured, specific selection of psychoanalytical concepts, informed by active engagement with transdisciplinary theorisation yet explicitly relevant to the research focus, is essential to the underpinning of a 'custom-built' conceptual scaffold for salient, quantifiable research activity within the current, and future, projects. The systems and models of Transactional Analysis (TA) were outlined in this chapter as developing upon the literary review's recurrent social, psychoanalytical and narrative concerns. Furthermore, TA's triadic structures and techniques deliberately and demonstrably deal with observable phenomenon in distinct but relatively simple vocabularies, representing a practical, accessible and transferrable research model for the interpretation of the transactions that comprise dark tourism behaviours.

### 9.1.5 Research indications and summary

As a performative, mediative and expressive means by which attitudes toward death are negotiated, and especially as a mass (collective) social mode encompassing and encountering multiple other (communicative, media and mobile) modes, dark tourism offers significant insights into conceptualisation, perception and treatment of death across different time periods and within different (generational and cultural) social contexts. The phenomenon relates to comparable, historic precedents in social activity and narrative, yet has clear resonance with contemporary media, communications and cultural behaviours and the emergent conceptualisations that frame them. Moreover, dark tourism's concerns are referenced within transdisciplinary attention to space, technology, social institutions and related, dynamic sociological paradigms. Across its multiple frames of reference, dark tourism makes further and fundamental connections with psychoanalytical theorisation and associated archetypal material. Furthermore, dark

tourism is inarguably a visible, visual and documenting mode, expressed via a range of communicative and communal contexts. The historic, current and developing climates and concerns of dark tourism, and their expression of social attitudes and activities, are richly evidenced within journals and journalism, literature, photography, mass media and marketing and, relevantly and increasingly, social media. As such, the literary review found dark tourism's conceptual foundations to be sophisticated and complex, with mixed and multiple potential evidence sources on which to base future research. However, underrepresentation of the visitor experience in research objectives and methodologies is indicated throughout the review and should inform and underpin future research directions.

Certain areas of particular ambiguity, shortfall, underrepresentation or underdevelopment arising from the review represent significant opportunities to develop the dark tourism debate. These opportunities, set out below, are clearly interrelated: specific, agile research in the areas identified should highlight useful, transferrable methodologies and environments and offer mutually advantageous outcomes. In addition to greater engagement with transdisciplinary debate, there is an urgent need for greater coordination and communication of activity, to ensure optimum reach, balance and transmission, across dark tourism's research realms. It is likely that an online hub and/or related journal/s specific to designated dark tourism literature, guided by a judicious and informed rationale, would support more strategic activity for researchers, practitioners and students. Possibly, the recent publication of the Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies (Stone et al, 2018) will support the realignment and rationalisation of the debate.

Firstly, dark tourism's conceptual frameworks may be finessed and enriched by highly-focussed comparative studies to define the parameters of personal and public grief. Such research, by identifying and describing the attributes, indications affinities and potential conflicts of private and communal mourning, would serve to clarify the nature of dark tourism's drives and fulfilments.

Secondly, and a necessary context to all indicated research directions, the robust and informed representation of diverse and different cultural groups and associated traditions, including historical contextualisation, is essential in ensuring relevant and comprehensive underpinnings for future dark tourism conceptualisation. In

contexts of globalisation, mobilities paradigms and mediatisation, such research is both imperative and eminently feasible.

Thirdly, notions of the *quality* of (*'certain kinds of'*) death, relating to iconisation, the attraction of collective attention and, thus, of dark touristic focus requires further scrutiny and explication. The potential investigative scope indicated here, involving diverse social concerns including moral value, collective guilt, political agendas, media and celebrity, is significant: robust reviews of extant, transdisciplinary material might usefully inform and prioritise this area of research (and, indeed, others).

Fourthly, the digital dimensions of dark tourism represent an untapped resource and unacknowledged experiential and reflective realm in which the subjects of future research are already located. Online travel fora and blogs, online review sites and mechanisms and social media constitute a rich seam of data, demographics and primary source material relating to diverse communities and social systems. Furthermore, emergent and future dark tourism experiences are located within virtual worlds, whose environments and communities are contextualised and conceptualised in cross-disciplinary research domains.

Finally, psychoanalytical approaches to dark tourism behaviours are notably underrepresented in the literature, despite repeated calls for their application within a discourse, and to a subject matter, in which themes of death, deviance, disaster, taboo and identity, and a seemingly inexplicable social attraction to them, are of primary concern. Moreover, there is significant opportunity for cross-disciplinary working to investigate this constantly developing and diverse phenomenon. This thesis responded to an identified shortfall in studies that employ the rubrics of psychoanalytical systems and sought to suggest practical models to address that lack, utilising the models of Transactional Analysis.

## 9.2 Transactional Analysis (TA)

This thesis followed the social and psychoanalytical threads that constitute the warp of dark tourism, across the weft of its modes and media, throughout its literary view. These threads are entwined in the essential characteristics of Transactional Analysis, introduced in Chapter 5 and referenced throughout the research stages of

this thesis. TA concepts resonate with the plural, coexistent roles and functions enabled through dark tourism site encounters, which readily translate to TA ego states (Parent/Adult/Child) and their associated motivational, transactional relationships and ambiguities. TA deals with psychologised social behaviours, acknowledging dark tourism site's archetypal materials and investigating them through observable behaviours, language and attitudes. TA's user-friendly, equable and equitable vocabulary supports effective engagement with research respondents and provides a coherent language by which to frame, interpret and represent research approaches and activity.

This thesis illustrated notional transactions with basic PAC models, describing and elucidating the three ego states, their qualities and attributes. By introducing the concepts of different ego states engaging in complementary and crossed transactions that parallel fulfilling and unfulfilling social stimuli and response, this study sought to demonstrate a means of modelling and evaluating the encounters, experiences and communication involved in dark tourism activity. The analysis of this study's research material involved the selection of given transactional sets, that is, a transactional stimulus and related response (or, indeed, its lack). The ego states involved in particular transactions were identified through verbal and attitudinal 'symptoms' that, this study suggests, might inform a checklist by which to identify ego states through the language and syntax of verbal and textual response.

The TA conceptual framework offers a unique and apposite means by which to analyse touristic encounters, as its techniques are transferrable across physical and textual environments. Furthermore, pre-visit, scoping processes and post-visit, reflective stages may be treated as interrupted or delayed responses within an identifiable transactional set. Through TA interpretation, touristic transactions are appraised as complementary or crossed, and thereby assessed with regard to the level of expectation fulfilment attained. Further consequences with regard to the satisfaction or frustration of the various ego states are also made measurable by analysis of complementary or crossed transactions. Finally, the holistic capacity of touristic encounters may be appraised through the observed participation, and thus proportional representation, of each of the ego states across the transaction. Indeed, a diagrammatic representation of touristic experience within the case study site at a given point in time can be obtained from a PAC model in which the ego state in the majority of transactional stimuli, facing the majority ego state of transactional

response, form a composite representation of the dominant ego state/s and the quality of the holistic transaction. Such a model is reproduced in the Research Findings.

Certain limitations in the scope of the current thesis may offer useful guidelines for future research utilising TA models and techniques. Engagement with potential visitors, in advance of the visit, would elucidate anticipatory stages and any transactional sets involved in those stages. In this thesis, those stages are represented retrospectively and in the recollection of those processes the transaction is disconnected. Yet, the different recollections obtained in this study share significant features of vocabulary and attitude, arguably revealing the presence and communication of parent recordings garnered from a broad range of socio-cultural transactions, including those of the case study site. Future study focusing on unpicking Parent recordings from unrehearsed responses, possibly through a deliberate evocation of the Child ego state, would reflect an interesting application of TA concepts and practice. Indeed, research mechanisms involving a researcher-led stimulus to or evocation of different ego states in the respondent might reveal interesting aspects to a (deconstructed) visitor perspective. In order to support greater participant agency and, thus, a democratic ethnographic approach, and to develop upon additional TA techniques, future studies might be enriched by workshop elements that enabled participants to identify their own and others' touristic transactions and ego states within them. Such an approach would serve to reduce researcher direction and reinforce the collective expression of visitor experience, and visitor agency/direction in the research processes. Conversely, the representative (im)balance of transactional components in this study is inarguable: while this study sought to privilege the visitor experience, the participation of Museum personnel, including management and front-of-house staff, would offer a fuller understanding of the transactions obtaining during visits and, potentially, reveal subtler iterations of its apparent ego states.

### 9.3 Research approaches and online environments

In Chapter 6, I outlined the research activity and set out its connectedness with the conceptual background obtaining from the literary review. This study's mixed methodologies and blended ethnographic/netnographic approaches sought to

support participant agency and engage with 'third-way' conceptualisations, thus modelling the research philosophy. Chapter 6 clarified the particular kinds of ethnography and netnography employed in the thesis, informed by the literature review and its indications regarding rigidity and objectivity in research attitudes; respective research environments and functions were subsequently reiterated in Chapters 7 and 8, which dealt with physical and online research activity, analysis and interpretation of empirical findings. In addition, Chapter 6 specified the incidences, protocols, exclusions and other detail of the frontline research phase.

### 9.3.1 Summary: ethnographic and netnographic approaches to tourism experience

In particular, Chapter 6 set out the ethnographic attributes of the research, addressing their nonconformity with certain, rigid definitions of traditional ethnography. This thesis argued that, within a mobilities paradigm and in expression of the plurality and overlap of touristic roles and identities, this researcher's broader life experience and identity included and comprised an ongoing, peripatetic membership of the touristic and online communities forming the research subject. In acknowledging the plural identity and role of the researcher, this thesis maintains that an ethnographic attitude is implicit and performative on their part.

The chapter offered a brief literary review of pertinent material relating to online communities and review mechanisms, in part as a contextual preface to Chapter 8 and in acknowledgment of the relative underrepresentation of netnographic approaches (and particularly online review sites) in dark tourism research. This review iterates aspects of the thesis' originality and objective (2) *to evaluate online and social media contexts as a facility for expressive, reflective and constructive touristic modes*, and dealt with specific potential concerns about this study's research validity and ethical credentials, including issues of anonymity and participant awareness of the research context. Furthermore, this section of the chapter emphasised the rich research environment offered by online reflection and communication of the visitor experience (a theme revisited with regard to specific research activity in Chapter 8), describing travel review websites, blogs and fora as significant contemporary avenues for qualitative research in mass contexts.

Utilisation of the significant body of demographic material readily available in these open-source areas, representing complex and immersive social environments in which the researcher may take on plural roles as observer and participant, reduces resource requirements while privileging autonomous, rather than directed, reflection.

Deeper, developed engagement with reviewers was attempted via TripAdvisor messaging mechanisms, by which reviewers were invited to elaborate upon or discuss their transactions, and thus initiate new transactional sets. No timely responses were received (two responses were obtained at a late stage in the project, and this low number, in consideration of research schedule milestones precluded their inclusion or follow-up): however, this opportunity for communication with reviewers, and the potential for further and developed research participation, would be effectively enabled across multiple sites and could form a key element of future focussed research.

### 9.4 Summary of the research findings

The research findings were expressed across Chapters 7 and 8, with Chapter 7 undertaking to contextualise, describe and summarise research activity at the case study's physical site, and Chapter 8 setting out the second phase of research activity relating to TripAdvisor reviews of that site. In this way, the research deals with physical and virtual aspects of visitor experience and addresses the thesis' research objective *to identify and analyse tourist experiences, transactions and ego states and their representation in selected modes and environments.* Furthermore, it deals with the overarching research aim *to critically appraise interactions at, and relational representations of, a dark tourism site within the context of TA and ego states.*

#### 9.4.1 Ethnographic and on-site activity

Chapter 7 set out the historical background, main pre-visit messaging mode and initial transactional stimulus (that is, the Museum website) and the key physical locations of transactions at the Museum itself. In this way, its dual objective identities as both historic and tourist site were identified in order to contextualise

and inform a third, subjective, identity as an experiential, performative place in and by which its plural, evolved identities are interpreted and enacted.

The ethnographic research activity outlined in Chapter 6 and above (9.3) is described in Chapter 7 as involving observation, semi-structured interview and questionnaire activity, and was subject to a narrative analysis for scoping purposes: the data review suggested key themes to inform subsequent interpretation of the larger body of data collected via netnographic processes.

This activity, intended to ensure that visitors' own (primary) experiential expressions underpinned and informed the management and contextualisation of data in later phases, offered a secondary but significant function in further familiarising the researcher with the various vocabularies used by visitors to describe the Museum's landmarks, pathways and motifs. Furthermore, the researcher co-experience of Museum tours, transport and other protocols enriched and validated the ethnographic approach detailed in Chapter 6 and reiterated above (9.3), allowing a truer sense of the intuitive/collective attitude and experience than questioning/observation alone. In so doing, I co-experienced, with the research subjects, emotions including confusion, fatigue, disappointment and recognition resulting from the physical protocols of visitation and obtained non-researcher perspectives of the behaviour of fellow-visitors and Museum staff. Moreover, as a visitor, my own physical and emotional responses, while modified by the research role, enacted the observation, interview and questionnaire techniques employed within the research project.

Research activity including researcher presence at the site and participation in protocols and tours in and around the site, and analysis of collated material garnered at the case study site (see Appendix 5) informed the management and analysis of the netnographic research phase.

Observational notes and photography further supported this researcher's comprehension and contextualisation of the various vocabularies and vernacular used in online reviews and enhanced recall of the various landmarks and locations referenced within them. Key expectations abstracted from the ethnographic scoping research related to *enlightenment, emotion, seeing, thinking* and *learning,* experiences that speak particularly to the Adult and Child ego states. These expectations were expressed as less fully actualised than less proactive activity such

as *following, listening* and *photographing*. Following and listening activity belongs to both Adult and Child ego states, but these experiences acknowledge and require a (Parent) 'Other'. Complex processes of *learning, paying respects, witnessing, questioning, reflecting, making a point, changing, sharing,* potentially engaging all PAC states in the visitor including, notably, Parent, were markedly under-fulfilled. In terms of emotion, feelings of *anger, disappointment and shame* surpassed expectation. These are unempathetic emotions connected to a sense of wrongdoing and to moral codes, and thus speak to the influence of an external Parent. Self-oriented and -descriptive feelings of *humility, pride* and *importance* were less experienced than anticipated, and speak to a lesser degree of self-actualisation and expression than, for example, outwardly-directed anger. *Sadness*, too, is a notably under-fulfilled emotional expectation: somehow, the visit fails to elicit the emotional expression of which visitors feel they are capable.

The scoping research, then, reveals expectations of emotional experience and expression that are only partially fulfilled. As outlined above, Adult experiences (of learning, sharing, reflecting) fall particularly short of expectation; Child-state behaviours (following, listening) are overfulfilled, while the touristic Adult is engaged in largely negative attitudes of anger and disappointment. This overview of the PAC balance and the crossed transactions, enacted in guided tours and via Museum protocols, is largely replicated in the findings of the netnographic research discussed in Chapter 8.

### 9.4.2 Netnographic and online activity

This chapter's (online) data source, the TripAdvisor website, was appraised in terms of its protocols, and relevant factors in its development, usage and validity as a data source, thus attending to the thesis object *to evaluate online and social media contexts as a facility for expressive, reflective and constructive touristic modes.*

The online reviews forming the netnographic research (see Appendices 3, 4 and 5) offer demographic information relating to reviewers, revealing a relatively broad and diverse representation of age and gender. Further information with regard to nationality, self-identified

‘traveller type’ and engagement with TripAdvisor is set out in Chapter 8, evidencing a valid sample size, diversity and reach. Subsequently, review ratings and their reception within the community (‘thanks’ votes) are set out in diagrammatic form with narrative accounts and clarification.

