Dark Tourism
Practice and interpretation

Edited by Glenn Hooper and John J. Lennon
Dark tourism, as well as other terms such as thanatourism and grief tourism, has been much discussed in the past two decades. This volume provides a comprehensive exploration of the subject from the point of view of both practice – how dark tourism is performed, what practical and physical considerations exist on site – and interpretation – how dark tourism is understood, including issues pertaining to ethics, community involvement and motivation. It showcases a wide range of examples, drawing on the expertise of academics with management and consultancy experience, as well as those from within the social sciences and humanities. Contributors discuss the historical development of dark tourism, including its earlier incarnations across Europe, but they also consider its future as a strand within academic discourse, as well as its role within tourism development. Case studies include holocaust sites in Germany, as well as analysis of the legacy of war in places such as the Channel Islands and Malta. Ethical and myriad marketing considerations are also discussed in relation to Ireland, Brazil, Rwanda, Romania, the UK and Nepal.

This book covers issues that are of interest to students and staff across a spectrum of disciplines, from management to the arts and humanities, including conservation and heritage, site management, marketing and community participation.

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Although tourism is becoming increasingly popular both as a taught subject and an area for empirical investigation, the theoretical underpinnings of many approaches have tended to be eclectic and somewhat underdeveloped. However, recent developments indicate that the field of tourism studies is beginning to develop in a more theoretically informed manner, but this has not yet been matched by current publications.

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Emergence and growth

‘Dark tourism’, both as a category and as an analytical tool, has developed considerably in the past two decades. Lennon and Foley’s *Dark Tourism* (1996), Tunbridge and Ashworth’s *Dissonant Heritage* (1996), Ashworth and Hartmann’s *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited* (2005), Sharples and Stone’s *The Dark Side of Travel* (2007), as well as individual articles by Seaton and others reflected a growing interest in the field that stemmed in part from increasing access to sites in countries in eastern Europe and beyond.1 Many more publications, sometimes developing discipline-specific lines, have since been added to the list, including Skinner’s *Writing the Dark Side of Travel* (2012) and White and Frew’s *Dark Tourism and Place Identity* (2013).2 Not confined to dry and academic discussion only, the tourism industry, where interpretation and theory is tested and, if thought viable, absorbed and developed further, is no slouch when it comes to new ideas and opportunities. But an alliance between terms such as ‘tourism’ and ‘dark’? What sort of recalibration was required to pull those two, seemingly incongruent, terms together? What did they mean; was it realistically possible to combine leisure with commemoration; and, in any case, what sorts of dangers might arise from a union of terms that ran so dangerously close to cancelling one another out?

Since many consider tourism itself to be a discipline of slippery and evasive classifications, responsive to the whims of international markets and consumers, it might be argued that the prefix ‘dark’ could provide a stabilising influence. As geographers, anthropologists and historians can attest, tourists can themselves be a varied and often complicated group. Out for good times, as often as not indifferent to all but their own private satisfactions and desires, they have often wreaked havoc with their demands and cultural insensitivities, their appetites and gluttonous capacity for superficiality and pleasure. Congested roads, litter and pollution, over-developed sites with their poorly constructed and indifferently designed hotels, exhausted infrastructure and bloated termini, not to mention the compromised conservation principles that surround many heritage sites (we will pass silently over ‘visitor interpretation centres’) – tourists are responsible for a great deal of cultural and environmental destruction. Yes, they bring in money, stimulate the local economy and are indirectly responsible for ensuring the implementation
of new tourism and hospitality training programmes, but if ever there was a market of mixed blessings then this is it.

However, despite the mixed reviews and sometimes legitimate concerns expressed by tourism-dependent economies, whatever the criticism about the future of the industry and its insatiable demands, we know that tourism has brought good as well as ill. For example, in recent years, because of increasing green and environmental awareness, a genuine commitment to regeneration (rural and urban both) and sustainable programmes that work to a set of longer-term principles, concerned as much with tourism legacies as with immediate tourism impacts, we find genuine signs of hope. It is true that we are witnessing ever greater levels of market fragmentation, with tourism boards and operators proliferating wildly, but the fact remains that tourism can also be a positive. Recently developed tourism offerings in Namibia, for example, draw tourists not just to see wildlife and landscape, but also to become more aware of the demands for sustainable conservation programmes, including the need for animal welfare, new training initiatives and so forth. Tourism volunteering programmes, such as those that are offered to visitors with interests in archaeology, are a well-developed part of the heritage tourism offer in Britain, much respected for the training offered, the experiences gained and the professional commitment of their staff. The international Eco-Tourism Society offers rainforest cruises that bring hard currency to areas much in need of it, but in such a way as to impinge lightly or not at all upon the environment, with trips organised to the Galapagos, the Panama Canal and the Amazon, all sites high on the wish-list of adventure tourists. Combined with greater cultural understanding, much aided by an increasingly globalised and savvy constituency, the modern tourist is today a much more complex individual, part of an even longer and more diverse spectrum than was available thirty or forty years ago, but with the capacity to make a positive contribution nonetheless.

So when dark tourism was added to the mix, it might have been felt that here was a potentially useful development – that tourists who were interested in the memorialisation of the dead, who were concerned with historical atrocity and evil and driven by a desire for education and greater self-awareness, might serve the industry well. This cohort were reverentially attentive, less concerned about the trivialities of comfort and leisure than the average annual holidaymaker, and a relatively new category of international visitor. Gathered before war graves and around battle sites, at places of genocide or natural disaster fields, here was a different type of tourist, like nothing before seen, who was interested in weakness and failure and the human capacity for malevolence. Moreover, when Lennon and Foley produced their co-authored *Dark Tourism* they described in vivid detail the places where such tourists were now congregating in greater numbers, evidence of a movement towards increasing tourist sensitivity and concern: sites of trauma such as Changi Gaol in Singapore, associated with many atrocities perpetrated by the Japanese upon British and Allied soldiers; Auschwitz and Majdanek in Poland, the notorious death camps of the Third Reich; British memorials at the Somme; border conflict zones in Cyprus; American memorials at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii and others. Although Sharpley and Stone introduced greater thematic variety in their
The Darker Side of Travel, much of the emphasis still remained firmly associated with the historically accurate, where emotional and psychological depth was emphasised, and sites associated with trauma and barbarity highlighted. Terms such as ‘kitschification’ – a growing acceptance of the appeal of fear, anxiety and fun, of a clearly identified lighter side of dark tourism, in keeping with the growth of the term, the wider options available and the increasing interest being generated among tourists and providers both – were also foregrounded. However, much of the emphasis remained focussed on places of morbidity and grief, of torture, brutality and human suffering: the House of Terror in Budapest, the World Trade Center in New York, the Museum of Genocide at Tuol Sleng in Cambodia. Site managers might fret over the additional responsibilities that accompany dark tourism membership, but as for the dark tourists themselves, surely there could be nothing untoward about travellers whose interests centred mainly upon death or disaster?

In the debate about the emergence of dark tourism, and given the difficulties inherent in marketing human grief and suffering, it is important to remember that this niche offering in fact has a long history. Most commentators on dark tourism point to tourists from an earlier era, who were just as vulgar and tactless as any other travellers, and just as easily attracted to salacious thrills and excitement. Education or self-improvement were hardly evident in visits to see slaves fight to the death in the coliseum, to watch public executions and punishments in early modern England, to gawp at figures in asylums such as Bedlam or to look at sites of disaster where people drowned, were burned or fell to their deaths. It is difficult to interpret these impulses as more than the simple gratification of curiosity or, should we wish to put a more profound metaphysical gloss on it, for the purposes of considering their own mortality. Dark tourism has always existed in some form or other. What did not exist was the term itself, the marketing that has now grown up around it, the academic discourse such as we are presently engaged in and, most of all, the acceptance of the term into common usage. And while tourism boards and authorities might be cautious about a public engagement with the term, its connotations too much in conflict with the idea of spontaneous abandonment, relaxation and pleasure conjured up by the term ‘tourism’, there are still many for whom the term evokes mystery, excitement and the forbidden.

Ethics and reconsiderations

The opening up of trauma sites in eastern Europe and Asia has driven an academic and industry desire to identify more precisely what dark tourism actually encompasses. The field is required to respond to the ethical issues that arise in management and marketing and to engage in discussion about how dark sites might be simultaneously economically viable, and not overly exploitative of the trauma that the site contains. Building on work by Urry and Rojek in the 1990s, Lennon and Foley’s Dark Tourism originally evaluated what was seen as a relatively new phenomenon: the desire by tourists for new experiences, especially experiences that related to death, disaster and atrocity. The authors provided examples of dark
tourism sites as part of their analysis, but they also indicated that there were a range of other possibilities, including the ‘former concentration camp, battle site, assassination or killing site or the location of a disaster’, all of which could become ‘a tourism resource to be exploited like any other’. To help assess the recent upsurge of interest for such commodities they defined dark tourism as another example of late modernity, where everything is available for sale and consumption, including images and narratives associated with death. They also noted historic patterns of dark tourism that included visits made by tourists to ‘cemeteries, mausoleums, churchyards’, where death was commemorated and where issues of human mortality would therefore naturally arise.