The research findings are obtained from the review ratings, which offer a quantitative measure of positive/negative perceptions of visitor experience; reaction to them, via ‘thanks’ votes; and, most substantially and significantly, a qualitative narrative analysis of the textual content of reviews, including the (reviewer-generated) headings which summarise the review. While analysis software has enabled swift recognition of the common vocabularies and narrative features in the reviews, narrative analysis in this study was, necessarily, a largely human process. Through repeated reading of the reviews a degree of familiarity and comfort with their content has allowed for a respectful but intimate analysis of text that deploys varying styles, linguistic tics and unique vocabularies to describe transactions and encounters of similar diversity.

Across the online reviews I identified common factors, shared with the on-site visitors involved in the ethnographic phase, relating to a desire for greater independence in the visit experience – that is, a less intrusive Adult-directed visit protocol - and a recognition of the positive drives which largely bring visitors to the case study site. These drives largely involve the expression of empathy and ‘other’-oriented emotions of sadness and regret, and the undertaking of ‘other’-oriented roles including *witnessing* and *paying respect*. Where these expressions and enactments do not take place, the visitor experiences a crossed transaction – that is, the ego state in which they were engaged was incompatible with that of the Museum.

The findings reveal that Museum-presented stimuli, including proscriptions of on-site behaviour and guided tour protocols, originate in a (perpetual, controlling) Parent ego state, inappropriately directed to the engaged touristic Parent and Adult and ill-received by the (needy, emotional) Child ego. Nuanced perceptions of the site not only evoke but arguably require the fluidity and plurality represented by the three ego states, their particular capacities and attributes. Tourists present with all three ego states in a state of potential engagement – that is, expectations of the visit are located across the PAC realms. Yet in the majority of transactions, this potential

range of active visitor ego states is not utilised as a positive attribute of the huge diversity of humanity that form the visitor body at the Museum, or as a guide to the different approaches that might be employed to support interpretation and fulfil positive expectation.

Within the ethnographic and netnographic research, the case study site expresses itself, according to analysis of its transactional attitudes, as maintaining a rigid ego state. The Controlling Parent is observed throughout the modes of messaging and interpretation in question, evidencing instructive and didactic language, privileging behavioural control and mass visitor processing above flexible interaction and recognition/attention to diverse visitor needs. Its transactional stimuli are notably addressed to the Child ego state, resulting in crossed transactions with visitors that receive the directive and inflexible gestures in the Adult mode, causing communication breakdown and dissatisfaction; or, complementary but unconstructive transactions in which the visitor responds to stimuli as an Adapted Child, modifying or repressing natural behaviours in order to conform, but expressing resentment and rage in delayed responses or in new interactions with their peer group.

In adopting a single and inflexible ego state mode, the Museum is at risk of failing to fulfil its own objectives, as well as those of the tourist. Its capacity to deliver learning experiences is limited by an unvarying transactional attitude: the study's netnographic material, as with ethnographic responses, features the persistent touristic repetition of Parent messages *('This must never happen again'; 'Always remember, never forget'*) that, on close inspection, lack meaning or depth. Thus, the overbearing Parent instils in the tourist Child statements or phrases through rote, and not experiential, learning.

This study represented TripAdvisor as offering a reflective, discursive and social space that the Museum fails to provide but which is necessary to touristic self-expression and awareness. Visitors display a greater intuition regarding plurality and mobility, adapting their ego state to engage in a variety of transactions and to articulate the dichotomous identity of the Museum in reviews that separate criticism of Museum management from other attributes (and often speak from different Parent states in order to do so). Utilising complex narrative devices and expressing shifting ego states across single narratives, these reviewers enable a greater variety

of effective transactions within the online community than might be anticipated. Within the unique context of TripAdvisor, moreover, visitors may receive interest in and thanks for their perspectives, shoring up a sense of identity and belonging within a diverse community that shares complex attitudes to and interest in the Museum. The robust, descriptive, emotive and emotional, even dramatic discourse within this environment are in contrast to the imposed silences, limited syntax, controlled vocabulary and physical confines of the Museum; which, in fact, appear to impede mindfulness, communitas and the sharing of core human values despite insisting on their value within formal messaging.

Within ethnographic and netnographic material, visitors engage in expression of multiple egos states within a single narrative. In their reflective challenges to the controlling Parent in the Museum, the tourist's thoughtful Adult, lively Child and outraged Parent engage in processes of debate and expressions of emotion, humility and human confusion. Highly emotional, imaginative and sometimes playful expressions, alongside resentful and semi-repressed, even fearful attitudes, represent the Child in both Natural and Adapted mode. Persistent repetition of directive and imperative material (the repetition of scripted or recorded messaging, by which the reviewer's Parent reiterates culturally approved values and attitudes) is represented by recurrent directive vocabularies: *should, must, have to* alongside synonyms camouflaged by contemporary parlance (*must-see* and *bucket list* are recurrent terms) alongside reassuring attitudes and expressions of concerns for others, evidence the controlling and nurturing Parent. Meanwhile, the Adult state reappears throughout reflective material and is perhaps inherently at home within the traveller review community. Visit planning, knowledge-sharing and expression/appreciation of Adult and Child needs and positive qualities may all be identified as expressing this state. Because of the flexibility and mutability of the visitor/reviewer ego states, it is not surprising that within a given review extreme shifts juxtapositions of attitude and emotion occur. Furthermore, it is clear than the monotonous narrative of the inflexible Parent within Museum transactions is unlikely to receive unqualified welcome, or obedience. Thus, following crossed transactions, the visitor abandons the dialogue and initiates new transactions (in this case, with members of the TripAdvisor community) that allow expression, and not suppression, of emotion and experience: neglected touristic ego states are manifested not only in responses to visit-related transactional stimuli but in newly-

generated transactions with peers. Here, the disappointed and disapproving touristic Parent offers criticism and direction not only to the Museum but to fellow-visitors; in its expressions of anger and frustration, these Parental critiques include and involve the repressed and rebellious Child. Elsewhere, the informative and measured review speaks to fellow Adults in the Museum (with suggestions for improvement) and the tourist body (with guidelines for visit planning and expectations). Meanwhile the Child tourist expresses a range of emotional responses unfulfilled within the original visit through explosive condemnation of the Museum and its perceived lack of care, and seeks transactional redress via highly emotive monologues to the sympathetic community represented by TripAdvisor. Many reviews comprise all three ego states, evidencing various degrees of fulfilment, or non-fulfilment, within the visit they are virtually and narratively revisiting. They represent 'scattergun' but emotionally intelligent addresses to multiple ego states within both the Museum as an entity, and the peer community.

The following PAC diagram represents a composite illustration of Museum-Tourist crossed transactions, and subsequent tourist-initiated transactions that notably engage the PAC trilogy in its entirety.

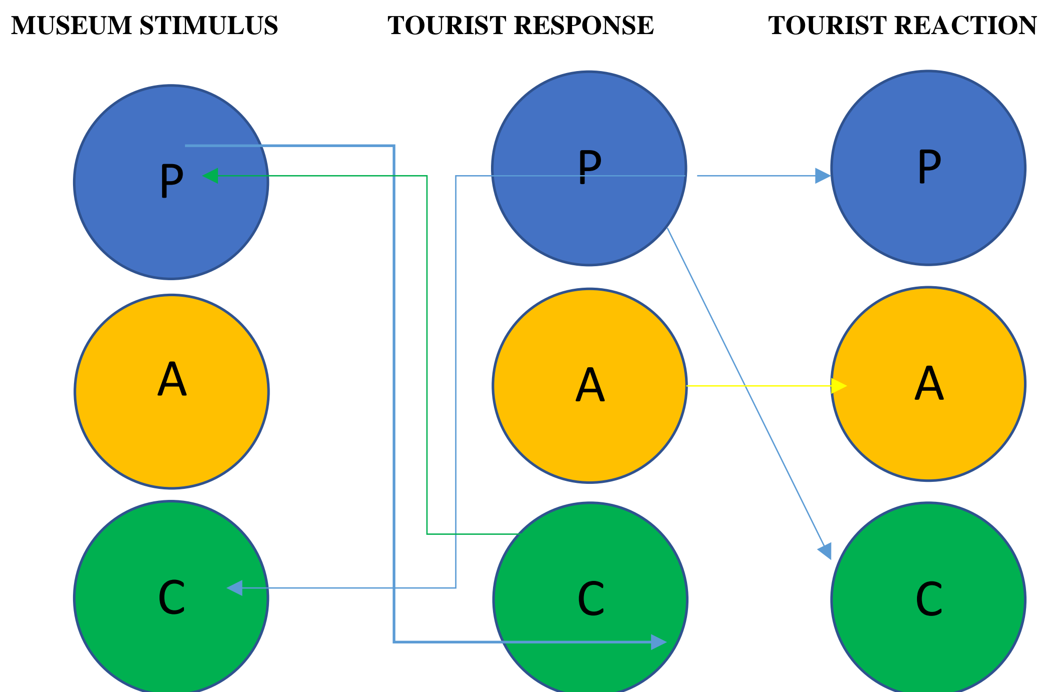



*Figure 17: Case study transactions composite PAC model*

It is particularly noteworthy that none of the review exemplar in this study garner Museum responses via the TripAdvisor response mechanism, which might renew or realign transactions with the individual reviewer or with the reviewer community. In its misdirected transactional stimuli and withheld responses, the Museum creates a communicative abyss in which institutional and individual voices are lost.

### 9.4.3 Implications for site management and future research

A full and fulfilling interpretive system and visitor experience depend upon the acknowledgment and accommodation of all the ego states and their various attributes, tendencies and qualities. The multiplicity of ego states and effective transactions with them, including the necessary modification and mutability of modes of address and stimulus, are vital elements in understanding the visitor experience. The tourist does not wish to be regarded, and addressed, (only) as a child (in the Child ego state). They may initiate or respond to transactional stimulus as Child (that is, to express emotion; to engage in learning experiences via different learning styles; to rebel or engage in deviant behaviour) at certain points or stages during their presence at the site. However, they may also do so as an Adult (in absorbing information from different sources, in negotiating their existing knowledge with new discoveries, in sharing knowledge) or as a Parent (in forming moral judgements about the information they receive or about they behaviours they witness, in seeking to educate others, in upholding behavioural norms, in chiding or penalising). In all these behaviours across the three ego states, the visitor approaches a holistic identity to more or less satisfactory degrees.

The Museum as an experienced institution, however, does not present as a Child in most situations. Its communicative and interpretive attitude is never playful, emotional or transgressive, and reveals no capacity to learn from other sources. Moreover, its Adult representation is limited: in sharing and managing information, the Museum utilises Adult qualities toward a Parent agenda. The Museum instigates and responds to transactional stimuli as a pure, unambiguous Parent of the Controlling, not Nurturing, type: there are no sympathetic responses, no creation opportunities and safe spaces in which to emote and express, no tolerance of digression from rules and protocols, no variation or mutability of narrative. Its own

Child and Adult ego states are undeveloped, while the touristic Parent and Adult states are unacknowledged and unfulfilled.

The touristic Child, meanwhile, is disproportionately handled: its anticipated misdemeanours and presumed ignorance are subject to far greater attention (pre-emptive prohibitions) than its emotional or creative needs. Arguably, this latter transactional attitude suppresses the positive aspects of the Child ego state in the tourist and does little to truly 'manage' the transgressive behaviour exemplified by photography in off-limits areas. Rather, the tourist as (enforced) child experiences a didactic, subdued, anxious and often wordless experience within the organised and authorised visit: they are seen but not heard. Meanwhile, the Museum Parent speaks to the touristic Parent ego state, drawing out stern attitudes of control and rebuke to its self and to others. Adult-to-Adult engagement and interaction is absent, relegated by parental protocol to whispered exchanges that are amplified as the tourist moves away from and beyond the Museum's physical and psychological parameters. Thus, at the Museum site, meaningful, complementary transactions, allowing for ongoing and even perpetual dialogue, are limited and arguably disabled by the Museum's permanence of ego state.

The tourist body, then, is stymied in its desire to express and develop its and the site's identity through intellectual and emotional engagement (and hence their inclusion in the larger business of the institutional narrative). Their voices, and the potential, broader social narrative they represent, are largely unheard at the Museum. Likewise, the historic and personal narratives – the voices of Auschwitz-Birkenau's historic and tragic atrocities – are not fully heard, despite an evidenced touristic anticipation that these narratives will be encountered and even, through emotional and spiritual responses, enacted: curated by the Museum are channelled through crossed transactions, by which responsive mechanisms located within undervalued touristic ego states are disengaged from the interpretive processes. This represents a serious and unnecessary lapse in the fulfilment of the Museum's curatorial responsibility.

Museum management, this study implies, might usefully appraise its communications systems and attitudes in order to audit its own PAC expression. An holistic representation of the PAC trilogy in Museum-instigated transactional stimulus is most likely to support a holistic touristic PAC response, and the resultant

complementary transactions represent ongoing and successful dialogue. Furthermore, the Museum's marked lack of response to tourist-initiated stimulus (nil response to critical reviews) reiterates and exacerbates the on-site absence of reflective and communicative spaces or systems. The Museum, as a contemporary tourist destination, is unusual in its non-provision of standard systems with which visitors may independently engage in order to express and evaluate experience: evaluation stations, reflection/rest points, interactive devices and self-led visit resources are ubiquitous in the modern museum, but absent in this case study site.

In summary, the research findings reveal a dual attitude across visitor reflections on their touristic experience of Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and Memorial. On the one hand, research response/reviews reveal significant and positive anticipation of an educative and, particularly, emotional experience fundamentally related to physical presence at the historic site and its perceived sacred/spiritual and memorial attributes, with concomitant expressive and performative functions and self-actualising consequences. Conversely and concurrently, a robust critical attitude relating to site management and to behaviours at the site responds to and describes a perceived secular place that is manifest in (a) proscriptive and didactic management and (b) inappropriate peer behaviour. Both are articulated in terms of disrespect, emphasising the disavowal and disturbance of sacred memorial attributes. The former attitude influences the latter in that emotional and educative experiences are undermined by certain perceived flaws in the management of the site, including its interpretation, staffing and protocols; furthermore, the sacred and memorial functions are felt to be diminished by worldly, commercial and contemporary cultural behaviours perceived as closely connected with tourism.

In the evolved narrative of Auschwitz-Birkenau as a location of both historic atrocity and contemporary learning and memorial performativity, visitors aspire to receive a sacred narrative, to experience sacred place, to enact emotional responses to it, and to communicate and extend the narrative elsewhere. This narrative and performative continuum is a means by which the historic tragedy is transformed, its continuity counteracting the fundamental discontinuity of death. Contemporary communications systems such as TripAdvisor are a (particularly socially relevant) means by which this narrative continuum is sustained and developed, representing sufficient complementary transactions to allow the continuance and perpetuation of social discourse. In its attention to these functions and their influential factors in

TA contexts, this thesis has attended to a research objective *to explore the construction and mediation of shared social narratives of memory and mortality*, and the overarching questions, *how do dark touristic transactions and resultant ego states reflect social narratives of and relationships with the sites of traumatic heritage?*

### 9.5 Conclusion: limitations and research indications.

The limitations of the current study are iterated within the research indications set out in earlier sections of the current chapter, and in Chapters 6 and 7. They include logistical limitations of scale, time and resource, but also variables of response and participation. The most relevant limitations are those which most usefully direct future research, and as such the focus upon English language reviews to avoid translation requirements reduced the research scope. Furthermore, the sample size of the scoping (ethnographic) study, while sufficient for its purpose, precluded a potentially rich line of enquiry. However, this sample size would lend itself to a narrower scope but in-depth study in which research participant involvement within self-analytical focus groups/workshops to explore TA interpretive processes more fully. Such a study would require the participation and facilitation of experienced and qualified TA practitioners, and future shared research approaches of this kind would offer a unique set of research challenges and

This thesis sought to make original and constructive contribution to dark tourism debate through re-interpretation of conceptualisations and contexts, identification of relevant and transdisciplinary theoretical convergences and critical appraisal of current research concerns and approaches. In challenges to extant tourism studies theorisation, the study revealed dark tourism's contraindicative lack affinity with key conceptualisations from within, and urged a rethinking of dark tourism's relationship with, its (assumed) parent discipline in order to reframe dark tourism's unique conceptual innovations. In this thesis, dark tourism is relocated from the subsidiary realms of tourism studies, and the disciplinary dilemmas and arguably reductive theorisation that fail to explicate it, toward mobile, multi-dimensional and -disciplinary contexts. In this intellectual setting, the dark tourism debate retains resonance and contact with tourism studies, yet simultaneously identifies with a broad range of academic and cultural discourses and 'dark' cultural associations.