Almost a decade after the publication of Lennon and Foley’s text there appeared another landmark publication in the development of dark tourism studies: Sharpley and Stone’s *The Darker Side of Travel*, which brought together further analysis, a wider spectrum of case studies and, perhaps just as importantly, more questions about the entire dark tourist project, including an evaluation of the various ethical, management and interpretation issues that surround such sites. One of the most important issues that faced Sharpley and Stone centred on questions of definition, which Sharpley tackled rigorously in a perceptive introductory essay. There was increasing evidence of a rise in supply and demand, he argued, and the study of dark tourism was now described as ‘both justifiable and important’. However, the academic literature available was also ‘eclectic and theoretically fragile’, a number ‘of fundamental questions with respect to dark tourism remain[ed] unanswered’, and several earlier attempts at working in the area ‘lacked theoretical foundations’ and were ‘largely descriptive’ in content. It would appear that although Lennon and Foley drew a line underneath what constituted dark tourism in 1996 (that it should be post-1900, preferably within living memory and capable of creating anxiety and doubt), the field had blossomed in the intervening years, to the point where it could include more diverse jurisdictions and examples and cross a much wider set of historical periods. Dark tourism, in other words, was now an academic growth area. Picked up by the media as well as academic publishers, it had also spread across schools of tourism management in the first instance, but enjoyed an increasing presence within the social sciences and the humanities. And what Sharpley clearly recognised, as he surveyed the proliferating spectacle that lay before him, was that this was both its strength and its weakness.

Perhaps a greater concern to several of the contributors to the Sharpley and Stone volume was a growing understanding of the ethical issues surrounding dark tourism, from both the supply and demand sides. While the image of tourists standing patiently in queues to visit Anne Frank’s house, or the Jewish Museum in Berlin, testifies to a level of concern and decency, a determination to ensure that regrettable events are never forgotten or written out of the historical record, not all of those who attend such venues do so with the best of intentions. As with the killing fields in Cambodia or Angola, or national cemeteries that commemorate war dead, for some visitors there is, in addition to the draw of the historical story that is being told, an element of voyeurism, possibly even of adventure in being close to events that are reprehensible and obscene. And whatever management
systems are put in place, however careful the marketing, despite a strong educational element in the form of new technologies and a clearly identifiable heritage component in place, there is always the possibility that some are attending for quite personal, arguably even perverse, reasons. In other words, efforts to engage as honestly and directly as possible with painful human memories so as to ensure a respectful visitor engagement with the site cannot always be guaranteed. And one must ask, in the context of tourism development, whether visitors should in fact be ‘required’ to acknowledge historic pain and suffering? It is to be hoped that visitors to dark tourist sites will be mindful of the suffering that took place there, but it is another thing to require them to visit for the ‘right’ reasons.

This is one of the key ethical conundrums thrown up by dark tourism. Visitor attractions have now developed that specifically cater for those who hanker after thrills, in the form of purpose-built sites dedicated to dark tourism themes, or attractions that have – in the interest of generating greater revenues – refurbished their offer in such a way as to take advantage of the recent interest in dark tourism as a niche area with development potential. Tourism operators at Chernobyl, for example, cater for a wide range of tastes and interests and offer anything from private one-day to week-long tours of the site and its facilities. Indeed, so successful has Chernobyl become as a dark tourism destination that several companies now work this particular location, many marketing their tours around provocative headlines designed to shock: ‘communist propaganda’, ‘military installation’, ‘radiation reconnaissance routes’; these terms act as additional drivers in marketing the site. The success of the strategy is all the more remarkable given that recent reports suggest a relatively low mortality rate from the tragedy, most recently estimated at 4,000 deaths from radiation-related cancers, as opposed to the original Greenpeace estimation of 93,000. This raises the question of whether the people who organise such tours do so responsibly and with the full historical facts to hand. Do they offer value-free and objective interpretations? Do the tourists who sign up for such tours do so because of a desire to understand the dangers as well as the possibilities of nuclear technology, and out of respect for the dead and still suffering? Most importantly, are either visitors or marketers required to hold themselves to high moral standards, or do they merely regard these places as an afternoon’s holiday diversion? Such ethical considerations have always posed some of the greatest challenges to the dark tourism project, and yet such issues also show no signs of becoming definitively settled any time soon.