Essentially, this thesis (re)presents dark tourism as non-paradigmatic, moving in and around associated conceptualisations in mutual transmission and co-interpretation of conceptual material. Throughout its review and active research phases, this thesis calls for radical redirection of dark tourism research attitudes and greater confidence in its transdisciplinary transactions, and towards experimental, mobile, non-paradigmatic and creative conceptualisations that seek to uncover multiple potentialities, rather than fixed typologies, in models of dark tourism. The academy and discourse of dark tourism, perhaps, may benefit from a close reading of the PAC ego states obtaining within its key transactions, and of the qualities of such transactions, in its interpretation of the current debate.

Furthermore, the thesis offered new and specific approaches to extant dark tourism motifs and conceptualisations. Thus, notions of *motivation* are reframed as intuitive drives with an expectation or anticipation of enactment/fulfilment of narrative functions enabled by place and via holistic fulfilment of PAC ego state. This study describes dark touristic experience in terms of a potential continuum by which didactic/inherited/traditional values relating to death and mortality are transmitted, reiterate or challenged and redrawn. The insights offered by TA systems, drawing on and resonating with alternate, mobile and 'thirdway' conceptualisations arising from the literature review, are evidenced in this thesis as supporting, and allowing fuller understanding of, the democratic and coherent exchange and development of information and the expressive, emotional and creative behaviours that comprise holistic touristic transactional experiences. In its particular and detailed attention to psychoanalytic tropes and theorisations, this study updates and transforms the notion of 'tourist as child'. Child-identity and its more complex range of attributes is explored and expanded through its contextualisation within TA theory's PAC models. The simplistic interpretation of touristic experience in a single (childlike) mode and associated, limited attributes is redefined as tourist-as-Child and explored as a mutable aspect (whose shifting attributes depend upon the quality and composition of social transactions) of a holistic touristic identity comprising new conceptualisation of tourist-as-Adult and tourist-as-Parent, each of which presents similarly changeable characteristics to reflect shifting transactional contexts. Likewise, the thesis represents associated touristic institutions via holistic PAC models, offering innovative means by which to appraise the relevance and transactional fulfilment of touristic transactions involving tourist, tourist destination

and other transactional participants (stakeholders) that constitute and contribute to larger, overarching social institutions. Thus, the thesis utilisation of TA precepts offers a highly original and practical means by which to frame interpretation and representation of dark tourism behaviours and experience.

This study utilised iterative modelling of conceptual components regarding social space and paradigms, including and especially in its ethnographic attitude and ethnographic activity. Its engagement in the underexplored realms of virtual communities within a pre-eminent online review forum brought such environments and their empirical potentials to the attention of dark tourism debate, which must now actively involve itself in these fundamental and contemporary socio-spatial and communicative contexts.

In summary, this study critically appraised touristic interactions at, and relational representations of, a dark tourism site within the context of Transactional Analysis (TA) and ego states in order to further understanding of how touristic transactions and ego states reflect social narratives of and relationships with the sites of traumatic heritage. In order to do so, it undertook to critically review dark tourism and other, cross-disciplinary conceptual frameworks; to evaluate online and social media contexts as a facility for a range of touristic modes; to analyse tourist experiences, transactions and ego states and, consequently, to explore the construction and mediation of share social narratives of memory and mortality. In the iconic and fluid perspectives by which this thesis regards and evidences touristic agency and affect, participants in the project of tourism are narrative builders, myth-enactors, part of an iconic and archetypal tradition of storytelling and ritual that perseveres with the project of humanity, sanctifying spaces of tragedy and suffering and sustaining the stories of the dead. Repetition and return are part of this archetypal cycle: tourism aligns mobility and continuity in this continuum to rend or repair the fabric of social narratives. Dark tourism enacts and sustains archetypal narratives of death and mobility, and its study traces them to contemporary narratives and the roles by which they are enacted: the shapeshifting tourist is a traveller, a witness, a pilgrim, a voyeur, a judge, a critic, a filmmaker, a companion, a stranger, importing and exporting archetypal material across space and time place and time to another. These regenerative and ceaseless enactments of dark tourism metaphorically defy death, repudiate the permanence of death and challenge the finality of loss.

# REFERENCES


Adler, J. (1989). Travel as Performed Art. In *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 6, pp1366-1391.

Allen, D. W. (1974). The Fear of Looking, or Scopophilic-Exhibitionistic Conflict. New York: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Amoamo, M. (2014). (Re)thinking Maori tourism: the third space of hybridity. In *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* 6:1, pp128-135

Anderson, J. (2012). Relational Places: The Surfed Wave as Assemblage and Convergence. In *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *30*:4, pp570–587.

Aiken, L. R. (2000). *Dying, Death and Bereavement.* Mahwah, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Akerlof, G. A. (1970). The Market for Lemons: Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism. In *Quarterly Journal of Economics (MIT Press)* 84: 3, pp488–500.

Altman, I. and Rogoff, B. (1987). World views in psychology: trait, interactional, organismic and transactional perspectives. In Stokols, D. and Altman, I. (eds.), *Handbook of Environmental Psychology Vol. 1.* New York: Wiley, pp 245-281.

Amirou, R. (1994) Le Tourisme comme Object Transitionnal. In Ardel, J. (ed.), *Le Tourism International entre Tradition et Modernite.* Nice: Laboratoire d'Ethnologie, Universite de Nice*, pp389-400.*

Amirou, R. (1995). *Imaginaire Touristique et Sociabilites du Voyage.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Anderson, C. (2006). *The Long Tail: Why the future of business is selling less of more.* New York: Hyperion.

Andrade, E. B. and Cohen, J. (2007) On the Consumption of Negative Feelings. In *Journal of Consumer Research* 34, pp283 – 300.

Antze, P. and Lambek, M. (1996). *Tense Past. Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*. New York and London: Routledge.

Apostoulopoulos, Y. (1996). *The sociology of tourism: theoretical and empirical investigations*. London: Routledge.

Ariès, P. (1974). *Western Attitudes Toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Arnould, E. J and Price, L (1993). River Magic: extraordinary experience and the extended service encounter. In *Journal of Consumer Research* 20:1, pp24 – 45.

Ashworth, G. (2002). Holocaust tourism: The experience of Krakow-Kazimierz. In *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education* 11: 4, pp363–367.

Ashworth, G. (2003). Urban tourism: still an imbalance in attention? In Cooper, C. (ed.), *Classic reviews in tourism*. Channel View, Clevedon, pp143-163.

Ashworth, G. J. (2004). Tourism and heritage of atrocity: Managing the heritage of South African apartheid for entertainment. In Singh, T. V. (ed.) *New horizons in tourism: strange experiences and even stranger practices*. Wallingford: CAB International, pp95-108.

Ashworth, G. J. (2008). The memorialisation of violence and tragedy: Human trauma as heritage. In Graham, B. and Howard, P. (eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp 231-244.

Ashworth, G., and Hartmann, R. (2005). Introduction: Managing atrocity for tourism. In Ashworth, G. and Hartmann, R. (eds), *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: the Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism*. New York: Cognizant Communication Corp, pp 1–14.

Ashworth, G. and Isaac, R. K. (2015). Have we illuminated the dark? Shifting perspectives on dark tourism. In *Tourism Recreation Research* 40:3, pp 316 – 325.

Ashworth, G., & Tunbridge, J. (1996). *Dissonant heritage: The resource in conflict*. New York: Wiley.

Ashworth, G., Graham, B. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2007). *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies.* London: Pluto Press.

Atkinson, R. And Rodgers, T. (2015) Pleasure Zones and Murder Boxes: Online Pornography and Violent Video Games and Zones of Cultural Exception. In *British Journal of* Criminology 56, pp1291-1307.

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (eds. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà). Oxford: Clarendon Press

Austin, N.K. (2002) Managing heritage attractions: marketing challenges at sensitive historical sites. In *International Journal of Tourism Research* 4: 6, p 447–457.

Bærenholdt, J. O., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J. and Urry, J. (2004). *Performing tourist places.* London: Ashgate.

Bammel, G. and Burrus-Bammel, L. L. (1992). *Leisure and Human Behavior*. Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity.* Cambridge: Polity.

Baretje-Keller, R. (2007). *Report of activities 1997-2006*. France: Centre International de Recherches et d'Etudes Touristiques.

Barthes, R. (1972). *Critical Essays (Translated from the French).* Evanston, U.S.: North-western University Press.

Baudrillard, J. (1988). Simulacra and Simulation. In Poster, M. (ed.), *Selected Writing: Baudrillard*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp166 – 184.

Bavidge, E. (2017). Popping up to see Pat: Attending Absence at Roadside Shrines. In Lee, C. (ed.), *Spectral Spaces and Hauntings: the Affects of Absence*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp85–101.

Becker, G. S. (1974). A Theory of Social Interactions. In *Journal of Political Economy* 82: 6, pp1063-1093.

Beech, J. (2000). The enigma of Holocaust sites as tourist attractions: The case of Buchenwald. In *Managing Leisure* 5: 1, pp 29–41.

Beech, J. (2009). Genocide tourism. In Sharpley, R. & Stone, P. R. (eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism*, *Aspects of Tourism series*. Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp207-223.

Beech, J. and Chadwick, S. (eds., 2006). *The Business of Tourism Management.* Essex: Pearson Educational Publishing.

Beeton, S. (2005). *Film-induced Tourism.* Clevedon, Australia: Channel View Publications.

Beh, A. and Bruyere, B.L. (2007). Segmentation of visitor motivation in three Kenyan national reserves. In *Tourism Management* 28: 6, pp1464-1471.

Belhassen, Y., and Santos, C. (2006). An American Evangelical Pilgrimage to Israel: A Case Study on Politics and Triangulation. In *Journal of Travel Research* 44, pp431–441.

Belk, R. W. (1990). The Role of Possessions in Constructing and Maintaining a Sense of Past. In Goldberg, M. E. et al (eds), *NA - Advances in Consumer Research* 17. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, pp 669-676.

Benton, T. (2010). *Understanding Heritage and Memory.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Berger, P. (1967). *The Sacred Canopy, Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Doubleday.

Berne, E. (1961). *The Structures and Dynamics of Organizations and Groups*. New York: Ballantine.

Berne, E. (1964). *Games People Play: The Psychology of Human Relations*. New York: Grove Press.

Best, M. (2007). Norfolk Island: Thanatourism, history and visitor emotions. In *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* 1: 2, pp 30-48.

Bhabha, H. (2004). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bigley, J. D., Lee, C., Chon, J. and Yoon, Y. (2010). Motivations for War-related Tourism: A Case of DMZ Visitors in Korea. In *Tourism Geographies* 12:3, pp 371 -394.

Binkhorst, E. (2005). *The co-creation tourism experience.* Sitge: Whitepaper Co-creations.

Biran, A. and Buda, D. M. (2018). Unravelling Fear of Death Motives in Dark Tourism. In Stone, P.R., Hartmann, R., Seaton, T., Sharpley, R. and White, L.

(eds), *Handbook of Dark Tourism*. Basingstoke: London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp513-532.

Biran, A. and Poria, Y. (2012) Reconceptualising Dark Tourism. In Sharpley. R. and Stone, P. R. (eds), *Contemporary Tourist Experience: Concepts and Consequences*. Oxon: Routledge, pp59 -70.

Biran, A., Poria, Y. and Oren, G. (2011). Sought Experiences at (Dark) Heritage Sites. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 38: 3, pp 820-841.

Bitner, M-J. (1992). Servicescapes: The Impact of Physical Surroundings on Customers and Employees. In *The Journal of Marketing* 56:2, pp57-71.

Bizer, G. Y., & Krosnick, J. A., (2001). Exploring the structure of strength-related attitude features: The relation between attitude importance and attitude accessibility. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 81: 4, pp566-586.

Bjork, P. & Kauppinen-Räisänen, H. (2010). A netnographic examination of travelers' online discussions of risks. In *Tourism Management Perspectives* 2:3, pp65-71.

Blom, T. (2000). Morbid tourism - a postmodern market niche with an example from Althorp. In *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography* 54: 1, pp29-36.

Bollag, B. (1999). In the Shadow of Auschwitz. Teaching the Holocaust in Poland. In *American Educator* 23: 1, pp 38-49.

Boltanski, L. (1999). *Distant suffering. Morality, media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bondi, L. (1999) Stages on journeys: some remarks about human geography and psychotherapeutic practice. In *The Professional Geographer* 51, pp11-24.

Boninger, D. S., Krosnick, J. A., Berent, M. K. & Fabrigar, L. R. (1995). The causes and consequences of attitude importance. In Petty, R.E. & Krosnick, J. A. (eds.), *Attitude strength: Antecedents and consequences*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp159-189.

Boo, S. and Jones, D. I. (2009). Using a validation process to develop market segmentation based on travel motivation for major metropolitan areas. In *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 26: 1, pp60 – 79.

Boothby, R. (1991). *Death and desire: Psychoanalytic theory in Lacan's return to Freud.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Boog, B. W. M. (2003). The Emancipatory Character of Action Research, its History and the Present State of the Art. In *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 13:6, pp 426-438.

Boorstin, D. J. (1964). *The Image: a guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York: Harper & Row.

Borghini, S. and Zaghi, K. (2006). *Marketplace and attachment: A journey through ordinary and extraordinary consumer experiences*. Proceedings of the 34th European Marketing Academy Conference, Athens, Greece.

Botella, C., Osma, J., García Palacios, A., Guillén, V & Baños, R. (2008). Treatment of Complicated Grief Using Virtual Reality: A Case Report. In *Death Studies* 32:7, pp674-692.

Bowman, M.S. and Pezzullo, P.C. (2010). What's so Dark about Dark Tourism? Death, Tours, and Performance. In *Tourist Studies* 9:3, pp187-202.

Boydell, T. (1976). *Experiential Learning*. Manchester: Department of Adult Education, University of Manchester.

Braa, K. and Vidgen, R. (1999). Interpretation, intervention, and reduction in the organizational laboratory: a framework for in-context information system research. In *Accounting, Management & Information Technology*, 9: 1, pp25-47.

Braithwaite R. and Lieper N. (2010). Contests on the River Kwai: How a Wartime Tragedy became a Recreational, Commercial and Nationalistic Plaything. In *Current Issues in Tourism* 13, pp311-332

Bray, R. & Raitz, V. (2001). *Flight to the sun: the story of the holiday revolution*. London: Continuum.

Breathnach, T. (2006). Looking for the real me: Locating the self in heritage tourism. In *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 5*:*1, pp 17-32.

Brewer, J. (2004). Ethnography. In Cassell, C. and Symon, G. (eds.) *The Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organisational Research.* London: SAGE Publications, pp312-322.

Briggs, D. and Ellis, A. (2016) The Last Night of Freedom: Consumerism, Deviance and the Stag Party. In *Deviant Behaviour*. DOI:10.1080/01639625.2016.1197678.

Brin, E. (2006). Politically Oriented Tourism in Jerusalem. In *Tourist Studies* 6:3, pp215-243.

Brotherton, B. & Himmetoglu, B. (1997). Beyond destinations: Special interest tourism. In *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 8:3, pp 11-30.

Brown, S., McDonagh, P. and Shultz, C. (2012). Dark Marketing: Skeleton in the Cupboard or Ghost in the Machine? In *European Business Review* 24:3, pp196-215.

Browning, V., So, K. and Sparks, B. (2013). The influence of online reviews on consumers attributions of service quality and control for service standards in hotels. In *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 30: 1-2, pp 23-40.

Bruner E. (1991). Transformation of Self in Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 18:2, pp238-250.

Bruner, E. (1994). Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction. In *American Anthropologist* 96:2, pp397-415.

Bruner, E. (1996). Tourism in Ghana: The representation of slavery and the return of the Black diaspora. In *American Anthropologist* 98:2, pp 290-304.

Bruner, E. (2005, October 7-8*). The Role of Narrative in Tourism*. Paper presented at Berkeley conference On Voyage: New Directions in Tourism Theory. Online at www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/tourist/narrative.doc Accessed 12 November 2017.

Bruner, J. S. (1991) The narrative construction of reality. In *Critical Inquiry* 18: 1, pp 1-21.

Bryant, C. D. (2003). Thanatological Crime: Some Conceptual Notes on Offenses Against the Dead as a Neglected Form of Deviant Behavior. In Bryant, C. D. et al (eds), *Handbook of Death and Dying Volume 1: The Presence of Death.* California: SAGE Publications, pp 974-986.

Bryman, A. (2004). Social Research Methods. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buck, R. C. (1978). Towards a synthesis in tourism theory. *In Annals of Tourism Research* 5:1, pp 110 – 11.

Buda, D. M. (2015a). *Affective Tourism: Dark Routes in Conflict*. London: Routledge.

Buda, D. M. (2015b). The death drive in tourism studies. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 50, pp 39-51.

Buda, D. M. and McIntosh, A. J. (2013). Dark tourism and voyeurism: tourist arrested for "spying" in Iran. In *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research. Special Issue: New Perspectives on Dark Tourism.* 7:3, pp 214-226.

Buda, D. M. and Shim, D. (2009). Desiring the dark: a taste for the unusual in North Korean tourism? In *Current Issues in Tourism* 18:1, pp 1-6.

Buda, D. M., d'Hauteserre, A. M. and Johnston, L. (2014). Feeling and Tourism Studies. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 46, pp102-114.

Burkart, A. J. and Medlik, S. (1990). *Historical Development of Tourism*. Aix-en-Provence: Centre des Hauye Etudes Touristiques.

Burkitt, I. (1991). *Social Selves: Theories of Social Formation of Personality*. London: SAGE Publications.

Burnhill, E. (2007). Weeds and wild flowers: Political tourism in West Belfast. In *Edinburgh Review 120: Causeway*. Online at https://edinburgh-review.com/back-issues/more/issue-120-causeway/article-eleanorburnhill/ Accessed 17 October 2017.

Butler, R. and Suntikul, W. (eds.), (2012). *War and tourism: A complex relationship.* London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.

Buzinde, C. and Santos, C. (2008). Representations of Slavery. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 35:2, pp469-488.

Callard, F. (2003) The taming of psychoanalysis in geography. In *Social & Cultural Geography,* 4:3, pp295-312.

Campbell, J. with Moyers, B. (1988). *The Power of Myth.* New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell.

Carbone, L. P. & Haeckel, S. H. (1994). Engineering customer experiences. In *Marketing Management* 3:3, pp8-19.

Caruth, C. (1995). *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cary, S. (2004). The Tourist Moment. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 31:1, pp61-77.

Castells, M. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society.* Oxford.

Causevic, S., & Lynch, P. (2007, April 11). The significance of dark tourism in the process of tourism development after a long-term political conflict: An issue of Northern Ireland. Unpublished paper presented at the ASA Conference 2007, *Thinking Through Tourism*, London Metropolitan University, London.

Causevic, S. and Lynch, P. (2008). Tourism Development and Contested Communities: The Issue of Belfast, Northern Ireland. In *EspacesTemps.* Accessed online 14 June 2017 at https://www.espacestemps.net/en/articles/tourismdevelopment-and-contested-communities-en/

Chai, S. M. & Kim, M. (2010). What makes bloggers share knowledge? An investigation on the role of trust. In *International Journal of Information Management* 30:5, pp408-415.

Chambers, I. (2013). Afterword: After the Museum. In Chambers, I. et al (eds.), *The Postcolonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of History.* Abingdon: Routledge, pp241-244.

Chaney, D. (1993). *Fictions of Collective Life*. London: Routledge.

Charlesworth, A. (1994). Contesting places of memory: the case of Auschwitz. *In Environmental and Planning D - Society and Space* 12:5, pp 579-593.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Constructivist and objectivist grounded theory. In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, *Second Edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp509–535

Charmaz, K., Howarth, G. and Kellehear, A. (1997). *The Unknown Country: Death in Australia, Britain and the USA.* London: Macmillan.

Chen, C. F. & Chen, F. S. (2010). Experience quality, perceived value, satisfaction and behavioral intentions for heritage tourists. In *Tourism Management* 31:1, pp 29 – 35.

Cheong, S. and M. L. Miller (2000). Power and tourism: A Foucauldian observation. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 27: 2, pp 371-390.

Chiu, C. M., Hsu, M. H., & Wang, E. T. G. (2006). Understanding knowledge sharing in virtual communities: An integration of social capital and social cognitive theories. In *Decision Support Systems*, 42:3, pp1872 – 1888.

Chouliaraki, L. (2006). *The Spectatorship of Suffering*. London: SAGE Publications.

Chronis, A. (2005). Constructing Heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 32:2, pp386 – 406.

Chronis, A. (2012). Tourists as Story-Builders: Narrative Construction at a Heritage Museum. In *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 29, pp 444 – 459.

Clark, L.B. (2006). Trauma Memorials. In Hill, L. and Paris, H. (eds.), Place and Performance. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Clarke, R. (2000). Self-presentation in a contested city: Palestinian and Israeli political tourism in Hebron. In *Anthropology Today* 16:5, pp12 – 18.

Clarke, R., Dutton, J. and Johnston. A. (2014). Shadow zones: dark travel and postcolonial cultures. In *Postcolonial Studies* 17:3, pp221 – 235.

Clawson, M. and Knetsch, J. L. (1966). *Economics of Outdoor Recreation.* Baltimore: John Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future.

Clemons, E. K., and Gao, G. (2008). Consumer informedness and diverse consumer purchasing behaviors: Traditional mass market, trading down, and trading out into the long tail. In *Electronic Commerce Research and Applications* 7:1 (Spring 2008), pp3–17.

Clerides, S., Nearchou, P. and Pashardes, P. (2005). *Intermediaries as Bundlers, Traders and Quality Assessors: The Case of UK Tour Operators* (May 2005).

CEPR Discussion Paper No. 5038. Accessed online 6 July 2016 at https://ssrn.com/abstract=774165

Cohen, E. (1972). Toward a sociology of international tourism. In *Social Research* 39:1, pp164 – 182.

Cohen, E. (1974). Who is a tourist? In *Sociological Review* 22:4, pp 527 – 555.

Cohen, E. (1979a). A phenomenology of tourist experiences. In *Sociology* 13:2, pp179-201.

Cohen, E. (1979b). Rethinking the sociology of tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 6, pp 18-35.

Cohen, E. (1985). The Tourist Guide. The Origins, Structure and Dynamics of a Role. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 12:1, pp5 - 29.

Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 15(3), pp371-386.

Cohen, E. (2004). *Contemporary Tourism. Diversity and Change.* London: Elsevier.

Cohen, E. (2008). The Changing Faces of Contemporary Tourism. In *Society (Symposium: Touring the World)* 45:4, pp 330 – 333.

Cohen, E. and Cohen, S.A. (2012). Current sociological theories and issues in tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 39: 4, pp2177 – 2202.

Cohen, E. H. (2010). Educational dark tourism at an in populo site: the Holocaust museum in Jerusalem. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:1, pp193 - 209.

Cohen, S. (2001). *States of Denial: Knowing about atrocity and suffering*. New York: Polity.

Cole T. (1999). S*elling the Holocaust, from Auschwitz to Schindler: how history is bought, packaged and sold*. N. New York. Routledge.

Coles, T. E., Hall, C. M., & Duval, D. T. (2005). Mobilising tourism: A post-disciplinary critique. In *Tourism Recreation Research* 30:2, pp53 – 63.

Coles, T. E., Hall, C. M., & Duval, D. T. (2006). Tourism and post-disciplinary enquiry. In *Current Issues in Tourism* 9, pp293–319.

Coles, T. E., Hall, C. M., & Duval, D. T. (2009). Post-disciplinary tourism. In Tribe, J. (ed.), *Philosophical issues in tourism.* Clevedon: Channel View Publications, pp80 – 100.

Collins, J. and Fishbane, M. (1995). *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys.* New York: State University of New York.

Collins-Kreiner, N. and Gatrell, J. D. (2006). Tourism, heritage and pilgrimage: The case of Haifa's Baha'i gardens. In *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1:1, pp

Collins-Kreiner, N. & Wall, G. (2015). Tourism and Religion: Spiritual Journeys and Their Consequences. In Brunn, S. D. (ed.), *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics, Volume 2*. New York: Springer, pp689-707.

Coltman, M. (1989). *Introduction to Travel & Tourism: an International Approach*. New Jersey: Wiley & Sons.

Comic, D. (1989). Tourism as a Subject of Philosophical Reflection. In *Revue de Tourisme,* 44:2, pp6 – 13.

Conrady. R. (2007). Travel technology in the era of Web 2.0. In: Buck, M. and Conrady R. (eds), *Trends and Issues in Global Tourism.* New York: Springer, pp165 – 184.

Cook, P. S. (2010). Constructions and Experiences of Authenticity in Medical Tourism: The Performances of Places, Spaces, Practices, Objects and Bodies. In *Tourist Studies* 10, pp135 – 153.

Corr, C. A. (2014). The death system according to Robert Kastenbaum. In *Omega* (Westport) 70:1, pp13-25**.**

Corr, C. A. and Feldman, C. M. (1980). *Death & Dying, Life & Living*. Belmont U.S.: Cengage Learning.

Crang, M. (2003). Qualitative methods touchy, feely, look-see? In *Progress in Human Geography* 27:4, pp494-504.

Creaton, S. (2005) *Ryanair: how a small Irish airline conquered Europe*. London: Aurum Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2004). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research (International Edition).* London: Pearson.

Crick, M. (1989). Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility. In *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18, pp307-344.

Crompton, J. (1979). Motivations for Pleasure Vacation. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 6:4, pp408 – 424.

Crooke, E. (2001). Confronting a Troubled History: Which Past in Northern Ireland's Museums? In *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7:2, pp119 – 136.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process.* London: SAGE.

Crouch, D., ed. (1999). *Leisure/tourism* geographies: practices and geographical knowledge. London, UK: Routledge.

Crouch, D. (1999a). The intimacy and expansion of space. In Crouch, D. (ed.), *Leisure/tourism geographies: practices and geographical knowledge.* London: Routledge, pp257 – 276.

Crouch, D. (1999b). Introduction: encounters in leisure/tourism. In Crouch, D. (ed.), *Leisure/tourism geographies: practices and geographical knowledge.* London: Routledge, pp1 – 16.

Crouch, D. (2003). The Sensuous in the Tourist Encounter. Introduction: the Power of the Body in Tourist Studies. In *Tourist Studies* 3:1, pp5 - 22.

Csíkszentmihályi, M. (1975*). Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. London: HarperCollins.

Culler, J. (1989). Semiotics of Tourism. In *American Journal of Semiotics* 1:1-2, pp127 – 140.

Curry, A. (2010) Can Auschwitz be Saved? In *The Smithsonian*, February 2019. Accessed online June 2015 at https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/can-auschwitz-be-saved-4650863/.

Dalton, D. (2013). *Dark Tourism and Crime*. Oxon: Routledge.

Damousi, J. (1999). Private loss, public mourning: motherhood, memory and grief in Australia during the inter-war years. In *Women's History Review* 8:2, pp365-378.

Dann, G. (1977). Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 4, pp184-194.

Dann, G. (1981). Tourist motivation an appraisal. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 8, pp187-219.

Dann, G. (1989). The Tourist as a Child: Some Reflections. In *Cahiers du Tourism, Serie C*, 35. Aix-en-Provence: CHET.

Dann, G. (1996). Paradigms in Tourism Research (RC 50 Symposium on Paradigms in Tourism Research). In *The Newsletter of the International Academy for the Study of Tourism.* Jyvaskyla, Finland: International Sociological Association, pp1-3.

Dann, G. (1998) The Dark Side of Tourism. In *Etudes et Rapports, Serie L, Sociology/Psychology/Philosophy/Anthropology* 14. Aix-en-Provence: Centre International de Recherches et d'Etudes Touristiques.

Dann, G. (2000). Sociolinguistics. In Jafari, J. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Tourism.* London: Routledge, pp543-544.

Dann, G. (2000a). Theoretical Advancements in the Sociological Treatment of Tourism. In Quah, S.R. and Sales, A. (eds.), *The International Handbook of Sociology.* SAGE: London, pp367-386.

Dann, G. (2002). Introduction: The tourist as a metaphor of the social world. In Dann, G. (ed.), *The tourist as a metaphor of the social world.* Oxford: CABI, pp1-17.

Dann, G. (2005). Children of the Dark. In: Ashworth, G. and Hartmann, R. (eds), *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism.* New York: Cognizant, pp233-252.

Dann, G. and Berg-Nordstrand, K. (2009). Promoting wellbeing via multisensory tourism. In Bushell, R. and Sheldon, P. (eds), *Wellness and Tourism: Mind, Body, Spirit, Place. New* York: Cognizant Communications, pp125 – 137.

Dann, G. and Cohen, E. (1991). Sociology and Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 18, pp155-169.

Dann, G. and Jacobsen, J. K. S. (2002). Leading the tourist by the nose. In Dann, G. (ed.), *The tourist as a metaphor of the social world.* Oxford: CABI, pp209-235.

Dann, G. and Jacobsen, J. K. S. (2003). Tourism smellscapes. In *Tourism Geographies* 5:1, pp3-25.

Dann, G. and Liebman Parrinello, G. (2009). *The Sociology of Tourism: European Origins and Developments*. Bradford: Emerald Press.

Dann, G., and Potter, R. (2001). Supplanting the Planters: Hawking Heritage in Barbados. In *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration* 2:3-4, pp51 – 84.

Dann, G. M., S., and Seaton, A.V. (2001). Slavery, Contested Heritage and Thanatourism. In *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration* 2:3-4, pp1-29.

Darbellay, F. & Stock, M. (2012). Tourism as a complex interdisciplinary research object. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 39:1, pp441 – 458.

Dearden, P., & Harron, S. (1992). Tourism and the Hilltribes of Thailand. In Weiler, B. and Hall, C. M. (eds.), *Special interest tourism*. London: Belhaven Press, pp95-104.

Decrop, A. and S. Toussaint (2013). The Père-Lachaise Cemetery: Between Touristic Experience and Heterotopic Consumption. In White, L. and Frew, E. (eds) *Exploring Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places.* London: Routledge, pp13 – 27.

Dehaene, M. And De Cauter, L. (2008). The space of play: towards a general theory of heterotopia. In Dehaene, M. and De Cauter, L. (eds), *Heterotopia and the City*. London: Routledge, pp87 - 102.

Del Fresno, G. (2011). *Netnografica.* Barcelona: UOC.

Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (1995). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE.

Derrida, J. (1995). *On the Name* (ed. Dutoit, T., transl. Mc Leod, I.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Devine, A. and Connor, R. (2005). Cultural Tourism: Promoting Diversity on the Aftermath of Conflict. Paper presented at conference: *Tourism and Hospitality in Ireland: Exploring the Issues University of Ulster.* Portrush 14/15 June 2005.

Di Giovine, M. (2013). The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies and the construction of a unified field of tourism research. In *TOURISM: An Interdisciplinary International Journal* 61:3, pp317 – 323.

Dillon, W. R. (1986). Building consumer behavior models with LISREL: issues in applications. In: Brinberg, D. & Lutz, R. J. (ed.), *Perspectives on methodology in consumer research.* New York: Springer-Verlag, pp107 – 154.

Doganis, R. (2001). *Airline Business in the 21st Century.* London: Routledge.

Du, W., Littlejohn, D. and Lennon, J. (2013). Place identity or place identities: The memorial to the victims of the Nanjing Massacre, China. In White, L. and Frew, E. (eds.), *Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places.* London: Routledge, pp46 - 59.