**Practice and interpretation**

Although dark tourism has been a term much discussed in the past two decades, this volume specifically addresses the subject from the point of view of both practice (how dark tourism is managed and performed, what practical and physical considerations exist at site) and interpretation (how dark tourism is perceived and processed, what sorts of motivations or ethical considerations it elicits). Multidisciplinary in approach, as well as international in scope, theme and approach, this collection brings together experts in the field of dark tourism studies, with practical and operational expertise, but it also includes researchers from the
fields of heritage, cultural geography, landscape studies and tourism history. Written with the wider cultural contexts and broader impacts of dark tourist venues firmly in mind, including the use of comparative examples where appropriate, the chapters employ case studies wherever possible, irrespective of disciplinary orientation. Several of the contributions are based upon questionnaires and interviews, or are at least partly produced on the basis of surveys, while others depend upon existing secondary literature and auto-ethnographic analysis. Contributors also consider dark tourism across the widest of spectrums, from the palest of sites through to the darkest, from fictional and filmic deaths to the horrors of historical atrocity as depicted at times of war and revolution, or as a result of postcolonial upheaval and trauma. 

Several of the essayists engage with visitor motivation and, while working across a variety of venues, produce not dissimilar conclusions concerning the underlying motivations behind tourist travel to alleged dark sites. In a detailed discussion of tourism in relation to Holocaust sites, Greg Ashworth and John Tunbridge warn against too easy a working definition of dark tourism, reminding the reader that many other overlapping or hybrid terms cover similar ground: disaster tourism, battlefield tourism, victim tourism, danger tourism and atrocity tourism. They also point to the sobering effects of commodification, even at Holocaust sites, of the ‘Schindler experience’, and of the need found among some tourists for the ‘exciting frisson of proximity to horror’. Tourism products can make for all sorts of difficulties, especially for the managers of such venues, many of whom are concerned with conservation, education and site-appropriate behaviour; these remain, not surprisingly, some of the greatest challenges facing anyone working in the sector today. Ria Dunkley’s chapter also engages with visitor motivation, asking if such experiences make people more reflective and, more specifically, whether such visits can raise understanding and improve tolerance levels. Like Ashworth and Tunbridge, she identifies the modern need to explore the unusual and the ‘urge to commemorate’ that seems so prevalent today, but asks if exposure to such narratives creates positive behaviour and raises understanding, or rather intensifies and disseminates tension. After a consideration of several venues she concludes that, if thoughtfully and scrupulously managed, dark tourism sites can indeed produce benefits, particularly in developing a sense of connection between communities – a conclusion echoed by Richard Sharpley and Mona Friedrich in their analysis of genocide tourism in Rwanda. From a thought-provoking overview in which they suggest that dark tourism is too limiting, vague and, in its overlap with other niche tourism areas, a sometimes uncertain category, Sharpley and Friedrich highlight the positive and beneficial outcomes of the Kigali site. Proposed by the Rwandan authorities for UNESCO World Heritage Site status, such genocide museums, with their emphasis on education, greater understanding and learning, are to be much admired, especially in terms of the wider cross-community objectives and in their engagement with schools and other stakeholders. Sharpley and Friedrich prove that those who take the trouble to attend such sites do so out of commitment and a compelling need to understand, and they refute the suggestion of deviance or voyeuristic pleasure.
Commodification and the need for sites to remain vigilant in the face of potential exploitation has been discussed in earlier works. In their analysis of the notorious prison sites of Alcatraz and Robben Island, for example, Strange and Kempa point out that some ‘heritage industry commentators, concerned generally about the inauthenticity of popularized “theme park” history, have denounced tourism as an inappropriate and even immoral vehicle for the presentation of human suffering’. Peter Tarlow has reminded us that however careful managers might be, there will always be ‘groups of people who see these locations as tourism draws and travel to these sites for both reasons of curiosity, nostalgia and pilgrimage’. Graham Dann has discussed a catalogue of rather dubious products, from tours through ‘war-torn hot spots’ in the Balkans and Beirut to the Milan operator who was offering in the early 1990s ‘10-day tours into Lebanon and Dubrovnik for the equivalent of £15,000’. Massimo Beyerle, managing director of the company who masterminded such operations, ‘claimed that he had a ready market for trips into war zones’. Given the level of concern about what is being offered, it is hardly surprising that questions constantly arise over suitability, judgement, the ethics of specific venues and the shadowy and morally hazy worlds where enticement and danger persist. Dark tourism may have been around for a lot longer than imagined – during the opening skirmishes of the American Civil War, picnics were offered on the hills overlooking the battlefields – but it would seem that it is just as uncompromising and unfathomable as ever it was.