Dunkley, R. A. (2007) A shot in the dark? Developing a new conceptual framework for thanatourism. In *Asian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 1:1, pp 54-63.

Dunkley, R., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2011). Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. In *Tourism Management* 32:4, pp860-868.

Durkin, K. (2003). *Handbook of Death and Dying.* London: SAGE.

Dusay, J. M. (1983). Transactional analysis in groups. In Kaplan, H. I., and Sadock, B. J. (eds.), *Comprehensive group psychotherapy (Second Edition).* Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, pp413 - 423.

Duval, D.T. (2003). When hosts become guests: Return visits and diasporic identities in a Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean community. In *Current Issues in Tourism* 6(4), pp267–308.

Dwork, D. and van Pelt, R.J. (1996). *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Echtner, C. M. and Jamal, T. B. (1997). The Disciplinary Dilemma of Tourism Studies. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 21:4, pp868 – 883.

Eco, U. (1986). *Travels in Hyperreality.* Florida: Harcourt Brace.

Edensor, T. (1998). *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and meaning at a symbolic site*. New York: Routledge.

Edensor, T. (2000). Staging tourism: tourists as performers. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 27:2, pp322-344

Edensor, T. (2007). Mundane mobilities, performances and spaces of tourism. In *Social & Cultural Geography* 8:2, pp199-21

Elliot, J. (2005). *Using Narrative in Social Research. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* London: SAGE Publications.

Everett, S. (2009). Beyond the visual gaze? The pursuit of an embodied experience through food tourism. In *Tourist Studies* 8:3, pp337–358.

Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative analysis, practice and innovation.* London: Routledge.

Fagence, M. (2014). 'Servicescape' as a Negotiated 'Third Space' in Tourism Culture. In *Tourism Recreation Research* 39:1, pp131-134,

Falk, J. H., Ballantyne, R., Packer, J. and Benckendorff, P. (2012). Travel and Learning: A Neglected Tourism Research Area. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 39:2, pp908 – 927.

Farell, B. (1992). Tourism as an element in sustainable development: Hana Maui. In: Smith, V. and Eadington, W. (eds)., *Tourism Alternatives*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 115–132

Fenichel, O. (1945) *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*. New York: Norton, pp268-310.

Fishman, D. (1999). *The Case for Pragmatic Psychology.* New York: New York University Press.

Foote, K. (1997). *Shadowed Ground: America s Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Forestell, P. H. (1993). If Leviathan has a face, does Gaia have a soul? Incorporating environmental education in marine eco-tourisms. In *Ocean and Coastal Management,* 20:3, pp267 – 282.

Forster, J. (1974). The sociological consequences of tourism. In *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 5:2, pp217 – 227.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison.* London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1986) Of Other Spaces. In *Diacritics* 16:1 (Spring, 1986), pp22 - 27.

Fowler, P. (1989). Heritage: A Post-Modernist Perspective. In: Uzzell, D. (ed.), *Heritage Interpretation: The Natural and Built Environment*. London: Belhaven, pp57 – 64.

Franklin, A. (2009). The Sociology of Tourism. In Jamal, T. and Robinson, M. (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Tourism*. London: SAGE, pp65 – 81.

Franklin, A & Crang, M. (2001). The Trouble with Tourism and Travel Theory? In *Tourist Studies* 1: 5, pp5 – 22.

Freud, S. (1999 reprint). *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud.* Vol. XIX (Translated from the German under the General Editorship of James Stracheyn in collaboration with Anna Freud. Assisted by Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson). London: Vintage.

Galani-Moutafi, V. (2000). The Self and the Other: Traveler, Ethnographer, Tourist. In *Annals of Tourism Research,* 27:1, pp203 - 224.

Gale, T. (2009). Urban beaches, virtual worlds and "The End of Tourism." In *Mobilities*, 4:1, pp119-138.

Gallagher, V., and Kalin, J. (2016) Collected Debris of Public Memory: Commemorative Genres and the Mediation of the Past. In Miller, C. and Kelly, A. (eds), *Emerging Genres in New Media Environments*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp243 – 256.

Gandy, M. (2012). Queer ecology: nature, sexuality, and heterotopic alliances. In *Environment and Planning D, Society and Space* 30: 4, pp727-747.

Gatto, J. (1977). *An Overview of TA (Transactional Analysis).* Eighth Annual Conference Proceedings: The Travel Research Association, pp 151 – 158.

Gee, C. Y., Choy D. J. L. and C. M. Makens (1984). *The Travel Industry.* Connecticut: AVI.

Genocchio, B. (1995) Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: The Question of Other Spaces. In Watson, S. and Gibson, K. (eds.), *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp35-46.

Gibson, M. (2007). Death and mourning in technologically mediated culture. In *Health Sociology Review* 16:5, pp415-424.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gilgun, J. (2001). Grounded theory and other inductive research methods. In Thyer, B. (ed.), *The Handbook of Social Work Research Methods. Thousand Oaks,* California: SAGE Publications, pp344

Gogia, N. (2006). Unpacking corporeal mobilities: The global voyages of labour and leisure. In *Environment and Planning A* 38:2, pp359-375.

Goldstein, J. (1999). The attractions of violent entertainment. In *Media Psychology* 1:3, pp271 – 282.

Goles, T. and Hirschheim, R. (2000). The paradigm is dead, the paradigm is dead...long live the paradigm: the legacy of Burrell and Morgan. In *Omega* 28, pp249 – 268.

Gössling, S., Hall, C. M. and Scott, P. (2010). The future of tourism: Can tourism growth and climate policy be reconciled? A mitigation perspective. In *Tourism Recreation Research*, 35:2, pp119 – 130.

Gottlieb, A. (1982). Americans' Vacations. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 9:2, pp165 - 187.

Goulding, M., & Goulding, R. (1979). Injunctions, decisions, and redecisions. In *Transactional Analysis Journal* 6:1, pp41 – 48.

Graburn, N. and Jafari, J. (1991). Introduction: Tourism social science. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 18:1, pp1 - 11.

Greenberg, J. (1995). Testing alternative explanations for mortality salience effects: terror management, value accessibility, or worrisome thoughts. In *European Journal of Social Psychology* 25, pp 417 – 433.

Gretzel, U. (2011). Intelligent systems in tourism: A Social Science Perspective. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:33, pp757 – 779.

Guarrasi, V. (2001) Paradoxes of Modern and Postmodern Geography: Heterotopia of Landscape and Cartographic Logic. In Minca, C. (ed.), *Postmodern Geography*. London: Blackwell, pp226-237.

Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. London: SAGE, pp105 - 117.

Gupta, S. and Vajic, M. (2000). The contextual and dialectical nature of experiences. In: Fitzsimmons, J. & Fitzsimmons, M. (eds.), *New service development: Creating memorable experiences.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp33 - 51.

Haldrup, M. (2004). Laid-back mobilities: Second-home holidays in time and space. In *Tourism Geographies* 6(4), pp434-454.

Hall, C.M. and McArthur, S. (1993). Heritage Management: An Introductory Framework. In: Hall, C. M.

and McArthur, S. (eds.), *Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia: Visitor Management, Interpretation and Marketing.* Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp1 – 17.

Hall, C. M. and Muller, D. K. (eds.) (2004). *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Hannam, K. (2008). Tourism geographies, tourist studies and the turn towards mobilities. In *Geography Compass* 2:1, pp127-139.

Hannam, K., Sheller, M. and Urry, J. 2006. Editorial: Mobilities, immobilities, moorings. In *Mobilities* 1:1, pp1-22.

Harris, T. A. (1969). *I'm OK, You're OK: A Practical Guide to Transactional Analysis*. New York: Harper & Row.

Harrison, R. P. (2003). *The Dominion of the Dead.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Harrison, D. and Lugosi, P. (2013). Tourism Culture(s): The Hospitality Dimension. In *Tourism Recreation Research* 38:3, pp269-279

Hartmann, R. (2005). The management of horror and human tragedy. In: Ashworth, G.J. & Hartmann, R. (eds.), *Horror and Human tragedy revisited: the management of sites of atrocities for tourism.* New York: Cognizant Books, pp253 – 262.

Heeley, J. (1989). Visitor attractions and their commercial sector. In *Insights, D1 - 13.* London: English Tourist Board.

Heitmann, S. (2011). Tourist behaviour and tourism motivation. In Robinson, P. et al (eds), *Research Themes for Tourism.* Oxford: CABI, pp31 - 44.

Henderson, J. (2000*).* War as a Tourist Attraction: The Case of Vietnam. In *International Journal of Tourism Research* 2, pp269 - 280.

Hetherington, K. (1997.) *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering*. London: Routledge.

Hewison, R. (1987). *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline.* London: Methuen.

Heynen, H. (2008). Afterthoughts: Heterotopia unfolded? In Dehaene, M. and De Cauter, L. (eds.), *Heterotopia and the City*. London and New York: Routledge, pp311-323.

Hoaglin, D.C., Light, R.L., McPeek, B., Mosteller, F. and Stoto, M.A. (1982*). Data for Decisions: Information Strategies for Policymakers.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Abt Books.

Hockey, K., Komaromy, C. and Woodthorpe, K. (eds.) (2010). *The Matter of Death. Space, Place and Materiality.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hohenhaus, P. (2013). Commemorating and commodifying the Rwandan genocide: Memorial sites in a politically difficult context. In Frew, E. & White, L. (eds.), *Dark Tourism and Place Identity.* Abingdon: Routledge, pp142-155.

Hollinshead, K. (1998). Tourism, hybridity and ambiguity: The relevance of Bhabha's Third Space cultures. In *Journal of Leisure Research* 30:1, pp121–156.

Hollinshead, K. (1999). Surveillance of The Worlds of Tourism: Foucault and The Eye-of-Power. In *Tourism Management* 20, pp 7- 23.

Hollinshead, K. (2004a). Tourism and third space populations: The restless motion of diasporic peoples. In Coles, T. & Timothy, D. (eds.), *Tourism, diasporas and space*. London: Routledge, pp33 – 49.

Hollinshead, K. (2004b). A primer in ontological craft: the creative capture of people and places through qualitative research. In Phillimore, J. & Goodson, L. (eds.), *Qualitative research in tourism: Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies.* London: Routledge, pp63 - 82.

Hollinshead, K. (2012). The under-conceptualisation of Tourism Studies: The case for postdisciplinary knowing. In Ateljevic, I., Morgan, N. & Pritchard, A. (eds.), *The critical turn in Tourism Studies: Creating an academy of Hope.* London: Routledge, pp55 – 72.

Hollinshead, K. and Seaton, V. (2010) Tourism studies and confined understanding: The call for a 'new sense' postdisciplinary imaginary. In *Tourism Analysis* 15:4, pp499 – 512.

Holloway, D. and Green, L. (2011). The Intratourist Gaze: Grey Nomads and Other Tourists. In *Tourist Studies* 11, pp235-252.

Hook, D. and Vrdoljak, M. (2002). Gated communities, heterotopia and a "rights" of privilege: a 'heterotopology' of the South African security-park. In *Geoforum* 33: 2, pp 195-219.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000). *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture.* London: Routledge.

Howarth, G. (2007). *Death and Dying: A Sociological Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hsu, M., Ju, T., Yen, C., & Changa, C. (2007). Knowledge sharing behavior in virtual communities: The relationship between trust, self-efficacy, and outcome

expectations. In *International Journal of Human Computer Studies* 65:2, pp153 - 169.

Hui, A. (2009). Many homes for tourism. In *Tourist Studies* 8:3, pp291-311.

Hughes, R. (2008). Dutiful tourism: Encountering the Cambodian genocide. In *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 49, pp318 - 330.

Hjarvard, S. (2008). The mediatization of society. In *Nordicom Review* 29:2, pp105-134.

Huigen, P., & Meijering, L. (2005). Making places: a story of De Venen. In Ashworth, G. & Graham, B. (eds.), *Senses of place: senses of time.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp 19-30.

Hyde, K. F. and Harman, S. (2011). Motives for a secular visit to the Gallipoli battlefields. In *Tourism Management* 32:6, pp1343 - 1351.

Hyun-Sook, K. (2006). Educating in a post-conventional society. In *Religious Education* 101:4, pp453-457.

Iles, J. (2008). Encounters in the fields – tourism to the battlefields of the western front. In *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 6:2, pp 138 – 154.

Irwin-Zarecka, I. (1994). *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory.* London: Transaction Publishers.

Isaac, R. & Ashworth, G. (2012). Moving from Pilgrimage to Dark Tourism: Leveraging Tourism in Palestine. In *Tourism Culture and Communication* 11: 3, pp149-164.

Isaac, K. R. and Çakmak, E. (2013). Understanding visitor's motivation at sites of death and disaster: the case of former transit camp Westerbork, the Netherlands. In *Current Issues in Tourism* 17:2, pp 164 – 179.

Iso-Ahola, S. E. (1982). Toward a Social Psychological Theory of Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 9:2, pp256 – 262.

Jafari, J. (1989). Structure of Tourism. In: S. F. Witt and L. Moutinho (eds.), *Tourism Marketing & Management Handbook.* Herts: Prentice Hall International (UK), pp437 – 442.

Jafari, J. (1990). Research and Scholarship: the basis of tourism education. In *Journal of Tourism Studies* 1:1, pp33 – 41.

Jafari, J. (2001). Scientification of tourism. In Smith, V. & Brent. M. (eds.), *Hosts and guests revisited: Tourism issues of the 21st century.* Elmsford: Cognizant, pp28 – 41.

Jafari, J. and Ritchie, J. (1981). Toward a framework for tourism education: Problems and prospects. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 8: 1, pp13 – 34.

Jamal, T. and Hollinshead, K. (2001). Tourism and the forbidden zone: the underserved power of qualitative inquiry. In *Tourism Management* 22: 1, pp63 – 82.

Jamal, T., & Lelo, L. (2011). Exploring the conceptual and analytical framing of dark tourism: from darkness to intentionality. In Sharpley, R. & Stone, P. (eds.), *Tourist experience: Contemporary perspectives.* London: Routledge, pp 29-42.

Jamal, T. and Robinson, M. (eds., 2009). *The SAGE Handbook of Tourism*. London: SAGE.

Jansen-Verbeke, M. and George, W. (2012). Reflections on the Great War Centenary: from warscapes to memoryscapes in 100 years. In Butler, R. and Suntikul, W. (eds.), *War and tourism: A complex relationship*, London: Routledge, pp 273–287.

Jansson A. (2002). Spatial phantasmagoria. The mediatization of tourism experience. In *European Journal of Communication* 17, pp429–443.

Jarvenpaa, S.L., Knoll, K. and Leidner, D.E. (1998). *Is anybody out there? Antecedents of trust in global virtual teams.* New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

Jeacle, I. & Carter, C. (2011). In TripAdvisor we trust: Rankings, calculative regimes and systems trust. In *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 36:4-5, pp293 - 309.

Jeacle, I. (2009). Accounting and everyday life: towards a cultural context for accounting research. In *Qualitative Research in Accounting and Management* 6:3, pp120 - 136.

Jennings, G. (2006). Perspectives on quality tourism experience: an introduction. In: Jennings, G. R. and Nickerson, N. (eds.), *Quality Tourism Experience.* Burlington, Mass.: Elsevier, pp1 - 15.

Johnson, P. (2013). The geographies of heterotopia. In *Geography Compass* 7:11, pp790–803.

Johnson, R. B. and Christensen, L B. (2011). *Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Approaches.* London: SAGE.

Johnston, A. (2015). The geographies of thanatourism. In *Geography* 100, pp20-27.

Johnstone, B. (1990). *Stories, community*, *and place.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Jones, J. (2005). *Easyjet: the study of Britain s biggest low-cost airline*. London: Aurum Press.

Jovicic, Z. (1988). A plea for tourismological theory and methodology. In *The Tourist Review* 43:3, pp2-5.

Kalinowski, K.M. and Weiler, B. (1992). Educational travel. In Weiler, B. and Hall, C. M. (eds.) *Special Interest Tourism*. London: Belhaven, pp15-26.

Kang, E. J., Scott, N., Lee, T. and Ballantyne, R. (2012). Benefits of visiting a dark tourism site: The case of the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park, Korea. In *Tourism Management* 33:2, pp257 - 265.

Kang, N. & Yu, Q. (2011). Corpus-based Stylistic Analysis of Tourism English. In *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 2:1, pp129 - 136.

Kaplan, E. A. (1997). *Looking for the Other: feminism, film, and the* imperial gaze. New York: Routledge.

Kastenbaum, R. (1979). “Healthy Dying”: A Paradoxical Quest Continues. In *Journal of Social Issues* 35:1, pp185 - 206.

Kearl, M. (1989). *Endings: A sociology of death and dying*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kearl, M. (2009). *Kearl"s Guide to Sociological Thanatology: Sociology of Death and Dying*. Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, USA. Accessed online 8 May 2016 at http://www.trinity.edu/mkearl/death.html

Keil, C. (2005). Sightseeing in the mansions of the dead. In *Social & Cultural Geography* 6:4, pp479 - 494.

Kellehear, A. (2005). *Compassionate Cities: Public Health and End of Life Care*. London: Routledge.

Kellehear, A. (2010). *A Social History of Dying.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kellehear, A. (2015). Is "Healthy Dying" a Paradox? Revisiting an Early Kastenbaum Challenge. In *Omega: Journal of Death & Dying* 70, pp 1-43.

Kelman, I. and Dodds, R. (2009). Developing a Code of Ethics for Disaster Tourism. In *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 27:3, pp272-296.

Kidron, C. A. (2013). Being there together: dark family tourism and the emotive experience of copresence in the Holocaust past. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 41, pp175-194.

Kim, H. & Richardson, S. L. (2003). Motion picture impacts on destination images. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 30:1, pp216–237.

Kingsbury, P (2005). Jamaican tourism and the politics of enjoyment. In *Geoforum* 36, pp113-132.

Kingsbury, P. and Brunn, S. D. (2003). Freud, Tourism, and Terror: Traversing the Fantasies of Post-September 11 Travel Magazines. In *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 15:2-3, pp39-62.

Kitchin, R. and Tate, N. (2000). *Conducting Research Into Human Geography: Theory, Methodology, and Practice.* London: Prentice Hall.

Kjell, O. (2002). Authenticity as a concept in Tourism research: the social organisation of the experience of authenticity. In *Tourist Studies* 2:2, pp159-182.

Kliger R. (2005). *Solidarity Boosts P.A. Tourism, but not Enough*. New York: The Media Line Ltd.

Knudsen, B. T. (2003). The Eyewitness and the Affected Viewer. September 11 in the Media. In *Nordicom Review* 24, pp117-125.

Knudsen, B. T. (2011). Thanatourism: Witnessing Difficult Pasts. In *Tourist Studies* 11:1, pp55-72.

Knudsen, B. T. and Waade, A. M. (eds., 2009). *Re-investing Authenticity. Tourism, Place and Emotions.* Leeds: Channel View Publications

Kolb, D. A. (1976). *The Learning Style Inventory: Technical Manual*. Boston, MA: McBer & Co.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development Vol. 1.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Korstanje, M. E. (2011). Detaching the elementary forms of dark-tourism. In *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism & Hospitality Research* 22:3, pp424-427.

Korte, B., H., Harvie, C. and Schneider, R. (2002). *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000.* London: Palgrave.

Kotler, P. et al (2006) *Marketing.* Frenchs Forest, N.S.W.: Pearson Education Australia.

Kozinets, R. V. (2002). The Field Behind the Screen: Using Netnography for Marketing Research in Online Communities. In *Journal of Marketing Research* 39:1, pp61 - 72.

Kozinets, R. V. (2010). *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online*. London: SAGE.

Krakover, S. (2005). Attitudes of Israeli Visitors Towards the Holocaust Remembrance Site of Yad

Vashem. In Ashworth, G. & Hartmann, R. (eds.), *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocity for Tourism.* New York: Cognizant Communications Corporation, pp108 - 117.

Krippendorf, J. (1987). *The Holiday Makers. Understanding the Impact of Leisure and Travel.* Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Kuusisto-Arponen, A-K. (2009). The mobilities of forced displacement: Commemorating Karelian evacuation in Finland. In *Social & Cultural Geography* 10, pp545-563.

Labov, W. (1997). Some further steps in narrative analysis. In *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7:14, pp395-415.

Lacan, J. (1977). *Écrits: A Selection* (translated by Alan Sheridan). New York: Norton & Co.

Langer, E. J. (1989). *Mindfulness*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Larsen, J. (2008) De-exoticizing Tourist Travel: Everyday Life and Sociality on the Move. In *Leisure Studies* 27:1, pp21-34.

Larssen, S. (2007). Aspects of a psychology of the tourist experience. In *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 7, pp7-18.

Laws, C. (2013). Pagan tourism and the management of ancient sites in Cornwall. In White, L. and Frew, E. (eds.), *Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places.* London: Routledge, pp97 – 114.

Le, D. and Pearce, D.G. (2011). Segmenting visitors to battlefield sites: international visitors to the former Demilitarized Zone in Vietnam. In *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 28:4, pp451 - 463.

Lee, C-K., Bendle, L. J., Yoon, Y-S. & Kim, M. J. (2011). Thanatourism or peace tourism: perceived value at a North Korean resort from an indigenous perspective. In *International Journal of Tourism Research 14*:1, pp 71-90.

Leeming, D. (2005). *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lefevbre, H. (1974). *Production of Space.* Paris: Editions Anthropos.

Leiper, N. (1990). Tourist Attraction Systems. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 17:3, pp367 – 384.

Leiper, N. (1981). Towards a cohesive curriculum in tourism: the case for a distinct discipline. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 8:1, pp69-848.

Lelo, L. and Jamal, T. (2013). Roots-making, diasporic identity and placemaking. In White, L. and Frew, E. (eds), *Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Place.* London: Routledge, pp28 - 45.

Lennon, J. and M. Foley, M. (1999). Interpretation of the Unimaginable: The US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C., and 'Dark Tourism'. In *Journal of Travel Research* 38:1, pp46 – 50.

Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (2000). *Dark tourism: The attraction of death and disaster*. London, NY: Continuum.

Ley, D. (1988). Interpretive social research in the inner city. In Eyles, J. (ed.), *Research in Human Geography.* Oxford: Blackwell, pp121–38.

Li, Y. (2003). Heritage tourism: The contradictions between conservation and change. In *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4:3, pp247 - 261.

Young, C. and Light, D. (2016). Interrogating spaces of and for the dead as 'alternative space': cemeteries, corpses and sites of Dark Tourism. In *International Review of Social Research* 6:2, pp61–72.

Light, D., (2000). An Unwanted Past: Contemporary Tourism and the Heritage of Communism in Romania. In *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, pp145-160.

Lindberg, K. and Johnson, R.L. (1997). Modelling resident attitudes towards Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 24:2, pp402 - 424.

Lisle, D. (2004). Gazing at *Ground Zero*: Tourism, voyeurism and spectacle. In *Journal for Cultural Research*, 8:1, pp3 - 21.

Lisle, D. (2007). Defending Voyeurism: dark tourism and the problem of global security. In Burns, P. M. and Novell, M.(eds.), *Tourism and politics. Global frameworks and local realities.* Oxford: Elsevier, pp333 - 347.

Litvin, S., Goldsmith, R., & Pan, B. (2008). Electronic word-of-mouth in hospitality and tourism management. In *Tourism Management* 29:3, pp458 - 468.

Livingston, J., (2007). *Founders at work: Stories of startups' early days*. New York: Apress.

Lofgren, O. (1999). *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Logan, W. and Reeves, K. (eds., 2009). *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage.* Oxon: Routledge.

Low, S. and Altman, I. (1992). Symbolic Ties that Bind: Place Attachment in the Plaza. In Altman, I. & Low, S. (eds.), *Place Attachment.* New York: Plenum Press, pp165-186.

Luecke, R. (2003). *Business communication*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Lundberg, D. E. (1990). *The Tourist Business.* London: CBI Publishing Company.

Lagerkvist, A. (2008). Travels in thirdspace: Experiential suspense in mediaspace – the case of America (Un)known. In *European Journal of Communication* 23:3, pp343-363.

Lagerkvist, A. (2007). Gazing at Pudong – "with a drink in your hand": Time travel, mediation and multisensuous immersion in the future city of Shanghai. In *The Senses and Society* 2:2, pp155 – 172.

Ma, M. and Hassink, R. (2013). An Evolutionary Perspective on Tourism Area Development. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 41, pp89 - 109.

MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings. In *American Journal of Sociology* 79, pp589 - 603.

MacCannell, D. (1976). *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: Schocken Books.

MacCannell, D. (1992). *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers.* New York: Routledge.

MacCannell, D. (2002). The Ego Factor in Tourism. In *Journal of Consumer Research* 29:2, pp146–151.

MacCannell, D. (2001). Tourist Agency. In *Tourist Studies* 1, pp23-27.

MacCannell, D. (2011). *Ethics of Sightseeing.* London: University of California Press.

MacIntyre, A. (1985). *After virtue: A study in moral theory*. London: Duckworth.

Maddrell, A. and Sidaway, J. D. (2010). *Deathscapes: Spaces for Death, Dying, Mourning and Remembrance.* Farnham, Hants: Ashgate.

Magee, R. & Gilmore, A. (2015) Heritage site management: from dark tourism to transformative service experience? In *The Service Industries Journal* 35:15-16, pp898-917.

Mannell, R. C. (1980). Social Psychological Techniques and Strategies for Studying Leisure Experiences. In Iso-Ahola, S. E. (eds.), *Social Psychological Perspectives on Leisure and Recreation*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles Thomas, pp62 – 88.

Mannell, R. C. and Iso-Ahola, S. E. (1987). Psychological Nature of Leisure and Tourism Experience. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 14, pp314 - 331.

Månsson, M. (2011). Mediatized Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:4, pp1634-1652.

Maoz, D. (2006). The mutual gaze. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 33:1, pp221-239.

Marcel, J. (2003). Death Makes a Holiday. In *The American Reporter*, May 29, 2003: 9, p2114.

Marcuse, H. (2001). *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp*, *1933-2001*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marcuse, H. (2005). Reshaping Dachau for Visitors: 1933-2000. In: G. Ashworth and R. Hartmann (eds.), *Horror and Human Tragedies Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism.* New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, pp118 - 148.

Mazanti, B. and Ploger, J. (2003). Community planning - from politicized places to lived spaces. In *Journal of Housing and Built Environment* 18:4, pp309-327.

Mayer, R., Davis, J. and Schoorman, F. (1995). An integrative model of organizational trust. In *Academy of Management Review* 203, pp709 - 734.

McCabe, S. and Foster, C. (2006). The Role and Function of Narrative in Tourist Interaction. In *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 4:3, pp 194-215.

McCain, G. and Ray, N. M. (2003). Legacy tourism: The search for personal meaning in heritage travel. In *Tourism Management* 24:6, pp. 713-717.

McClinchey, K.A. & Carmichael, B.A. (2010). The role and meaning of place in cultural festival visitor experiences: the tourism and leisure experience. In Morgan, M., Lugosi, P. and Ritchie, J. R. B. (eds.), *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and managerial perspectives*. Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp59-80.

McDowell, S. (2008). Selling Conflict Heritage through Tourism in Peacetime Northern Ireland: Transforming Conflict or Exacerbating Difference? In *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14:5, pp405 - 421.

McIntosh, R. W. and Goeldner, C. R. (1990). *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*. New York: Wiley & Sons.

Mead, W. R. (1995). Trains, Planes, and Automobiles: The End of the Postmodern Moment. In *World Policy Journal* 12:4, pp13–31.

Mellor, P. (1991). Self and Suffering: Deconstruction and Reflexive Definition in Buddhism and Christianity. In *Religious Studies* 27:1, pp 49 - 63.

Mellor, P. (1993). Death in High Modernity: the contemporary presence and absence of Death. In Clark, D. (ed.), *The Sociology of Death: theory, culture, practice.* Oxford: Blackwell, pp11 - 30.

Mellor, P. and Shilling, C. (1993). Modernity, Self-Identity and the Sequestration of Death. In *Sociology* 27:3, pp411 - 431.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. San Francisco:

Jossey-Bass Publishers,

Meuter, L., Ostrom, A. L., Roundtree, R. and Bitner, M. J. (2000). Self-Service Technologies: Understanding Customer Satisfaction With Technology-Based Service Encounters. In *Journal of Marketing* 64:3, pp50 - 64.

Meyersohn, R. (1981). *Tourism as a Socio-cultural Phenomenon: Research Perspectives*. Waterloo: Otium Publications.

Middleton, V. (1990). *Marketing in Travel & Tourism*. Burlington: Elsevier.

Miles, W. S. F. (2002). Auschwitz: Museum Interpretation and Darker Tourism. *In Annals of Tourism Research* 29, pp1175– 1178.

Miller, D.S. and Christopher Gonzalez, C. (2013). When death is the destination: the business of death tourism – despite legal and social implications. In *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 7:3, pp293-306.

Miller, G. J. and Whicker, M. (1999). *Handbook of Research Methods in Public Administration*. New York: Marcel Dekker.

Miller, S. (1984). Performatives. In *Philosophical Studies* 45:2, pp247–260.

Minnaert, L. (2012). Social Tourism as Opportunity for Unplanned Learning and Behaviour Change. In *Journal of Travel Research* 51:5, pp607 - 616.

Mintel (2007). *All-inclusive holidays.* London: Mintel.

Mitas, O., Yarnal, C., Adams, R. and Ram, N. (2012). Taking a "Peak" at Leisure Travelers' Positive Emotions. In *Leisure Sciences* 34:2, pp115-135.

Mitchell, L. M., Stephenson, P. H, Cadell, S. and Macdonald, M. E. (2012). Death and grief on-line: Virtual memorialization and changing concepts of childhood death and parental bereavement on the Internet. In *Health Sociology Review* 21:4, pp413-431.

Mitchell, R., (1998). Learning through Play and Pleasure Travel. In *Current Issues in Tourism* 1:2, pp176-88.

Morales, A. (2013). Turning the negative around: the case of Taupo, New Zealand. In White, L. and Frew, E. (eds.), *Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places.* London: Routledge, pp129-140.

Morgan, D. (1999). *Visual Piety: a history and theory of popular religious images.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Morgan, N., Pritchard, A. and Piggott, R. (2003). Destination branding and the role of the stakeholders: The case of New Zealand. In *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 9:3, pp285 - 299.

Moscardo, G. (1996). Mindful Visitors: heritage and tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 23: 2, pp 376-397.

Moscardo, G., and Ballantyne, R. (2008). Interpretation and attractions. In Fyall, A. et al (eds.), *Managing visitor attractions: New directions.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, pp 253 - 263.

Mouton, W. (2002). Experiential Learning in Travel Environments as a Key Factor in Adult Learning. In *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin* 6:1, pp36-42.

Mowatt, R. and Chancellor, H. (2011). Visiting Death and Life. Dark Tourism and Slave Castles. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:4, pp1410–1434.

Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (1994). *Tourism and Sustainability: new tourism in the Third World*. London: Routledge.

Mulvey, Laura (1975). Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. In *Screen* 16:3, pp 6–18.

Munt, I. (1994). The "Other" Postmodern Tourism: Culture, Travel and the New Middle Classes. In *Theory, Culture and Society* 11:3, pp101 - 123.

Nawijn, J., & Fricke, M. (2015). Visitor Emotions and Behavioral Intentions: The Case of Concentration Camp Memorial Neuengamme. In *Tourism Research* 17:3, pp221 – 228.

Neulinger, J. (1981). *To Leisure: An Introduction.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Nielsen, C. (2001). *Tourism and the Media.* Sydney: Hospitality Press Pty Ltd.