In addition to concerns over commodification, possibly one of the greatest challenges facing certain dark sites is when the proximity of life to death is most acute. For example, at those venues where death, disaster or the macabre are exclusively located, promotion may be relatively straightforward. But where these sites are located in the midst of living communities, further complications, largely of an ethical nature, immediately surface. At places such as Ireland’s Famine Museum in Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, the Titanic Quarter in Belfast or the Workhouse Centre in Portumna, Co. Galway – all potential dark sites – information is contained within a single building or a cluster of buildings. More importantly, each site is self-contained, a museumised venue containing narratives and exhibits, staffed by curators and guides who occupy the site through the course of a working day. But promotion becomes much more complicated at places like townships and camps, a theme developed in part by this author in a discussion of Rio de Janeiro’s favela tours. This issue also surfaces in an analysis by Sarah Hodgkinson and Diane Urquhart of penal tourism in Britain – the stories of death, execution and punishment situated among still ‘live’ communities of inmates, and all the more traumatic for that. The authors agree that such tours of prisons are not without controversy. The potential commodification of something unseemly for public consumption, the morbid theme-park possibilities, not to mention the potential stereotypes produced of inmates and prison regimes are hardly negligible. While an educative and conservation ethos may underpin many carceral tours, intellectualising and stabilising both the purpose and the narrative, the authors suggest that dangers remain, and therefore a careful management policy is crucial.

Dark tourism within a ‘live’ environment is also the subject of both Britta Timm Knudsen’s and Sharon Hepburn’s chapters. Both chapters also employ online
material, from blogs and discussion pages, to tease out the complexities of dark tourism sites that are themselves relatively fluid, and with sometimes as great an online than actual lived reality. Identified by Lennon and Foley twenty years ago as having a significant impact on the development of dark tourism, technology is still a major issue, and in Knudsen’s discussion it becomes central to an understanding of the dark tourist experience. For Hepburn the impact of traditional as well as social media transmission of live engagement is also important, but mainly because in her analysis tourists become actors or participants in dark events that are themselves ongoing and in process. Like Knudsen, Hepburn is also interested in the immediacy of events, and of the effect upon tourists of life lived close to danger and conflict.

When dark events are converted into other forms altogether, or are conjured from the imagination, quite different challenges can materialise, as Duncan Light argues in his chapter on Dracula tourism. Horror and the macabre – but, more importantly, the spectacle or threat of cruelty – is a staple of gothic literature, and this is nowhere more vividly the case than in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897). It is hardly surprising that such an extensive business has now grown up around the sale of all things ‘gothic’, with tourism and its events-related sister – what Emma McEvoy calls ‘the scare attraction industry’ – a central component.¹⁵ Light assesses the impact of *Dracula* upon dark tourism principally in Romania, but finds the literary tourist industry of Whitby, North Yorkshire more forward-thinking and developed. Meanwhile Tony Seaton, in a wide-ranging chapter on thanatouristic patrimony, focuses on what he sees as the failure of the Irish tourist agencies to establish a greater claim to the Stoker and *Dracula* industries. Seaton regards Ireland as the best place for a developed consideration of gothic and thanatouristic tourism, forming, as it does, a tributary to the Anglo-Irish literary tradition, and including Charles Maturin’s *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820), Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu’s *Carmilla* (1871) and Oscar Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890). Yet Seaton also discovers that Whitby, with its Bram Stoker Film Festival and bi-annual Gothic Weekend festival, has forged ahead. In both chapters *Dracula* and its potential tourism impacts are situated at the lighter end of the dark tourism spectrum, where horror, imagination and spectacle profitably overlap.¹⁶

When we think of international dark tourism sites, we realise how instantly recognisable they have become by their name alone: Hiroshima, Chernobyl, Rwanda, Auschwitz. Associated with major trauma, loss of life, atrocity and violence, the names command instant recognition. The long list now includes Lockerbie, the small Scottish town almost exclusively associated with the downing of Pan Am flight 103 on 21 December 1983, and discussed by Elspeth Frew in terms of site management, healing and transcultural grief. In Frew’s analysis the need for commemoration, including the incorporation of creativity as an element in the bereavement process, must be carefully handled so as to accommodate diverse experiences and memories. This problem is also addressed in John Lennon and Dorothee Weber’s chapter on the work of the Dachau marketing bureau. Dachau, another town with a name forever engulfed in tragedy, faces a marketing challenge that seeks to draw visitors to the infamous work camp, while also promoting the
attractions of the town and the surrounding region. Lockerbie is known to us for one thing, and one thing only; Dachau, on the other hand, is increasingly developing two. In Lennon and Weber’s chapter emphasis is placed on the work of the Dachau marketing bureau, from where the authors draw at least some of their data about visitor motivation and site interaction, but from where one irrefutable question, despite local business efforts, also stubbornly arises: how can an architecturally important, historically and artistically resonant venue that also happens to have been a Nazi camp sell itself as something else?

This raises another key issue in dark tourism: not all sites that have the potential to exploit their dark histories wish to do so. Some places prefer amnesia to advertising, and would be much happier if the narratives of disquiet for which they are also acknowledged were silently sequestered forever. Polstead, a small town in rural Suffolk, is hardly a name that conjures up feelings of remorse or dread – a forgotten part of England, representative of Constable country, it is the sort of place Nikolaus Pevsner and John Betjeman both would have appreciated for its simplicity and charm, and a town that even today numbers its residents in the hundreds. In Martin Spaul and Chris Wilbert’s chapter an early nineteenth-century murder, which was quickly turned into a successful tourist attraction, forms the basis of a discussion of how living communities deal with dark tourism. They describe how a brutal murder initially drew large numbers of visitors seeking vicarious thrills by travelling to the murder site and the place where the body was hidden, but how the locals swiftly tired of the notoriety that the event conferred on their village. The efforts to live down, forget or simply ignore this part of their dark history and heritage is an example of how problematic dark tourism can sometimes be for living communities. But in a digital age, at a time when dark tourism has an established (and arguably growing) reputation, can such guilty landscapes be ever truly forgotten? Such a question is also partly covered in the chapter by Gilly Carr, as well as in the opening essay by John Tunbridge and Greg Ashworth. In Carr’s chapter the Channel Islands are discussed in relation to their role during the Second World War, but more particularly in terms of their subsequent handling of sites associated with incarceration, punishment and death. The tension that emerges out of such dark histories, she contends, has led to sites being ignored because of the difficult histories they tell and the threat to normality that they bring. Public memory, it would seem, can be just as selective as the individual sort, and for much the same sorts of reasons: because of the need for privacy, escape or secrecy.

Dark tourism has been with us in various formats for centuries, yet recent scholarly work on the subject, and the industry efforts made to define the field, indicate that it remains a rich area of enquiry. Questions continue to be raised concerning site management, and the broadening of the subject to include demand as well as supply analysis has focused attention on an area of tourist activity that shows no signs yet of fatigue. This collection adds to the work of previous researchers, but also develops ideas first outlined by Tunbridge and Ashworth in their *Dissonant Heritage* – a text not specifically engaged with the term ‘dark tourism’, but which nevertheless dealt with ‘human unpleasantness’ as it impinged
upon heritage and the wider tourism offer. Indeed, many of the questions and uncertainties raised by Tunbridge and Ashworth still exist today. An acceptance that ‘atrocity faces problems of definition that are far more intractable than the usual academic delimitation of a topic’, a realisation that memorialisation has the potential to ‘provoke glorification’ (and therefore potentially deepen rather than heal wounds) and an acknowledgement that ‘the management and marketing of the heritage of atrocity is the cardinal dilemma of dissonant heritage’ are all issues that remain unresolved.\(^{17}\) It is therefore appropriate that this introduction concludes with a reference to the chapter in this volume by John Tunbridge and Greg Ashworth who, in addition to bringing us full circle, focus on issues that continue to absorb, disturb and provoke. Drawing on a series of case studies, they consider the unseemly fascination we continue to have with atrocity and death, and more particularly the interpretive and management dangers that emerge when we shift our focus from ‘site’ to ‘experience’. In an analysis of several holiday islands that includes Jersey, Malta and Bermuda, they pose questions not just of dark tourism but of tourism itself, uncoupling the term from its prefix so as to bring it more readily into the light, to demand of it more fundamental truths. And they ask: is not all tourism, in some way or other, in some place or other, dark?

Notes
4 For a recent overview of some of the issues raised by volunteer tourism, see A. M. Benson, *Volunteer Tourism: Theoretical Frameworks and Practical Applications* (London: Routledge, 2011).
6 Ibid, p. 4.
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8 Ibid, pp. 6–11.