Novelli, M. (ed., 2005). *Niche tourism: Contemporary issues, trends and cases.* London*:* Butterworth-Heinemann,

Obrador Pons, P. and Carter, S. (2010) Art, politics, memory: Tactical tourism and the route of anarchism in Barcelona. In *Cultural Geographies* 17: 4, pp525-531.

O'Connor, P. (2008). User-generated content and travel: A case study of TripAdvisor.Com. In O'Connor, P., Hopken, W. & Gretzel, U. (eds.), *Information and communication technologies in tourism*. Vienna and New York: Springer, pp47-58.

Oldenburg, R. (1989). *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day*. New York: Paragon House.

Oliver, K. (2001). *Witnessing. Beyond Recognition*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Olsen, K. (2002). Authenticity as a concept in tourism research. In *Tourist Studies* 2:2, pp159-182.

O'Neill, M., Palmer, A. and Charters, S. (2002). Wine production as a service experience – the effect of service quality on wine sales. In *Journal of Services Marketing* 16:4, pp342 – 362.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J. and Leech, N. L. (2005). On Becoming a Pragmatic Researcher: The Importance of Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methodologies. In *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8, pp375-387.

Orams, M. B. (1997). The effectiveness of environmental education: can we turn tourists into "greenies"? in *Progress in Tourism Hospitality Research* 3:4, pp295 – 306.

Paccagnella, L. (1997). Getting the Seats of Your Pants Dirty: Strategies for Ethnographic Research on Virtual Communities. In *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communications* 3:1, June 1997. Accessed online September 2017 at https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.1997.tb00065.x

Paget, E., Dimanche, F. & Mounet, J.-P. (2010). A tourism innovative case: An actor-network approach. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 37:3, pp828-847.

Palmer, G. and Jankowiak, W. (1996). Performance and Imagination: Toward an Anthropology of the Spectacular and the Mundane. In *Cultural Anthropology* 11:2, pp225 – 258.

Pan, S. & Ryan, C. (2009). Tourism Sense-Making: The Role of the Senses and Travel Journalism. In *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 26:7, pp625 - 639.

Paris, C. (2012). Flashpackers: An emerging sub-culture? In *Annals of Tourism Research* 39:2, pp1094-1115.

Parker, L. D. (2009). Photo-elicitation: an ethno-historical accounting and management research prospect. In *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* 22:7, pp1111 - 1129.

Payne, A. F. (2008). Managing the co-creation of value. In *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 36:1, pp83 – 96.

Pearce, P. L. (1982). *International Series in Experimental Social Psychology Volume 3: The Psychology of Tourist Behaviour.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Pearce, D. G. (2005). Distribution channels for cultural tourism in Catalonia, Spain. In *Current Issues in Tourism* 8, pp424.

Pearce, P. L. (1988). *The Ulysses Factor.* New York: Springer-Verlag.

Pearce, P. L. (1993). Fundamentals of Tourist Motivation. In Pearce, P. and R. Butler, R. (eds.), *Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp85 - 105.

Pearce, P. L. (1996). Recent research in tourist behaviour. In *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 1:1, pp7 - 17.

Pearce, P. L. and Moscardo, G. M. (1984). Making sense of tourists' complaints. In *Tourism Management* 5, pp20-23.

Pearce, P. L. and Stringer, P. F. (1991). Psychology and tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 18:1, pp136 - 154.

Pearce, P. L. and Packer, J. (2013). Minds on the move: New links from psychology to tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 40:1, pp386 - 411.

Pernecky, T., Munar, A.M. and Feighery, W. (2016). Tourism in a Postdisciplinary Milieu: Final Demarcation Points. In *Tourism Analysis* 21:4, pp431 - 434.

Pezzullo, P.C. (2009). "This is the only tour that sells": Tourism, disaster, and national identity in New Orleans. In *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 7:2, pp99-114.

Phillips, W. and Jang, S. (2007). Destination Image and Visit Intention: Examining the Moderating Role of Motivation. In *Tourism Analysis* 12, pp319-326.

Pike, K. (1964). *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour, Vol. 1.* Glendale: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Pine, J. and Gilmore, J. (1999). *The Experience Economy.* Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Platenkamp, V. and Botterill, D. (2013). Critical realism, rationality and tourism knowledge. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 41, pp110-129.

Pizam, A. and Chandraseker, V. (1979). Journal of Travel Research XVIII: whole issue.

Pizam, A and Mansfeld, Y. (2009) *Consumer behaviour in travel and tourism.* London: Taylor and Francis.

Plog, S.C. (1974). Why destinations areas rise and fall in popularity. In *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly* November 1974, pp13-16.

Podoshen, J. S. (2013). Dark tourism motivations: Simulation, emotional contagion and topographic comparison. In *Tourism Management* 35, pp 263-271.

Podoshen, J. S. and Hunt, J.M. (2011). Equity restoration, the Holocaust and tourism of sacred sites. In *Tourism Management* 32:6, pp1332 - 1342.

Podoshen, J. S., Venkatesh, V., Wallin, J., Andrzejewski, S. A., and Jin, Z. (2015). Dystopian dark tourism: An exploratory examination. In *Tourism Management* 51, pp316–328.

Poon, A. (1993) *Tourism, technology and competitive strategie*s. Oxford: CABI.

Poria, Y., & Ashworth, G. (2009). Heritage Tourism—Current Resource for Conflict. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 36:3, pp522 - 532.

Poria, Y. (2007). Establishing cooperation between Israel and Poland to save Auschwitz Concentration Camp: globalising the responsibility for the Massacre. In *International Journal of Tourism Policy* 1:1, pp45 - 57.

Poria, Y., Butler, R. and Airey, D. (2004). Links between Tourists, Heritage, and Reasons for Visiting Heritage Sites. In *Journal of Travel Research* 43:1, pp19-28.

Prahalad, C. K. and Ramaswamy, V. (2004). Co-Creation Experience: The Next Practice in Value Creation. In *Journal of Interactive Marketing* 18:3, pp5 – 14.

Prat, A. G. and Aspunza, A. (2012). Personal experience tourism: a postmodern understanding. In Sharpley, R. & Stone, P. R. (eds) *Contemporary Tourist Experience: Concepts and Consequences*. Oxon: Routledge, pp11 - 24.

Preece, T. and Price, G. (2005). Motivations of participants in dark tourism: a Port Arthur example. In Ryan, C., Page, S. and Aicken, M. (eds.), *Taking tourism to the limits.* Oxford: Elsevier, pp238 – 248.

Przeclawski, K. (1985). The role of tourism in the contemporary culture. In *The Tourist Review* 40, pp2 - 6.

Purbrick, L., Aulich, J. and Dawson, G. (2007). *Contested Spaces: Sites, Representations and Histories of Conflict.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Qian, F. (2009). Let the dead be remembered: Interpretation of the Nanjing massacre memorial. In Logan, W. and Keir, R. (eds.), *Places of pain and shame: Dealing with 'difficult' heritage.* London: Routledge, pp17–33.

Quan, S., & Wang, N. (2004). Towards a Structural Model of the Tourist Experience: An Illustration from Food Experience. In *Tourism Management* 25, pp297 – 305.

Rakic, T. & Chambers, D. (2012). Rethinking the consumption of places. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 39, pp1612–1633.

Raskin, J. D. (2002). Constructivism in psychology: Personal construct psychology, radical constructivism, and social constructionism. In Raskin, J. D. and Bridges, S. K. (eds.), *Studies in meaning: Exploring constructivist psychology*. New York: Pace University Press, pp1 - 25.

Rayner, S. (2012). Uncomfortable knowledge: The social construction of ignorance in science and environmental policy discourses. In *Economy and Society* 41:1, pp107– 125

Reader, I. (2003). Review of *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. Accessed online 20 May 2017 at http://cultmedia.com/issue2/Rreade.html..

Relph, E. (1976). *Place and placelessness.* London: Pion.

Ren, C. (2011). Non-Human Agency, Radical Ontology and Tourism Realities. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:3, pp858–81.

Rice, A. (2009). Revealing Histories, Dialogising Collections: Museums and Galleries in North West England Commemorating the Abolition of the Slave Trade. In *Slavery and Abolition* 30:22, pp291-309.

Riches, D. (1986). The Phenomenon of Violence. In Riches, D. (ed.), *The Anthropology of Violence*. Oxford & New York: Blackwell, pp1-27.

Ridings, C. M., Gefen, D. and Arinze, B. (2002). Some antecedents and effects of trust in virtual communities. In *The Journal of Strategic Information Systems* 11:3-4, pp271 - 295.

Riley, M. (1986). A social psychological framework for customer service training. In Tourism Management 7, pp103-112.

Riley, R. and Love, L. (2000). The State of Qualitative Tourism Research. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 27:3, pp169 - 187.

Rittichainuwat, N. (2011). Ghosts: A travel barrier to tourism recovery. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:2, pp37-459.

Ritzer, G. (1998). *The McDonaldization Thesis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Ritzer, G., & Liska, A. (1997). 'Mcdisneyization' and 'post-tourism': Complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism. In Rojek, C. & J. Urry, J. (eds.), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory.* London: Routledge, pp96 – 109.

Robb, E. M. (2009). Violence and Recreation: Vacationing in the Realm of Dark Tourism. In *Anthropology and Humanism* 34:1, pp 51–60.

Robben, A. (2004). *Death, mourning, and burial: a cross-cultural reader.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Roberts, C. and Stone, P. R. (2014). Dark Tourism and Dark Heritage: Emergent Themes, Issues and Consequences. In Corsane, G. et al (eds) *Displaced Heritage: responses to disaster, trauma, and loss.* Woodridge: Boydell Press, pp10-18.

Robinson, N. and Dale, C. (2009). Dark Tourism. In Robinson, P., Heitman, S. and Dieke, P. (eds.), *Research Themes for Tourism.* Oxford: CABI Publications, pp205 – 215.

Rogozinski, K. (1985). Tourism as a Subject of Research and Integration of Sciences. In *Problemy Turystyki* 4, pp7 - 19.

Rojek, C. (1993). *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rojek, C. (1995). *Decentring Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory.* London: SAGE.

Rojek, C. (1999). Abnormal leisure: Invasive, mephitic and wild forms. In *Loisir et société / Society and Leisure* 22:1, pp21-37

Rojek, C. and J. Urry, J. (1997). Transformations of Travel and Theory. In Rojek, C. and Urry, J. (eds) *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory.* London: Routledge, pp 1 - 22.

Roppolo, C. (1996). International education: What does this mean for universities and tourism? In Robinson, M., Evans, N. and Callaghan, P. (eds.), *Tourism and Cultural Change*. Sunderland: Centre for Travel and Tourism, pp 191 – 201.

Ryan, C. (1997). Tourism a Mature Subject Discipline? In *Pacific Tourism Review* 1:1, pp3-5.

Ryan, C. (2003). *Recreational Tourism: Demands and Impacts.* Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2007). Picturing experience: A tourist-centered perspective on commemorative historical sites. In *Tourist Studies* 8:1, pp77-103.

Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2011). *Heritage that hurts: tourists in the memoryscapes of September 11.* Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast.

Sauer, C. (1956) The education of a geographer. In *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 46, pp287–299.

Sayer, A. (2001). For Postdisciplinary Studies: Sociology and the Curse of Disciplinary

Parochialism/Imperialism. In Eldridge, J., MacInnes, J., Scott, S., Warhurst, C. and Witz, A. (eds) *For Sociology: Legacies and Prospects*. Durham: Sociology Press, pp83-91.

Scarles, C. (2010). Where Words Fail, Visuals Ignite. *Annals of Tourism Research* 37, pp905 – 926.

Schänzel, H.A. & McIntosh, A.J. (2000). An insight into the personal and emotive context of wildlife viewing at the Penguin Place, Otago Peninsula, New Zealand. In *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 8:1, pp36 - 52.

Schegg, R. and Fux, M. (2010). A comparative analysis of content in traditional survey versus hotel review websites. In *Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism 2010. Proceedings of the International Conference in Lugano, Switzerland, February 10–12, 2010.* Springer: Vienna, pp429 – 440.

Schmidt, C. (1979). The guided tour – insulated adventure. In *Urban Life* 7:4, pp441–467.

Schmitt, B. (1999). Experiential Marketing. In *Journal of Marketing Management* 15, pp53-67.

Scholte, J.A. (2000). *Globalization: A critical introduction.* London: Palgrave.

Schwaller, C. (1992). *'As Others See Us': the role of cultural awareness in European tourism.* Paper presented at Tourism in Europe 1992 Conference 8 – 10 July, Durham. UK.

Seale, C. (1998). *Constructing Death: The Sociology of Dying and* Bereavement. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, John R. (1995), *The Construction of Social Reality.* London: Allen Lane.

Searle, J. R. (2012*). Making the Social World: The Structure of Human Civilisation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Seaton, A. V. (1996). Guided by the dark: From thanatopsis to thanatourism. In *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2:4, pp234-244.

Seaton, A. V. (1999) War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815 – 1914. In *Annals of Tourism* 26: 1, pp130 – 158.

Seaton, A. V. (1996) Guided by the dark: From thanatopsis *to* thanatourism. In *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2:4, pp234-244.

Seaton, A. V. (2002) Thanatourism's Final Frontiers? Visits to Cemeteries, Churchyards and Funerary Sites as Sacred and Secular Pilgrimage. In *Tourism Recreation Research* 27:2, pp73-82.

Seaton, A. V. (2009). Purposeful otherness: Approaches to the management of thanatourism. In Sharpley, R. and Stone, P. R. (eds.) *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism, Aspects of Tourism series*. Channel View Publications: Bristol. pp 75-108.

Seaton, A.V. (2012). Key note presentation. Presented at the Dark Tourism Symposium, 24 April, University of Central Lancashire, Preston.

Seaton, A.V. and Lennon, J. J. (2004). Thanatourism in the Early 21st Century: Moral Panics, Ulterior Motives and Alterior Desires. In Singh, T. V. (ed), *New Horizons in Tourism – Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices.* Oxford: CABI, pp63-82.

Selwyn, T. (1993). Peter Pan in South-East Asia. Views from the Brochures. In Hitchcock, M., King, V. and Parnwell, M.(eds.), *Tourism in South-East Asia*. London: Routledge, pp117-137.

Shackley, M. (2001). *Managing Sacred Sites*. London: Thompson.

Shamai, S., & Ilatov, Z. (2005). Measuring sense of place: Methodological aspects. In *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie,* 96:5, pp467-476.

Sharpley, R. (2005). Travels to the edge of Darkness: Towards a typology of dark tourism. In Ryan, C. et al (eds) *Taking Tourism to the Limit: Issue, Concepts and Managerial.* London: Elsevier, pp215 – 226.

Sharpley, R. (2009). Shedding Light on Dark Tourism: an Introduction. In Sharpley, R. & Stone, P. R. (eds) *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism, Aspects of Tourism Series.* Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp3 – 23.

Sharpley, R. (2011) *The Study of Tourism: past trends and future directions.* Oxon: Routledge.

Sharpley, R. (2012). Towards an Understanding of 'Genocide Tourism': An Analysis of Visitors' Accounts of Their Experience of Recent Genocide Sites. In Sharpley, R. and Stone, P. R. (eds), *Contemporary Tourist Experience: Concepts and Consequences*. Oxon: Routledge, pp95 – 109.

Sharpley, R. & Stone, P.R. (eds. 2009). *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism, Aspects of Tourism Series*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Sheppard-Simms, E. A. (2016). Islands of the Abject: Absence, trauma and memory in the cemetery island. In *Landscapes of Violence* 4:1, Article 2.

Sherlock, K. (2001). Revisiting the concept of hosts and guests. Tourist Studies, 1:3, pp271-295.

Sibley D (1995b) *Geographies of Exclusion* London and New York: Routledge.

Silverstone, R. (2007). *Media and Morality: on the Rise of the Mediapolis.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Simon, R. I. (2011). A shock to thought: Curatorial judgement and the public exhibition of difficult knowledge. In *Memory Studies* 4:4, pp432–449.

Simone-Charteris, M.T. and Boyd, S. (2010). Developing Dark and Political Tourism in Northern Ireland: An Industry Perspective. In Gorman, G. and Mottiar, Z. (eds.) *Contemporary Issues in Irish and Global Tourism and Hospitality*. Dublin: Dublin Institute of Technology, pp106 - 123.

Slade, P. (2003). Gallipoli thanatourism: the meaning of ANZAC. In *Annals of Tourism Research 3*0:4, pp779 – 794.

Smith, C. and Jenner, P. (1997). Market Segment: Educational Tourism Travel. In *Tourism Analyst* 3, pp60 – 75.

Smith, M. K. and Zátori, A. (2016). Re-Thinking Host-Guest Relationships in The Context of Urban Ethnic Tourism. In Pusso, P. and Richards, G. (eds.), *Negotiating the local in tourism*. Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp129-149.

Smith, O. and Raymen, T. (2016). Deviant Leisure: a criminological perspective. In Theoretical Criminology 22:1, pp63-82. 22.

Smith, V. L. (1992). Introduction: The quest in guest. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, pp1-17.

Smith, W.A. (2003). Does B&B management agree with the basic ideas behind experience management strategy? In *Journal of Business and Management* 9:3, pp233 – 247.

Smith, N., and Croy, W. G. (2005). Presentation of dark tourism: Te Wairoa, the Buried Village. In Ryan, C. Page, S. and Aicken, M. (eds.), *Taking tourism to the limits: Issues, concepts and managerial perspective.* Elsevier, Amsterdam, pp. 199-213.

Soja, E. (1996). *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Solomon, S., Greenberg, J. L., & Pyszczynski, T. (1991). A Terror Management Theory of Social Behavior: The Psychological Functions of Self-Esteem and Cultural Worldviews. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *24*(C), 93-159.

Son, A., & Pearce, P. (2005). Multi-faceted image assessment: International students' views of Australia as a tourist destination. In *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 18:4, pp21-35.

Sparkes, A. C. (1992). The paradigms debate: An extended review and a celebration of difference. In Sparkes, A. C. (ed), *Research in Physical Education and Sport. Exploring Alternative Vision*s. Lewes: The Falmer Press, pp9 -60.

Sparks, B. A. and Browning, V. (2010). Complaining in Cyberspace: The Motives and Forms of Hotel Guests' Complaints Online. In *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management* 19:7, pp797-818.

Spiro, R. J., Coulson, R. L., Feltovich, P. J. and Anderson, D. K. (1988). Cognitive flexibility theory: Advanced knowledge acquisition in ill-structured domains. In Patel, V. (ed.) *Tenth Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society Proceedings*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, pp640 – 653.

Stake, R. E. (2000). Case Studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd ed., pp.435-453). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stamboulis, Y. and Skyannis, P. (2003). Innovation strategies and technology for experience-based tourism. In *Tourism Management* 24:1, pp35 - 43.

Stebbins, R. A. (1996). *Tolerable differences: Living with deviance, Second Edition.* Toronto, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Steinbacher, S. (2005). *Auschwitz: A History*. London: HarperCollins.

Steiner, C. M. (1974). *Scripts People Live: Transactional Analysis of Life Scripts.* New York: Bantam.

Steiner, C.J. and Reisinger, Y. (2006). Understanding Existential Authenticity. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 33:2, pp299 - 318.

Stevenson, O., Kenton, C. and Maddrell, A. (2016). And now the end is near: enlivening and politicising the geographies of dying, death and mourning. In *Social & Cultural Geography,* 17:2, pp 153-165.

Stone, P. R. (2005). Dark Tourism Consumption – A call for research. E-Review in *Tourism Research* 3:5, pp109–117.

Stone, P. R. (2006). A Dark Tourism Spectrum: towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. In *TOURISM: An Interdisciplinary International Journal* 54, pp145 – 160.

Stone, P. R. (2009a). Making Absent Death Present: Consuming Dark Tourism in Contemporary Society. In Sharpley, R. and Stone, P.R. (eds) *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism, Aspects of Tourism Series.* Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp23-38.

Stone, P. R. (2009b). Dark tourism: Morality and new moral spaces. In Sharpley, R. and Stone, P.R. (eds) *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism, Aspects of Tourism Series.* Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp56-72.

Stone, P. R. (2010). *Death, Dying and Dark Tourism in Contemporary Society: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis.* Doctoral thesis: University of Central Lancashire.

Stone, P. R. (2011). Dark tourism: towards a new post-disciplinary research agenda. In *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology* 1:3-4, pp318 - 322.

Stone, P. R. (2013). Dark Tourism, Heterotopias and Post-Apocalyptic Places: The Case of Chernobyl. In White, L. and Frew, E. (eds), *Exploring Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places.* London: Routledge, pp79 - 93.

Stone, M.J. and Petrick, P.F. (2013). The Educational Benefits of Travel Experiences: A Literary Review. In *Journal of Travel Research* 52:6, pp731-744.

Stone, P. R. and Sharpley, R. (2008). Consuming dark tourism: A thanatological perspective. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 35:2, pp574–595.

Stone, P., Hartmann, R., Seaton, A., Sharpley, R. and White, L. (eds., 2018). *The Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies*. London: Palgrave.

Strange, C., and Kempa, M. (2003). Shades of dark tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 30:2, pp386–405.

Stylianou-Lambert, T.  (2012). Tourists with cameras: Reproducing or Producing? In *Annals of Tourism Research* 39:4, pp1817-1838.

Suter, K. (2010). Roadside Memorials: Sacred Places in a Secular Era. In *Contemporary Review* 292, pp51-59.

Suvantola, J. (2002).  Tourists' Experience of Place. In *European Urban and Regional Studies* 11:2, pp187 -188.

Tan, S., Kung, S. and Luh, D. (2013).  A model of creative experience in creative tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 41, pp153-174.

Tang, Y. (2014). Dark touristic perception: motivation, experience and benefits interpreted from the visit to seismic memorial sites in Sichuan Province. In *Journal of Mountain Science* 11:5.

Tarlow, P. E. (2005). Dark Tourism: The appealing dark side of tourism and more. In Novelli, M. (ed.), *Niche Tourism – Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, pp47-58.

Taum, Y. (2005). *Collective Cambodian memories of the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge regime.* Paper presented at the Fifth Annual Conference of the Asian Scholarship Foundation. Bangkok, July 25-26, 2005. Accessed online 19 January 2017at http://www.asianscholarship.org/asf/ejourn/articles/yoseph_yt.pdf

Terkenli, T. (2001). Towards a theory of the landscape: the Aegean landscape as a cultural image. In *Landscape Urban Planning* 57, pp 197-208.

Teye, V.B. and Timothy, D.J. (2004). The varied colors of slave heritage in West Africa. In *Space and Culture* 7:2, pp 145-155.

Thurnell-Read, T. (2009).  Engaging Auschwitz: an analysis of young travellers' experiences of Holocaust tourism. In *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* 1:1, pp26-52.

Timothy, D. J. and Boyd, S.W. (2006). Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives. In *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1:1, pp1 – 16.

Toffler, A. (1980). *The Third Wave.* New York: William Morrow.

Touraine, A. (1978). *La voix et le regard.* Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Tribe, J. (1997). The Indiscipline of Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 24:3, pp638 – 657.

Tribe, J. (2006). The truth about tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 33:2, pp360- 381.

Tribe, J. (2007). Critical Tourism: Rules and Resistance. In Ateljevic, I., Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. (eds.), *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp29 – 40.

Tuan, Y. (1977) *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996). *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. New York: Wiley.

Turner, J. (1997). *The Institutional Order: Economy, Kinship, Religion, Polity, Law, and Education in Evolutionary and Comparative Perspective*. New York: Longman.

Turner, L. and Ash, J. (1975). *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*. London: Constable.

Turner, V. (1982). From Ritual to Theatre: the human seriousness of play. New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications.

Turner, V. and Turner, E. (1978). *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Tussyadiah, I. P. and Fesenmaier, D. R. (2009). Mediating Tourist Experiences: Access to Places via Shared Videos. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 36:12, pp4-40.

Um, S. and Crompton, J.L. (1990). Attitude determinants in tourism destination choice. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 17:3, 432–448.

Urbain, J. (1989). The tourist adventure and his images. In *Annals of Tourism Research,* 16:1, pp106118.

Uriely, N. (2005). The tourist experience. Conceptual developments. In *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32:1, pp199-216.

Uriely, N. (1997). Theories of modern and postmodern tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 24:4, pp982 - 985.

Uriely, N., Ram, Y. and Malach-Pines, A. (2011). Psychoanalytic sociology of deviant tourist behaviour. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:3, pp1051-1069.

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: SAGE.

Urry J. (1995). *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2000). Mobile sociology. In *British Journal of Sociology* 5:1, pp185-203.

Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze, Second Edition*. London: SAGE.

Urry, J. (2003). The Sociology of Tourism. In Cooper, C. (ed.), *Classical Reviews in Tourism*. Sydney: Channel View Publications, pp9 – 21.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Urry, J. and Larsen, J. (2011*). The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: SAGE.

Uzzell, D. L. (1989). The Hot Interpretation of War and Conflict. In Uzzell, D.L. (ed), *Heritage Interpretation Volume I: The Natural and Built Environment.* London, Belhaven, pp 33 – 47.

Uzzell, D.L. and Ballantyne, R. (1998). Heritage that Hurts: Interpretation in a Post-Modern World. In Uzzell, D.L. and Ballantyne, R. (eds.), *Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation: Problems and Prospects.* London: The Stationery Office, pp152-171.

Vargo, S. L. and Lusch, R. F. (2004). Evolving to a New Dominant Logic for Marketing. In *Journal of Marketing* 68, pp1 - 17.

Veal, A. V. (2006) *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism.* UK: Pearson Education Ltd.

Veijola, S. & Jokinen, E. (1994). The Body in Tourism. In *Theory, Culture and Society* 11:3, pp125-151.

Verbrugge, L.M. (1980). Health diaries. In *Medical Care* 18, pp73–95.

Wachtel, J. M. (1980). Transactional analysis training for the travel industry. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 7:3, pp455-471.

Walsh, J. (1992). *The Representation of the Past*. London: Routledge.

Walter, J. (1982). Social limits to tourism. In Leisure Studies 1, pp295–304.

Walter, T. (2009) Dark Tourism: Mediating Between the Dead and the Living. In Sharpley, R. & Stone, P. R. (eds.) *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism, Aspects of Tourism Series.* Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp39- 55.

Walter, T., Hourizi, R., Moncur, W. and Pitsillides, S. (2012) Does the Internet Change How We Die and Mourn? Overview and Analysis. In *OMEGA - Journal of Death and Dying* 64:4, pp275 – 302.

Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 26:2, pp349–370.

Wang, N. (2000). *Tourism and modernity: A sociological analysis.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Warren, S. (2005). Photography and voice in critical qualitative management research. In *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal* 18:6, pp861 - 882.

Wasko, M. M. and Faraj, S. (2000). It is what one does: why people participate and help others in electronic communities of practice. In *Journal of Strategic Information Systems* 9, pp155 - 173.

Watts (2008). Madeleine tourists should be ashamed. SKY News. Accessed online 14 November, 2018 at http://news.sky.com/skynews/Home/Sky-NewsArchive/Article/20080641314705

Wearing, S., Stevenson, D., & Young, T. (2010). *Tourist cultures: Identity, place and the traveller.* London: Sage.

Wearing, S. and Wearing, M. (2006). "Rereading the Subjugating Tourist" in Neoliberalism: Postcolonial Otherness and the Tourist Experience. In *Tourism Analysis* 11, pp145-162.

Webber, J. (1993). What Does Auschwitz Mean Today? In Wiebocka, T. (ed.), *Auschwitz: A History in Photographs.* Oswiecim: Panstowowe Muzeum Oswiecim, pp282–291.

West, B. (2010). Dialogical Memorialization, International Travel and the Public Sphere: Cultural Sociology of Commemoration and Tourism at the First World War Gallipoli Battlefields. In *Tourist Studies* 10:3, pp209 - 225.

Westover (2012). Necromanticism: Travelling to Meet the Dead 1750 – 1860. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

White, N.R. & White, P.B. (2007). Home and away: Tourists in a connected world. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 34:1, pp88-104.

White, L. and Frew, E. (2013*). Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places.* London: Routledge.

Wickens, E. (2001). The sacred and the profane: a tourist typology. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 29:3, pp834 – 852.

Wicks, A.C. and Freeman, R.E. (1998). Organization Studies and the New Pragmatism: Positivism, AntiPositivism, and the Search for Ethics. In *Organization Science* 9:2, pp123-140.

Wight, A. C. (2006). Philosophical and methodological praxes in dark tourism: Controversy, contention and the evolving paradigm. In *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 12:2, pp119-129.

Wight, A.C. & Lennon, J. (2007). Selective interpretation and eclectic human heritage in Lithuania. In *Tourism Management* 28:2, pp519–529.

Wilbert, C. and Hansen, R. (2009). Walks in spectral space: East London crime-scene tourism. In Jansen, A. and Lagerkvist, A. (eds.), *Strange spaces: explorations into mediated obscurity.* Aldershot: Ashgate, pp187 – 204.

Williams, P. (2004). Witnessing genocide: Vigilance and remembrance at Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek Holocaust. In *Genocide Studies* 18:2, pp234–254.

Williams, P. (2007). *Memorial Museums - The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities.* Oxford: Berg.

Wilson, J. Z. (2008). *Prison: cultural memory and dark tourism.* New York: Peter Lang.

Winnicott, D. W. (1986). *Home is Where We Start From: Essays by a Psychoanalyst.* London: Penguin.

Winter, C. (2009). Tourism, social memory and the Great War. In *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36:4, pp 607-626.

Winter, C. (2011a). Battlefield visitor motivations: Explorations in the Great War town of Ieper, Belgium. In *International Journal of Tourism Research* 13, pp164–176.

Winter, C. (2011b). First World War Cemeteries: insights from visitors' books. In *Tourism Geographies* 13:3, pp462-479.

Winter, J. (1998) *Sites of memory, sites of mourning: The great war in European cultural history.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Witt, S., Brooke, M. and Buckley, P. (1991). *The Management of International Tourism*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Wolcott, H. (1994). *Transforming Qualitative Data: description, analysis and interpretation.* Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

World Tourism Organisation (WTO) & World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) (1998). *The Handbook on Natural Disaster reduction in Tourist Areas.* Madrid: WTO & WMO.

Wright, E. A. (2005). Rhetorical spaces in memorial places: The cemetery as a rhetorical memory place/space. In *Rhetorical Society Quarterly* 35:4, pp51-81

Xin, S., Tribe J. and Chambers, D. (2013). Conceptual research in tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 41, pp66-88.

Ybema, S., Yanow, D., Wels., H and Kamsteeg, F. (2010). Ethnography. In: Mills, A., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, pp348 – 352.

Ye, Q., Law, R. and Gu, B. (2009). The impact of online user reviews on hotel room sales. In *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 28:1, pp180 – 182.

Yiannakis, A. and Gibson, H. (1992). Roles tourists play. In *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, pp287-303.

Yin, R.K. (1994) *Case Study Research Design and Methods.* Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Young, J. E. (1993). *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. London: Yale University Press.

Young, K. (2009). Auschwitz-Birkenau: the challenges of heritage management following the Cold War. In Logan, W. and Reeves, K. (eds.) *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage.* Oxon: Routledge, pp50-67.

Yuill, Stephanie Marie (2003). Dark tourism: understanding visitor motivation at sites of death and disaster. Master's thesis, Texas A&M University. Texas A&M University.

Zhang, Z., Zhang, X. and Yang, Y. (2016). The power of expert identity: How website-recognized expert reviews influence travelers' online rating behaviour. In *Tourism Management* 55, pp. 15-24.

Zimmermann, C. (2007). Death denial: obstacle or instrument for palliative care? An analysis of clinical literature. In *Sociology of Health & Illness* 29:2, pp297.